



Midlands State University

Established 2000

Our Hands, Our Minds, Our Destiny

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

THE ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY AND THEIR MANDATE IN ZIMBAWE: 1980-2015

BY

DAVID NDLOVU

R121495B

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULLFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE BACHELOR OF SCIENCE IN POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AT
MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY**

OCTOBER

2015

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR : DAVID NDLOVU

TITLE OF PROJECT : THE ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY AND ITS MANDATE IN ZIMBBABWE: 1980 - 2015

DEGREE PROGRAMME : BACHELOR OF SOCIAL SCIENCES HONOURS DEGREE IN POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

YEAR THIS DEGREE WAS GRANT :2015

Permission is hereby granted to the Midlands State University to produce single copies of this dissertation and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purpose only. The author does not reserve other publication rights and the dissertation nor may extensive extracts from it be published or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

SIGNED.....

PERMANENT ADDRESS : Fullers Aggregate 288 Bindura

EMAIL : ndlovdavid@gmail.com

DATE : OCTOBER 2015

APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to Midlands State University for acceptance, a research project entitled: **The Zimbabwe National Army and their mandate in Zimbabwe: 1980- 2015** submitted by **David Ndlovu** in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the **Bachelor of Science in Politics and Public Management Honours degree**.

SUPERVISOR

DATE

CHAIRPERSON

DATE

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AU	African Union
AFZ	Air Force of Zimbabwe
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CIO	Central Intelligence Organisation
CISSA	Committee of Intelligence and Security Services of Africa
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DMI	Directorate of Military Intelligence
GoV	Government of Zimbabwe
JOC	Joint Operations Command
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoD	Ministry of Defence
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MIU	Military Intelligence Unit
NOKMATT	North Korean Military Assistance and Training Team
NYS	National Youth Service
NSC	National Security Council
NCDs	Non Communicable Diseases
OPC	Office of President and Cabinet
PISI	Police Internal Security Intelligence
RPTC	Regional Peacekeeping and Training Centre

SARPCCO	Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weaponry
SSR	Security Sector Reforms
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African Peoples Union
ZIM ASSET	Zimbabwe Agenda for Socio-Economic Transformation
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
ZMA	Zimbabwe Military Academy
ZANLA	Zimbabwe National Liberation Army
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police
ZNA	Zimbabwe National Army

Abstract

With the remarkable decrease in the outbreak of large scale wars in the 21st century which traditionally has been regarded as the sole legitimate mandate of military organisations, armies have been facing difficulties on how they can articulate their roles in peacetime periods and remain relevant in situations where their very presence is challenged and questioned. In order to sustain the military institution and respond justifiably to these challenges, governments, policy makers and the military itself began to reformulate mandates and responsibilities of military establishments on the basis of their varied and complex social, economic, ideological, technological and environmental conditions and as a way of measuring and monitoring performance, rules and laws were enacted which not only legitimated these roles but also made them legally binding and mandatory. As the mandates of armies expanded and broadened in response to changing conditions of society which required the military to balance its war and non- war functions, it became clear that the ability of the military to handle all its responsibilities as is mandated by its regulatory legal framework was strained and overstretched. The purpose of this study is to map and identify the mandates of the military during free war periods with particular reference to the Zimbabwean army and it largely seeks to answer the question of why sometimes there are variations between the mandated roles and the actual activities. The ZNA is one of those armies whose mandate has not been meaningfully articulated thus inviting a litany of complaints and queries from a variety of sources over the ability of the military to fulfil its mandate. The study focuses on the period between 1980-2015 and it endeavours to establish the degree of compliance to the legal framework by the Zimbabwean army using the data obtained from a variety of stakeholders who interact with the military on regular basis. The paper thus attempts to review, unpack and deconstructs the main debates and conceptual paraphernalia which has been arraigned to construct the arguments for or against the mandates of the military in Zimbabwe. The fundamental question: what checks and monitoring mechanisms are in place to ensure and guarantee that the military acts in accordance to its mandates is also covered. The findings indicates that resource constraints are removing and compromising the ability of the army to uphold some of its mandates but there is adequate reason to believe that there is sufficient will and interest by those within the military to fulfil and honour their mandated commitments.

Declaration

I, David Ndlovu, declare that this dissertation is the result of my own research except to the extent shown in the references. I also declare that this dissertation has not been submitted in part or in full for any other degree at any other college or university

Student`s signature Date

Supervisor`s signature Date

Acknowledgements

I want to thank God for his omnipresent guidance and for the gift of life and of good mental and physical healthy. This work and anything else to my credit was only possible through his help and mercy from whose providence my burdens take flight. I also wish to unreservedly acknowledge the support and assistance rendered to me by my parents Mr and Mrs Ndlovu. I am highly indebted to them and had it not been for their generosity and benevolence and the unlimited trust and confidence they showed in me, my academic life could have been prematurely terminated long before this project.”Handigoni Kukutendai Zvakakwana”: To them i say you are my heroes!!!. I am also gratified by the support of valuable members of the family, friends, relatives and acquaintances who provided social and emotional support and thus kept me at peace with myself and my mind. In particular I appreciate the unqualified help of my long- time friend Christopher Chiwapu who’s been with me through thick and thin and whose advice and recommendations I will always cherish. I also wish to thank my supervisor Mrs Mutasa for the guidance and valuable comments on the text and content this project. I also unconditionally commend and thank myself for the perseverance and resolute determination to remain firm and loyal to my youthful ambition and long cherished dream of wanting to be a University degree holding graduate.

Dedications

To my mother and father who endured and suffered my incessant problems, demands and pestering's during my itinerant stint in education.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1	15
1.0 Introduction.....	15
1.1 Background of the problem.....	16
1.2 Statement of the problem	20
1.3 Justification of the study	20
1.4 Research Objectives.....	22
1.5 Research Questions.....	22
1.6 Delimitation of the study	22
1.7 Limitations of the study	23
1.8 Assumptions.....	23
1.9 Methodology	23
1.10 Research design	24
1.11 Survey design.....	24
1.12 Study sample.....	25
1.13 Study population	25
1.14 Research instruments	25
1.15 Case study	26
1.16 Questionnaire	27
1.17 Interviews.....	28
1.18 Observation method	28
1.19 Historical and Documentary analysis	29
1.20 Sampling and sampling techniques	30
1.21 Measurable attributes and units of analysis	31
1.22 Data collection, analysis and interpretation	32
1.23 Primary data.....	32
1.24 Secondary data.....	33
1.25 Ethical considerations	34
1.26 Contribution to literature.....	35
1.27 Chapterisation and chapter breakdown	35
1.28 Summary	36
CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework.....	38
2.0 Introduction.....	38
2.1 Literature Review.....	38

2.2 Knowledge Gap	45
2.3 Theoretical framework.....	46
2.4 The mandate of the military in Zimbabwe in juxtaposition to the legal and constitutional framework.....	50
2.5 The Zimbabwe National Army	51
2.6 Policy Framework and Conceptual Considerations	52
2.7 Current role of the military in Zimbabwe vs the legal landscape	54
2.8 Nurturing Proper civil military Relations as a Responsibility of the military in Zimbabwe	62
2.9 Fostering Peace and harmony as a mandate of the Military.....	65
2.10 Role of the military in the administration of state enterprises and parastatals.....	66
2.11 Policing Functions as a mandate of the military	67
2.12 Role of the Military during state of emergencies.....	67
2.13 Enforcing Municipal by-laws as part of the functions of the military in Zimbabwe	68
2.14 Environmental Management and the Military in Zimbabwe	69
2.15 Bureaucracy as a factor shaping the mandates of the military in Zimbabwe.....	71
2.16 Accountability and transparency in the mandates of the Zimbabwe national Army	73
2.17 Public- Private partnership as a factor shaping the mandate of the army in Zimbabwe	76
2.18 Amenability and flexibility of the roles and activities of the military to its mandates	78
2.19 Case study – Egyptian armed forces	79
2.20 Case study: Chinese People’s liberation army	79
2.21 Chapter Summary	80
CHAPTER 3	83
3.0 Data Presentation and Analysis.....	83
3.1 Introduction.....	83
3.2 Response Rate.....	83
3.3 Fieldwork engagements and data collection	86
3.4 Procedures in data collection	87
3.5 Data Presentation and Analysis Procedures	88
3.6 Verification of Assumptions – Emerging Gaps	91
3.7 Adequacy of the regulatory legal and constitutional framework as regards the mandates of the military in Zimbabwe.....	91
3.8 Fostering peace and stability –as a mandate of the military	95
3.9 Role of the Military in National Healing and Reconciliation	95
3.10 Regional and international duties.....	96
3.11 Justification for lack of parallels in the mandates of the army	96

3.12 Recommendations for problem solving	97
3.13 Chapter Summary	97
CHAPTER 1V	100
4.0 Conclusions and Recommendations	100
4.1 Introduction.....	100
4.2 Conclusions.....	100
4.3 General Conclusions relating to the position of the military in Zimbabwe	102
4.4 Recommendations.....	103
4.5 Policy recommendations	103
4.6 Research Recommendations	104
4.6 Curriculum recommendations.....	104

CHAPTER 1

1.0 Introduction

The Zimbabwe national army is the post 1980 official military of Zimbabwe whose founding members were drawn from the hitherto belligerent military collectivities of ZANLA, ZIPRA and the Rhodesian army consisting of the selous scouts, special branch and the grey scouts. These beleaguered and rival military groups were integrated more or less equally under the deliberations super ordinated by commonwealth countries headed by colonial Britain and frontline states from Africa. The British Military Advisory and Training Team (BMATT) were assigned the giant task of monitoring the integration process as well as crafting the formulae for integration for the period between 1980 – 2001.

Under the unitary principle or concept of separation of powers and pursuant to chapter VI part 2 section 89 as read in conjunction with chapter XI section 213-215 of Zimbabwean constitution which stipulates that “ subject to this constitution, only the president as the commander-in-chief of the ZDF has power to authorise the deployment of defence forces or to determine the operational use of the defence forces “ , the Zimbabwe National Army falls under the executive arm of government which is the sole legitimate organ responsible for controlling and regulating military affairs such as recruitment, retirement, remuneration, training, deployment, promotion and transfer and other issues relating to the code of conduct and administration of military justice like standards of discipline, punishment of petty offences and military incarceration. Together with the air force of Zimbabwe (AFZ), the army combines to form the (ZDF) Zimbabwe defence forces (a dual interface between the regular army and auxiliaries of the air force) whose dynamic roles spans a diverse and wide spectrum of socio, economic and political responsibilities .Although the army retains a greater proportion in the general leadership of the defence forces, the air force exercises a great deal of influence in issues of defence and security especially when they seat separately as an independent member of Joint Operations Command (JOC) alongside other statutory security organs of the police, prisons and correctional services and the intelligence.

At the turn of the millennium, a corpus of literature began to appear which challenged the conservative roles of the ZNA in the economic, social and political development of Zimbabwe as intended to salvage and garner support for a regime claimed to be capriciously enforcing (and ineffectual in any case), a one party state policy against mainstream public

opinion and thus not auguring well and working in compatible tandem with the widely acclaimed democratic principles of pluralism and multi-party diffusion which all countries developed or developing are expected to embrace .This paper makes a contribution to the on-going debate on the mandatory vs the actual/ realised roles of the Zimbabwe national army by assessing relevant legal and constitutional guidelines. It then undertakes a qualitative analysis of the current activities of the ZNA in relation to its authorised and mandated duties as contained in the regulatory legal and constitutional framework using various approaches and tools of modern research and the results on the record suggests that the military, contrary to what is being said by certain local and international quarters, is doing the best under the hardest of circumstances material or otherwise to honour and respect their legal commitments. Thus qualms over who the army should salute outside their chain of command are mere trivialities meant to side-track them from the core duty of defending the country. (Munendoro 2011)

1.1 Background of the problem

Zimbabwe was the last of the fifteen British colonies in Africa to achieve independence and upon the attainment of independence in 1980, the new government of Zimbabwe had inherited a huge task and menacing challenge of restoring order and sanity on a shattered social, political and economic fabric that characterised the post liberation war environment. The political trajectory that characterised the post war epoch underscores a dangerous centrifugal trend in the nature and way through which most state institutions including the newly integrated Zimbabwe national army functioned. Both the process and context of integration had been marred by simmering divisions and internal squabbles that rocked the novel government of Zimbabwe- a transition which was achieved after a long and protracted war of liberation. Although most of the deliberations pertaining to the formulation of the national identity of the newly born Zimbabwe were the key and notable agendas of the Lancaster house conference of 1979, the foundations upon which the post war Zimbabwe was built had no permanent bearing or resemblance whatsoever with the principles and guidelines agreed at the Lancaster house.

Dietrich (2002) argues that state building in Africa and elsewhere in the developing world is rather different to those that took place in Europe As societal and historical realities are too often ignored as the international community and the west in particular seek to impose military security through a new civilisation mission. Interpreting the inception of independence as the ultimate goal which generated the cause of liberation war and therefore,

the goal which satisfies the concerns of majority rule , the new leaders of Zimbabwe began to embark on a plethora and wide spectrum of diversified and invariable programs which were earmarked to consolidate the new identity of Zimbabwe and one such program had been the indefatigable endeavour to form a unitary and collectively integrated national army with common allegiance to well defined political and military structures.

With independence gradually subsiding over the political landscape of Zimbabwe, the emphasis and attention of the new leaders of Zimbabwe abruptly shifted from issues of economic emancipation, social justice, equality and virtually all other developmental concerns to the strategic control and effective management of the most powerful bureaucratic institutions viz the army, intelligence, police and the air force which constitutes the defence forces. Rupiya (2009) has it that Zimbabwe's security sector institutions are unique in that these emerged from a different paradigm and ethos before independence. The struggle since has been how to dominate and consolidate that position once achieved. In a determined bid to distance itself from submitting to the pressure generated by the vestiges of Rhodesian leadership superimposed on the post war political dispensation, of effecting and canvassing for a "handover –takeover "transition of the military institution, the black majority dominated government of Zimbabwe began to disproportionately enlist the members of the Zimbabwean army in ways and means parallel to Lancaster house stipulations. The nation building process as seen through military integration resulted in widespread allegations of adverse considerations of social influences such as tribal bigotry and racial discrimination by the state bureaucracy in the way in which it discharged its duties. Ken Flower (1987), has it that the settlement signed at Lancaster house left a legacy of unresolved problems not least of which was the integration of nearly 80 000 ZANLA, ZIPRA and Rhodesian forces all with different background of recruitment, of training and of motivation. Zanla commanders had proved the efficacy of Chinese methods and were intent on forming a people's army. Zipra strategy was based on Russian military concepts. The Rhodesian security forces were engaged in a holding operation wished upon them by the British.

As an institution authorised by its greater society to use lethal force usually including use of weapons in defending its country by combating actual or perceived threats against the state, the ZNA was from outset mandated to act as the prime enforcement arm of the government to be called and relied upon when executing instruments of good governance such as the application of martial law among others. Nevertheless, the operations of the ZNA has sent mixed and sometimes opposing signals as the military has never been able to caricature and

picture a just and well pronounced reconciliation and national healing process. Formed in 1980 from the remnant elements of Rhodesian forces blended with the victorious and triumphant but equally delirious and shell shocked combatants from ZANLA and ZIPRA – the armed wings of ZANU and ZAPU respectively , the Zimbabwean military has always struggled to stand on its own feet and establish and claim its ground. In his most venerated and remembered independence speech in 1980, then Prime Minister and Minister of Defence R. G. Mugabe opined that the need for peace requires that the government, with immediate effect integrate the various segments of guerrillas into a single military entity. Ayittey (2006) believed that standing armies were introduced to Africa by the colonialist to enforce their rule and suppress black African aspirations for freedom. Accordingly, during the colonial era, armies were thus viewed as agents of imperialism and instruments of oppressionafter independence, the nationalist leaders in their misguided belief that every modern state must have a military to entrench their corrupt personal rule , retained the colonial armies. More poignantly, Miller (1980) concluded that it might be impossible or at least unwise to attempt to incorporate the whole of security sector into the formal state and that regulation of non-statutory forces might be a better option.

The effects of the internal dissonance and viability challenges that characterised the early stages of unionisation and unification of the Zimbabwean military were to manufacture a refractory spirit of dissension among those perceiving themselves as on the losing end of the scale and this through the passage of time was aggravated by issues of ethnic loyalties and racial identities which culminated in the 1987 skirmishes commonly referred to as Gukurahundi in native dialects or local vernacular. The findings of the Chihambakwe Commission of Inquiry into the events of Gukurahundi have still not seen the light of the day (Hendricks and Musavengana 2010). The catapultion into these skirmishes which ended in 1987 after a unity accord pact between ZANU and ZAPU which ZDF commander in chief R.G Mugabe recalls as a moment of madness was hailed as a countervailing manoeuvre against the well-arranged and perfectly planned Zipra led military coup under the assistance of ZAPU saboteurs. However even at present, there is still dearth of empirical evidence to sustain the argument that the threats emerging from Matebeleland regions in the period in question was a signal of complete preparation for an insurrection, otherwise it was a factor used to justify mischievous abductions and castration of the matebele citizenry for the sole purpose of political expediency by a military set up widely regarded by civil society organisations and rights movements as having been co-opted into ZANU PF power matrix.

However, the Zimbabwean soldiers are and every day they become more so –the outcome of a local and national elaboration that is more or less influenced by political dynamics in the municipal panorama whether favourable or not but essentially is formed and conditioned by the historical reality of each people and is carried to success by right solutions to the internal conditions which arise in the political reality. Gatsheni Ndlovu (2011) believed that it is of importance to note that when independence was achieved in 1980, Robert Mugabe as the Prime Minister and ZANU PF as a ruling party faced a mammoth task of trying to unite a country and a people that had been subjected to ninety years of oppressive, divisive and racist rule. The country had also experienced a decade of escalating military activity which had not served only to accelerate the process of liberating the country from settler colonialism but also polarise the different ethnic groups. It was palpable that constructing a new nation would not be easy task.

The strength of the military in Zimbabwean social, economic and political aspects is highlighted by the due consideration of its opinions on decisions of war and peace which are exclusively discussed with the executive in the national security council chaired by president Mugabe and attended by all ministers of security ministries – defence, home affairs, state security, foreign affairs and local government. Notwithstanding the prerogative of the army in ensuring peace and stability and the performance of other roles and activities material thereto, it is myopic if not erroneous to see military relevance only in terms of bellicose situations. In essence, the role of the Zimbabwean soldiery community and those of any other country elsewhere should not only be understood in terms of the gun and bullet matrix nor should the importance of the army be particularly acknowledged in times of war and insecurity. The centrality of the roles and mandates of the army in the internal affairs of any sovereign country is impeccably illustrated by the conventional formula of power – (P) being defined as $P = (C+M+E) \times (W+S)$: C being critical mass, M = military power, E = economic power and W = Will and S representing strategy. From the above formula, it can be deduced that the sovereign power of states depends on among others the presence of a vigilant military dispensation prepared to defend and safeguard the state from its physical, natural, technological, environmental, economic and political threats and dangers from its internal and external sources. Thus states establish, sanctions, mandates and empowers their militaries to perform a variety of activities which enables the government to continue assert its rightful authority to rule. For example, the army can be a source of critical mass and economic power to its government and it is this overarching influence of the army on the entire political

economy and governance affairs of the state that makes the subject of military mandates an interesting area of focus.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Across the globe, national armies have mandates to fulfil to a variety of their clientele communities and in order to accomplish and satisfy these mandates, they are required and expected to comply and acquiescence with the laws and regulations authorising and legitimating their activities. However, gaps continue to emerge between the actual and the mandated roles that the military is authorised to do and as such questions have been raised as to whether the roles of armies are amenable to the dynamic and constantly changing demands of the law. The present work seeks to establish the legal validity and levels of compliance by the Zimbabwe National Army with their mandates as guided by the legal and constitutional framework including treaty and non-treaty based standards.

1.3 Justification of the study

A research premised on the analysis of the legal and constitutional mandates of the Zimbabwe National Army is one of its own kind as most of the current and preceding researchers who focused on the Zimbabwean Army were mainly pre-occupied with issues of military integration in post liberation war Zimbabwe, contribution of the national army to regional and international peacekeeping, the ability of the army to counter terrorism and terrorists activities and to safeguard sovereign integrity and sustain durable peace and development thus neglecting the need to conceptualise the role of the Zimbabwean military in line with its compulsory and binding mandates. With the constant shifting and ever-changing legal landscape in Zimbabwe, it has become pertinent and imperative to study the operations of Zimbabwe national army vis a vis their legal and constitutional mandates but alas no significant and meaningful research input had been remitted to satisfy this requisite end. For example, the Defence Act-which is the parent statutory regulation guiding military affairs in Zimbabwe has been amended eight times since independence and this had some major impacts on the mandate of the Zimbabwean military. The constitution itself has been subjected to nineteen amendments until 2012 when it was formally abrogated and repealed with a new home grown constitution.

In light of these changes, a need arose to both social science researchers and students interested in peace and security to study and trace the variation and trajectory of the mandates of the ZNA first in nation building and the subsequent social and economic development of

Zimbabwe. However hitherto the present, no meaningful contribution into this rather virgin and terra nullius subject has forth come hence calling for an urgent need to explore this superlative area of focus. Thus, the research discovers and captures the current and contemporary activities, events, roles and duties performed by the Zimbabwean army and explain them in terms of applicable bilateral treaty requirements and domestic policy provisions. It though in nominal proportions also analyses the strength and ability of the binding legal requirements in inducing compliance by the army.

Further the present investigation generates valuable knowledge pertaining to the position of the Zimbabwe national army in the political economy of Zimbabwe. A research of this magnitude has a role to play in the post liberation war Zimbabwe as it helps policy makers and students to trace and evaluate the evolution of the Zimbabwe national army in light of the new discourses on security sector reforms. As such, this detailed but unprecedented expression of the dynamics of military functions in post war situations or peace time is welcomed as a long overdue endeavour especially with the increasing impetus in security sector reforms as constitutional guidelines and prerequisites for democratic processes like elections to thrive and prevail. Much of recent research has mainly focused and dwelt on the army and its activities like peacekeeping on national budgets as is material to defence economics as well as labour economics for the study of military manpower often neglecting the need to articulate and capture in a broader sense the roles of the military in peacetime vis a vis the regulatory legal and constitutional framework. Therefore, to my knowledge, such a research has not been undertaken in Zimbabwe and especially in other countries labelled as developing countries.

Furthermore, an in-depth study of the military institution and its mandates allows us to discover the imaginations and articulation of the state within its ostensibly more paradoxical spaces, placed in a broader context to demonstrate how under the leadership of former revolutionary but opposing liberation movements of zanla and zipra, the Zimbabwean state was able to maintain and retain control of its military during the upheavals of the early years of independence into the 21st century which saw a combined military threats and western onslaught bent to affect a regime change on the youthful state of Zimbabwe. The inference is also useful insofar as it helps Zimbabwe as a full and integral member of the international community on how it can re-model and reformulate the role concept of its military in tandem with international standards and applicable regional practices so as to guarantee external support and endorsement of the mandates of the ZNA. Most importantly, it is also the

purpose of this research to map out some patterns and key determinants influencing military-military diplomacy in a way that takes into account not merely the formal properties constituting the mandatory duties of the Zimbabwean army but also inculcate an in-depth and practical based understanding that justifies in legal and constitutional terms, the apprenticeship of the military in the gubernatorial business of governance and policy making.

1.4 Research Objectives

- To find out what is a national army

- To discover the mandates of national armies during peacetimes

- To find out what are the current activities of the Zimbabwe national army

- To determine and ascertain if the roles of the Zimbabwe national army are in tandem with its mandates

1.5 Research Questions

- 1) What is or what constitutes a national army?

- 2) What are the mandates of national armies during peacetime periods?

- 3) What are the current activities of the Zimbabwe National Army?

- 4) Are the roles of the Zimbabwe National Army in tandem with the legal mandates of the military?

1.6 Delimitation of the study

The scope of the study as well as its coverage is limited to the Zimbabwean situation although for purposes of phenomenal comparisons, contextual examples are drawn from Egyptian and Chinese scenarios. Thus regardless of the precincts of the study being defined by national frontiers, a minimal and less substantial content of the study defied and traverses the delineated horizons to also include and capture other relevant situations at regional and international level. The regional and international level analysis is helpful as it provides a mirror to observe and pass verdicts on legal normalcy of standard military practices in Zimbabwe as seen through a broader external panorama. The praxis of the study is limited to military personnel and service members (not enlisted drafts or aspiring military trainees) and is largely geared and tailor made to answer the question of whether the Zimbabwean military complies and abides by its legal and constitutional mandates. The segmentalised nature and

organisation of the ZNA which distributes and quarantines different divisional units or battalions sharing different specialised tasks and duties into separate stations across the nine provinces of the country demanded that an exhaustive and fully integrated investigation about the entire activities of the army be treated wholesomely rather than on a case on, case off approach on the basis of geographical distribution of the unit or brigade under consideration.

1.7 Limitations of the study

Like in any country undergoing a post liberation war adjustment, information about the military and the role it plays in society is notoriously difficult to find or access. The legal and statutory environment in addition to a raft of measures meant to classify virtually all information pertaining to the army, combine to produce and create an uncondusive and unenabling environment for any objective research to thrive, sustain and navigate. The inherent but perceived predisposition that the researcher will, in the course of his investigation expose the institutional weaknesses of the system de-incentivised the key respondents – military personnel from delivering their full support and cooperation. However a lot of measures were taken to ensure maximum output in both the amount and quality of data needed for example including the war veterans into the research groups broadened both the length and breadth of the study thus ensuring convenient alternatives sources of data to be obtained.

1.8 Assumptions

The primary assumption underlying the study was the belief that the primary duty of the military is to fight wars and that in the absence of wars, the necessity and rationale of the army is questionable. The other assumption is that the military establishment is conservative by nature and that to maintain and preserve this nature; the army uses force or threat of force to dissipate calls for change and reform. The other basic assumption informing this study is that the army operates within a legal framework that protects and shelters the military from public scrutiny by classifying information material to military affairs. Finally, it is assumed that the ability of the military to comply with its legal commitments when discharging its duties and performing its roles is the primary factor engendering the need for security sector reforms in Zimbabwe.

1.9 Methodology

Methods are the means to apply or obtain or secure information. Methodologies can be approached in two ways that is quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Clough and

Nutbrown (2007) speak to methodologies as implying how research questions are articulated with questions asked in the field and its effects as a matter of significance.

1.10 Research design

The research design and methods resorted to here endorse an interdisciplinary approach which aggregates both quantitative and qualitative research methods because some aspects of the research needed quantification whereas others required explanation and exploration. The integration of the two is a means devised to clarify for palatability purposes, some of the concepts capable of resisting simple exposition in order to establish both the descriptive and explanatory frameworks of the phenomena under investigation and various sampling techniques were employed not only as principal tools of sourcing data but also as a resilient criteria of selecting people with pertinent knowledge required. While acknowledging the potential throwbacks of relying on a single methodology in the research design, it is also my conviction that using countless sampling methods is time consuming and may lead to unnecessary discords and parallels in the research design. Nonetheless, a substantial proportion of the research had been largely geared and oriented towards qualitative research methods but the epitome is not a deliberate negation of the usefulness of quantitative methodology merely that the nature of the data being dealt with demands that it be the case.

1.11 Survey design

Blumberg (2011) defined survey design as giving leeway to the researcher to observe conditions, behaviours, events, people and processes or communicate with people about various topics , attitudes , motivations and instincts and expectations. Instead of using a case study alone, the researcher also resorted to survey design in order to explore the vagaries that characterise this broader inquiry. Therefore the survey design is here used as a complementary approach to the case study method. The difference between the two is that unlike case study approach, the survey method describes the action of ascertaining facts for situations or state of affairs and explores the condition of something in order to provide objective ad verifiable information to the researcher. In this case the roles of the ZNA will be taken not as a result of the peculiarities within the army set up but viewed in the broader context of various trade-offs and relationships that the army nurtures with other stakeholders. This will greatly help to highlight the non- experimental but descriptive aspects of military affairs. In this regard then, surveys are not just merely compiling of data as the data needs also to be analysed, interpreted and evaluated.

1.12 Study sample

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) defined a study sample as a sub-unit drawn from the target population for the purposes of data gathering and the resultant generalisation. The population maybe too big to the extent that not all the potential participants can be included in the study hence a sample is manageable and economical. A study sample is a representative but integral part of a population under consideration – it is a proportion of the population, a part of it and its entire characteristics. In the present research, the sample consist of serving members of the ZNA drawn from four distinctive units that is military police, army public relations, education corps and five brigade. In addition to this study group, war veterans, civilians, journalist and researchers also constitute the study sample. A sample is a scientifically drawn group that actually possesses the same characteristics as the population – if drawn on random basis ([www. Wikipedia. com](http://www.Wikipedia.com)). The population characteristics include all members of a defined group that one is studying or sourcing information from for data driven decisions. For example, a sample for a research of this taxonomy might be punctuated and be based on rank and insignia entitlement like from the grade of captain henceforth.

1.13 Study population

According to Friedman (2011) the study population should be defined in advance, stating unambiguous inclusion (eligibility) criteria, the impact these criteria will have on study design, ability to generalise and participant recruitment must be considered. Kothari (2011), a study population is a universe under consideration while Holland (2004) explains that target population is a term used to refer to all the individuals in an organisation or community who are potential participants for the study. However as functional to the purpose of this research, a study population is defined as a group of individuals in a study or participants that make up the study population. As a case study informed research, the study population is members of the Zimbabwe National Army who constitute the active duty serviceman. In order to explore and highlight the varied and often complex nature of civil military relations, civilians, war veterans, researchers and journalist were also considered as part of the study population. To survey and select the most pertinent people who will act as the subject of this research, certain sampling methods will be used as guides when screening the potential respondents.

1.14 Research instruments

They were various instruments used in the course of collecting and gathering the data presented in this paper. Meticulous attention was given to the relative advantages and disadvantages of each instrument chosen so that potential gaps identified in one instrument

can be compensated by surplus payoffs in the other instrument. As a case study driven research, the following instruments were used; interviews, questionnaire, and observation method which augurs well with the desk research nature of the study. While the questionnaire is a primary data collection tool used in research where primary data collection is going to be carried out by way of a survey, an interview relates to the conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee. With the observation method, the researcher directly observes what will be happening in a field of study.

1.15 Case study

A case study is an account of an activity, event or problem that contains a real or hypothetical situation and includes the complexities you would encounter in the workplace. In the many forms it takes, a case study is generically a story, it presents the concrete narrative detail of actual or at least realistic events and it has a plot, exposition, characteristics and sometimes even dialogue (Boehrer 1990). Kardos and Smith (1997) in a case study the goal will be in analysing, applying knowledge, reasoning and drawing conclusions. The present research uses a case study not in the ordinary geographical format that it usually takes but embraces an organisationally driven case approach where the focus is not on a micro analysis of a geographically delineated entity but on roles and activities of the key units, divisions or departments which represents or are within the organisation as a whole. The rationale for this approach is that although it may seem that a case study approach could have been exclusively appropriate, an understanding of the complex nature of military affairs and the vastness of the area under consideration or investigation requires that the oftenly required and necessary micro-geographical horizons be defied in order to accommodate varying aspects of huge geographical space under consideration. According Rowley (2000) the case study approach greatly disadvantages the research outcome in that it gives little room for objectivity as the researcher is most often influenced by circumstances on the ground.

Thus while case studies can be defined on geographical basis for example parliamentary constituency, national frontiers worked as the precincts of a case study in the present research. It can also be defined by organisational structures like a study of a particular department within an organisation for example studying levels of job motivation and satisfaction between foodservice soldiers and battlefield auxiliaries and as well as the distribution patterns of a phenomenon. A case study has the advantage of supplying specific information to address the problem in question and it also provides a greenlight for future research and further inquiries as it recommends and leaves room to be pursued henceforward.

Case studies give a more “nuanced context and details of the subject matter under study but one cannot however be sure of the findings obtained in a case study are generalizable to other situations (Leedy and Ormrod 2005). Further, the case study approach is blamed for abstractions and generalisation of phenomena as it neglects to consider unique conditions that shapes organisational norms and which are subject to change from one point to another. The assumption that a case sample resemble or represents the whole cannot stand the test of empirical verification. For example results which show low levels of motivation by battlefield combats might not always be a product of or a reflection to enemy-phobia and the dangers therein but could also be a result of the structural weaknesses in the leadership and command of the unit, dearth of sufficient equipment and low quality training.

1.16 Questionnaire

It is a primary data collection tool and is very useful when the researcher requires specific answers to fully straightforward questions (Dunne 1995). It is used in research where primary data collection is going to be carried out by way of a survey. Merriam –Webster Dictionary defined a questionnaire as a set of written questions given to people in order to collect facts or opinions about something and for obtaining statistically useful or personal information from individuals. It basically contains a list of questions that the researcher intends to ask each respondent. Uwe (2006) regards a questionnaire as a document containing questions designed to solicit information appropriate for analysis. A questionnaire should cover the objectives of the research topic or subject –that means questions must be limited to relevant aspects only. It contains three major sections that is (1) the preamble section dealing with demographic aspects like sex, age, marital status, occupation etcetera (2) middle section dealing with questions on actual activity and (3) lastly questions on personal opinion.

A questionnaire is suitably fit for a research of this subject matter as it gives freedom the respondents to express themselves on paper more than they would have availed themselves in an interview which can incriminate against the individuals needs for anonymity especially when broadcasting gadgets and recording machines such as cameras are used. More so, the uniformity in questioning which enables respondents to be asked exactly the same question allows the researcher to compare responds and determine average opinion across the covariates. The open ended question also gives room for respondents to say anything within the scope of the questions. However, is not always an accurate source because respondents may give biased or false information that is giving response that are in their favour or where they stand to lose or benefit. Further, failure to administer the questionnaire properly may

result in poor data collection, resentment from interviews and low return rate especially where they are to be posted or returned latter. Illiteracy can result in no information or responses on the questionnaire.

1.17 Interviews

An interview is a conversation between an interviewer and an interviewee. It can either be conducted face to face or electronically through confversation. The interviewer asks questions and the interviewee provides answers. The interviewer must prepare an interview schedule. Bailey (2007) stated that an interview is a state where the field researcher asks questions for the purpose of seeking information directly related to the research. Any person to person interaction either face to face or otherwise between or more individuals with a specific purpose in mind is called an interview Kumah (2011). Interviews can either be key informant or structured interviews where the former involves selecting people who are experts and specialist in a particular field to be ones interviewees while the latter means that one was asking predetermined set of questions using same wording and order of questions.

Using interviews in research has a lot of considerable advantages for example it is a flexible and adaptable way of data collection such as altering wording and repeating questions. It also offers room to probe that is follow up on interesting issues coming up during the interview. An interview is ideal in a research premised on the study like the present one because it boosts courage on the interviewee and secure maximum cooperation as it goes with a local language. It also enables one to observe non –verbal responses or body language however there is an inherent possibility of misinterpretation of responses by the interviewer. Again some responses may not be fully captured or maybe missed and it is time consuming especially on the part of the interviewee and the effects could be a small sample size or there might be a possibility of a bias.

1.18 Observation method

Selfe (1985) argued that since methods of indirect observation provide only an insufficient reflection of the varied and complex set of processes involved , a combination of several such techniques have to be used to collect data in any one study. With this method, the researcher directly observes what will be happening in a field of study. Observations can either be direct or indirect. Direct observations involves the researcher participating in the activity understudy while indirect observations can be accomplished by viewing and analysing the activity in question through news , bulletins , exhibitions , broadcasted interviews and

excerpts from press conferences. Observations are a supportive or complementary technique used in conjunction with other methods. As an additional method of research, observations enjoys a number of advantages for example it is a direct method, one simply observes activities or events in the field as they happen for example de-mining. One can also observe non-linguistic aspects of human behaviour hence one can overcome the problem of language barrier as encountered in face to face interviews. What people say they do may be totally opposite of what they will be actually doing when observed. On its own however this method cannot always be the best because it is greatly time consuming as some events may take long either to start or to finish. The observer might affect the situation under observation and where events or activities take place simultaneously, the observer might miss or fail to see all. Also, the observer might be carried away by the participation and fail to make thorough observation.

1.19 Historical and Documentary analysis

Bailey (1994) regards documentary research method as referring to the analysis of documents that contains information about the phenomena we wish to study. It is a skill in historical interpretation and is not merely a summary or a description of what happened but rather an analysis of the motivation, intent and purpose of a document within a particular historical context. Documentary analysis involves qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning around an assessment topic. Analysing documents incorporates coding content into themes similar to how focus groups or interview transcripts are analysed. Payne and Payne (2004) describe documentary methods as techniques used to categorise, investigate, interpret and identify the limitations of physical sources most commonly written text documents in both private and public domain.

There are three primary types of documents (1) public records which are the official ongoing records of organisations activities. Examples include mission statements, annual reports, policy manuals, strategic plans and syllabi. (2) Personal documents consisting first person accounts of an individual's actions, experiences and beliefs. Examples include calendars, to do list, scrapbooks, blogs, face book /twitter posts, duty logs, incident reports etcetera. (3) Physical evidence –physical objects found within the study setting often called artefacts. Examples include fliers, agendas, handbooks and training material. One advantage of documentary analysis is that a document unlike a speech can have an independent existence beyond the writer and beyond the context of its production. (Jary and Jary 1991) Unfortunately, documentary research have often been incorrectly considered a monopoly of

professional historians, librarians and information science experts whilst social scientist rely on surveys and in-depth interviews methods, the professional sociology in particular.

1.20 Sampling and sampling techniques

Sampling procedures can basically be divided into a dual taxonomy that is probability and non-probability sampling. Sampling is the process of selecting a representative proportion of a population or universe under investigation. The method or technique depends on the general distribution of data. Systematic sampling, purposive sampling and to some measure random sampling will be used here. Systematic sampling is whereby values or elements in a population are selected in a regular way for example choosing interviewees of a defined insignia that is of the ranks on and above second lieutenant which is the lowest feed of field rank or the start line of officer's class. Random sampling is used most importantly for identifying which civilians and war veterans will be consulted when selecting interviewees. In random sampling, a sample is drawn from a population in such a way that each element has an equal chance of selection as points in the study are taken completely at random.

Simple random sampling is an integral component of probability sampling procedures as its approach to data gathering is taken purely on the basis of random consideration. Creswell (2003) defined random sampling as a procedure of selecting participants from the population on the basis of simple random criteria. Contrary to its semantic connotations of being haphazard and disorganised, random sampling remains a plausible tool and approach necessary to limit the possibility of bias in participant recruitment which enables each potential participant equal chance of being considered in the selection process. Under random sampling is also found stratified random sampling which Denzin and Lincoln (2005) view as a more specific form of random based sampling where participant selection is determined by the general distribution or stratification of data that the researcher is interested in. Stratification can be construed to mean, with respect to military discourse ranks and gradations which invariably differs as one moves vertically across the military chain of commands.

Purposive sampling as explained by Punch (*2003) refers to that sampling technique where the participants shortlisted are compiled on the basis of the information that the target population holds. For example as a matter of interest to civil-military relations, it seems unwise or at least impractical to the researcher to consult anyone serving in the military institution but to specifically direct such inquiries to public relations staff members who are

the relevant department charged with ensuring proper civil-military interaction. Thus the strictly particularistic and aspect driven treatment of participants on the basis of their holistic experience and operational knowledge constitutes the fundamental attributes of purposive sampling.

Systematic sampling is whereby elements in a population are selected in a regular way. For example recruiting or choosing only those participants that were directly involved in a project or aspects of a project under consideration like peacekeeping mission or landmine clearance as the case might be. Systematic sampling is different from other sampling procedures because its values are based on a defined selection criteria for example rather than merely interviewing participants involved in a concerned project like peacekeeping or demining, attention might also be given to the specific duties and responsibilities performed by the potential participant in the project as a basis of participant selection and recruitment.

1.21 Measurable attributes and units of analysis

In order to answer the research questions, determine the units of analysis and identify the source of the model and data used in the study as contained in the research design, an exploration of verifiable research indicators and units of analysis was undertaken. Research questions basically focus on the mandates of the military in Zimbabwe . The units of analysis for this research are made up of carefully chosen and selected regiments of the ZNA, for example military police, army public relations and other versatile elements of the ZNA. To answer the research question on the degree of compliance with the legal framework by the Zimbabwean military, several perspectives were combined into a model with assumptions derived from literature reviewed including several causative relationships between independent and dependant variables. The dependant variables are the current activities performed by the army as witnessed or reported between 1980- 2015. The data for the dependant variables used in this study were drawn from various primary and secondary sources.

Independent variable is the legal and constitutional framework which stipulates the mandates and parameters within which the army operates and this framework is useful as a yardstick for testing and determining the level or degree of compliance working as a performance appraisal guide. The data on the independent variable meets the condition of reliability and validity. Reliability refers to the accuracy of the statistics in measuring whatever relevant aspect. The data regarding independent variable were driven from the following sources ,

constitution , defence act , national security act , global political agreement ,statutory instrument 152 of 1988 defence (regular force) officers regulations section 90 and other regional and international treaty and non-treaty based standards ratified by Zimbabwe which shall be discussed in detail in chapter two. Validity refers to the accuracy of statistics that are measuring concepts in which we are interested in (Putman 1967). Independent variables are used in the interpretation of findings and for formulating hypotheses. It provides an index or indices to check, verify and measure internal consistency among variables used.

1.22 Data collection, analysis and interpretation

The information has been gathered via both primary and secondary sources of data. These two complement each other and neither can be effectively useful in the absence of the other. While primary data has the advantage of being original as it is collected from eye witnesses or the people who might have experienced the events concerned, it lacks parsimony as the narrative follows the interest and personal views and opinions of the entity sourcing the data. In addition, to face to face interviews with people of a defined occupation – military personnel both retired and serving, professional researchers, journalist and civilians. The questionnaire was also used alongside other techniques. Because accurate information pertaining to the country's military activities is notoriously difficult to find, there was considerable amount of information which bureaucrats considered to be classified and therefore not available to the researcher. This drawback was indemnified by the thorough review of relevant policy documents, newspapers, speeches, reports, bulletins and books therefore; much of the information contained herein was mainly gathered by secondary means from secondary sources.

1.23 Primary data

Kadam (2013) defined data as constituting the basic inputs required to any decision making process in a business. The primary sources of these inputs vary by discipline and can include but not limited to results of an experiment or survey such as census, accounts and reminiscences by eye witnesses, historical and legal documents, treaties, letters and wills among others. Primary data can therefore be regarded as data observed or collected directly from first-hand experience using various research instruments alluded to above. These include questionnaires, interviews, observations and reviewing policy papers and other primeval texts and documents. Primary data has the advantages of providing data that is specific to the problem at hand and makes it possible to obtain supplementary data if required

during the study period. However, the cost of obtaining data is often the major expense militating against primary studies.

1,24 Secondary data

This refers to data gathered by other people for other purposes but being presently utilised by the researcher for other purposes. Alternatively this is the data collected and recorded by someone else prior to and for a purpose other than the current project for example census statistics being used to analyse and determine the soldier-civilian ratio. Nachmias and Nachmias (1996) contends that with the guidance of secondary sources , researchers can better understand the historical context by scrutinising data collected in different times on similar issues and can also be able to describe and explain changes. The reliance on secondary data analysis in the present research broadened the information base and helped to decipher the changing patterns and variation trajectory in the military activities in the socio-economic and political development of Zimbabwe. Secondary sources are publications and works written about a primary source and they include comments on, interpretations of and discussions about the original material. Books for instance are the quintessential secondary source. They also include journals, newspapers, scholarly articles, documentaries and film, press conferences among an array of others. The advantages of secondary methods include that it is less costly and there are no hassles of data gathering plus the researcher is not personally be responsible for the quality of the data. Nevertheless, the researcher does not have choice on the contents of data collected if specific data about something is required. Obtaining additional data and clarification about something is not possible.

In an attempt to ensure a well-articulated and objective analysis of the fundamental pillars of this research thesis, content, discourse (historical) and textual analysis will be the main analysis schemes to be used throughout the research. These methods will be buttressed by the deductive approaches that usually go hand in hand with secondary data analysis since secondary sources supplied much of the information obtained. Data analysis as Merriam (1985) suggested implies checking, verifying , testing , probing and confirming data collected as you go and this process has to follow a funnel like design resulting in less data gathered in latter phases of the study along with congruent analysis , cross checking and proof re-affirmation. This choice is prompted by the contextual environment within which this research thrived which was largely geared towards secondary sources which require a careful scrutiny of both the validity and reliability of the information contained and obtained from the texts. By content analysis is intended a detailed exploration of the information presented

either verbally or otherwise, while textual analysis seeks in broad terms to unveil the authenticity of the information recorded in secondary and other sources such as books, newspapers, or questionnaires.

1.25 Ethical considerations

The research was undertaken within the framework of relevant and applicable ethical values and cognisant of the moral research standards required in any field engagements. The ethical values that were upheld in the course of the research includes respondents right to be fully informed of the research and the researchers duty to ensure that respondents are completely aware of the implications of research. Denzin (1998) has it that deceiving participants would create tension and conflicts, massive turnover and lack of trust. The ethical requirements of confidentiality of privileged information and respondent's protection and anonymity was guaranteed by alteration of identity and the use of pseudonyms and the destruction of research material and other information which might possibly compromise the privacy of respondents. The ideals of impartiality were also observed through a compulsory requirement to the researcher to capture and publish all the research findings however negative or positive to his own individually held opinions, beliefs and political affiliation.

The researcher also unreservedly avoided the often common temptation of including a colleague as an authority in return for a favour even though the colleague did not make any serious contribution in the research. Screening outliers from the data presented without offering reasons on paper as well as conducting review of literature that does not acknowledge the contributions of relevant authors in the field was also considered as part of the ethical precepts informing this research. Interviewees were informed that they could end or withdraw from the interview at any point if they so wished. In addition, falsifying the findings and over-stretching the truth in order to secure academic appeal and persuade and convince reviewers that the project has made a significant contribution to the field and giving the same research data; save as necessary to the efficacy of peer review and focus group discussions to other graduate students was categorically eluded as it constitutes an antithesis of the widely acclaimed standards of ethical research and could have been tantamount to giving in to plagiarism. In summary therefore, the ethical values and considerations that guided this research includes, inter alia; honesty , objectivity , carefulness , openness , respect for intellectual property rights, confidentiality, responsible publication, respect for colleagues , social responsibility, non-discrimination, competence, legality and human subjects protection.

1.26 Contribution to literature

The research is purposively intended to fill in the gaps omitted in modern literature concerning the socio- economic and political aspects characterising the roles and duties of the army in development. Most of the existing literature has been on the reasons of military coups thereby neglecting to the fringe, the economic and social ramifications of military activities. A lot of research on mainly the political and to a lesser degree the economic and social activities of the Zimbabwean military had been done by different researchers during different times but alas, none of them was able to aptly position or situate these roles in the context of legal and constitutional guides. It is my fervent hope that the contribution of this research goes a long way in demystifying some of the grey areas surrounding this field of inquiry. It is also an insatiable and undying desire of this research to clarify the much vexed and confused, if not largely left out variation between military involvement in politics and military interventions such as coups that makes the agenda of this research welcome in aiding and abetting the deficit of literature on this subject matter.

1.27 Chapterisation and chapter breakdown

The present work is chronologically organised into four distinct chapters of varied size and pagination. The first chapter which provides the foundations upon which preceding chapters are based basically addresses a wide spectrum of research issues, determines contextual variables, identifies key players and offers a tentative and preliminary introduction and definition of key terms and concepts as well as updating and verifying the policy framework as necessary for an objective situation analysis. The major thematic issues encountered with in this exordium chapter includes passages and sections dealing with background of the problem- which calls for or created conditions requiring scientific research. It then evaluates the significance of the study by justifying why the research is relevant by drawing parallels and omissions in antecedent literature and existing research works. It concludes by offering the research methodologies used alongside a discussion of the relevant, applicable and verifiable ethical values and principles considered in the course of the research.

Chapter two which embodies the main thrust of the research dwells on the review of relevant literature material to the research and also identifies and apply resilient theoretical frameworks most suitable for the research by assessing their relative strengths and weaknesses as the guiding and analytical hypotheses which can be used to explain the phenomena under investigation. This is enhanced by drawing pertinent regional and international examples as case study guides from Egypt and China. It also examines the

nature of civil-military relations in the context of the role of government in guaranteeing cordial army –civilian interaction. Most importantly it captures the role of the Zimbabwean military in juxtaposition to the legal and constitutional framework including treaty agreements and non-treaty based standards. The relationship between the ZNA to political leaders and bureaucracy is also considered in this chapter. Issues of accountability and transparency by the army, military public -private partnerships and service excellence are also some of the fundamental attributes of this chapter.

Chapter three details and focuses on fieldwork engagements, presentation of findings obtained from the field and analysis of data collected and presented in order to test and verify its empirical worthiness. It then describes and explains the challenges faced by the researcher in the field and the solutions adopted to rectify and counter these problems. Data is presented with the aid of diagrams, charts and tables where necessary, to illustrate and explain the findings obtained.

In chapter four, a summary is given of the entire research along with recommendations and suggestions for improvements. The results of theories tested and hypotheses developed in the course of the research are carefully outlined taking note of special conditions, if any under which such theories and hypotheses can or cannot be satisfactorily applied. The recommendations due are for improving or modifying certain aspects of the research format and design. Finally it concludes by suggesting future areas of research.

1.28 Summary

This chapter provided the foundation of the whole project and it provided the guidelines and framework from which future chapters bifurcated and developed. It is useful in as much as it endeavours to identify and define the working concepts and terms used in the course of the research and relate them to the broader research questions and objectives underlying the study. The sources of the data, sampling and sampling techniques, statement of the problem, contribution to literature and methods of data analysis were also described and explained in this section. The research methodology in particular the research instruments used to obtain the data during the fieldwork was also dealt with along with a detailed discussion of the ethical standards and values that were considered and observed during the research. Attention was also given to the limitations and delimitations of the study cognisant of the research assumptions embedded in the study.

CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, attention is given and devoted to a systematic and thorough review of literature for the purpose of identifying gaps and omissions inherent therein. Identifying the lacuna in existing literature will help situate the relevance and significance of the present work and establish its contribution in bridging the rift identified hence justifying its necessity in as far as understanding the mandates of Zimbabwe national army and the factors conditioning those mandates are concerned. The theories underpinning the study are further explored while highlighting the applicability of each theory in explaining the phenomena and relationships under investigation. Focus is also given on the nature of civil military relations with special emphasis on military accountability and transparency, service excellence and the relationship between the army and bureaucracy. Relevant case studies from the roles of the Egyptian and Chinese armies are also given in an attempt to benchmark the role concept of ZNA to the applicable regional and international standards.

2.1 Literature Review

The ZNA and its overarching role in society have never been thoroughly investigated as an independent entity of social study. A thematic research premised on the situational analysis of the roles of the ZNA in the social and economic development of Zimbabwe viewed within its regulatory legal framework had largely remained outside the orbit of scholarly study. The dearth of sufficient interest of social science inquiry both by local and foreign researchers and academia is imputed to a number of factors most of which hinges on the operational viability and researchability of the topic. Consequently, the role of ZNA in juxtaposition to the legal framework or mandate as a unit of analysis in social science studies and political science inquiry had been enormously under-researched resulting to a scant and narrow literature in circulation. However of late, there has been increasing attention and inquisitive interest by researchers on this subject matter. Nonetheless the bulky of existential literature which can be categorised into two historical epochs for purposes of mapping out the research trajectory and its variation across space and time has been and remains largely devoted to studying the relationship between the ZNA and its underpinning political authorities while neglecting the social and economic ramifications of the army. The theme embodied in the present day literature is twofold that is that of the period between 1980 -2000 and that of 2000 up to the present where the formers main area of focus was on military integration while the later represented a dramatic shift from the traditional pre -occupation with issue of integration to a

novel interest of the dynamic and widely expanding activities of the army with a notable emphasis on the strategic politico-military alliance between the army and the incumbent regime which many widely believe to signify the co-option of the military into ZANU PF power matrix. This epochal approach or periodization of literature enables one to identify and establish a huge lacuna in the literature which therefore calls for or justifies a need to research about the dynamic roles of the army in relation to its legal and constitutional licence guiding its operations. A research premised on this is not only useful when highlighting on the adequacy or lack of it thereof of the legal framework governing military affairs but also its position which situates it between the dual literary epochs afore-established will enable policy makers and future researchers to claim a share and develop further the hypothesis and theories coined in the course of this research.

With the possible exception of one Blessing T Miles, most if not all of those local based or foreign but locally born and bred researchers who wrote and published works about the Zimbabwean army after 2000 substantially focused on the political role of the army and the underlying implications for democracy often casting negative aspersions that the army is an appendage or instrument of ZANU PF power politics in its bid to downplay what they claim to be popular calls for regime change. Along this reasoning, the ZNA had as such been castigated as an unprofessional force which contrary to standard regional and international practices is and remains insubordinate to civilian control thus standing in the urgent need for security sector reforms. Notable scholars within this league of reasoning includes Dr Martin Rupiya , Raftopalous , Musavengana, Masipula Sithole, Masungure, Nox Chitiyo , Ibho Mandaza, Sabelo Gatsheni-Ndlovu among others. In the grand scheme of things , no amount of attempt was allotted to a detailed study of what the ZNA is doing and the manner it is doing it against the legal landscape of what it is allowed or licensed to do and how. Apart from the over-generalised, unsustainable and challengeable claims of rampant undemocratic practices by the army, no amount (if any in spontaneous proportions) had been given to an empirical and factual analysis of the legal framework.

Cheesman and Tendi (2010) debunked the ideological basis of the Zimbabwean military and its influence in structuring and determining civil military relations. The continued attempts by nationalist to infuse, inoculate and inculcate the post 1980 ZNA with values of the liberation struggle and indoctrinate the new entrants who were seen as ideologically bankrupt of the patriotic needs of nation building was the main focus of their work. The Zimbabwe's case suggest that militants bearing a liberation war history tend to become involved in politics for

more deeply ideological reasons. The challenges of sustaining the liberation struggle culture in the face of imminent threats from the new modern values espoused by members of BMATT resulted in political differences once again boiling down to diffuse military priorities thus posing dangers to national security and defence. The influence of Chinese Guerrilla warfare theories as developed by Mao Zedong and former USSR military strategies which acted as the philosophical foundations that drove and guided the war remained paramount precepts and attributes of the Zimbabwean military however the conspiracies of some nationalist who were inclined and bent on pursuing a policy of appeasement to the colonial Britain by affecting a “hand-over take-over” transition of the military institution. However in their work (Cheesman and Tendi) failed to acknowledge the importance of ideologies in influencing the roles that the army performed. Because ideologies provide the framework or foundation that defines the operational basis of any organisation, the roles of the military in Zimbabwe needs to be traced from and be analysed in the context of the underlying ideological paradigm and this was not covered in Tendi and Cheesman’s studies.

In his studies on the ZNA, Rupiya {2012} attended to questions of the international credibility of the Zimbabwean army. The relations and perceptions mutual or otherwise that the ZNA enjoyed at the regional and continental level, as argued by Rupiya provided an opportunity for researchers and policy makers to see the Zimbabwean army through the eyes of its outside counterparts. According to Ranger (1995) the role of Zimbabwean military as a foreign policy instrument court attention to the nation and its military from the armed forces and nations Africa. A regional approach in analysing the military, it is further argued will help to assess and answer civil military relations questions as it enabled a “compare and contrast approach” where relevant regional standards will be applied to the roles of the army in order to verify patterns of consistency. This marked major in-roads into the discourse of Zimbabwean army as regards its duties. However Rupiya’s work is well remembered for its pronounced dearth of empirical, statistical and objectively verifiable data to support some of the arguments and positions that it embodied. It also lacked valid covariables that could stand the tests of scientific inquiry. Situating Zimbabwe national army in the context of regional dynamics not only distorts a mature understanding of the widely expanding roles of the army but also represents a short-changed attempt to import and domesticate locally invalid standards of qualities to the ZNA roles.

Brian Raftopolous and Tyrone Savage (2005) and Nox Chitiyo (2010) contend that the militarisation of state institutions in Zimbabwe presented an opportunity to the Zimbabwean

military to wield enormous powers in the present day Zimbabwean society. Together with Makumbe (2001) they argued that the practice of co-opting military personnel to run the affairs of civil boards, parastatals, state enterprises, diplomatic commissioners and embassies ever since the electoral appeal waning of ZANU PF beginning in early 2000 constituted a significant strategy of political survival (Moyo 2013). A key contributor to the discourse of militarisation is Rupiya (1995) who acknowledged the reciprocal nature of militarisation arguing that militarisation of state institutions resulted in the politicisation of the military. The exercise of unchecked power and constant meddling into politics by Zimbabwean military leaders is in part due to militarisation which has created conditions for the army to leverage on their ubiquitous influence to assert their interests. However as argued by Tendi Miles (2013), this inclination signifies a misreading of history as the real power has always resided not in the Army but the Politburo which retains control of JOC. Thus compared to outgone generals, the present generation of military commanders now wields lesser influence with respect to ZANU PF. Conspicuously silent in this body of literature is the identification of socio-economic roles of ZNA in shaping and structuring national development. In the same way a regrettable omission was committed in bringing out the relationship that ZNA shares with other relevant stakeholders which also influences the political and ideological values that the army adheres to.

If there is one common theme running through all recent literature on the role of the army in socio- economic and political development, it is that the subject is highly resistant to simple exposition. Notwithstanding the privileges rendered by the existence of a growing literature on the role and efficacy with which the Zimbabwe national army performs its duties , the essential contribution of the Zimbabwean army as a political and economic denominator of peace , security and development had rested beyond the length and breadth of most literary productions. The initial assumption with most eminent writers has been that of the roles of the Zimbabwean army and the military in general in the socio economic and political development of a state as primarily analogous to that of military intervention in domestic politics such as army take-overs, coups among others. Military takeover is an act made by active members of the military heads outside the conventions of military institutions with the aim of disrupting the political status quo. To this end, most of the literature in existence had been geared towards explaining and justifying or otherwise military involvement in politics but alas none of them seems to capture the essential motives of this increasing common phenomenon in third world countries. The dominant literature on Zimbabwe's military affairs

is that the securocrats have increased their leverage over the various organs of the state, the economy and the judiciary as well as in the legislature where they contested elections as retired members of the security services. According to O'Connell (2008) the army will thrust the emphasis on the positive manifestation of order and stability to be discovered in regular solutions devised by states in their day to day practice. Thus, the assumption that Zimbabwe is inherently secure yields a certain indifference to questions of military efficiency and readiness.

Studies by Chitiyo (2009), Musavengana (2010) and Doro (2013) indicate that security sector reforms have become the dominant discourse in present day Zimbabwean society. Security sector reforms were part of the broader reform agenda of the Global Political Agreement which also included Media Reforms and Electoral Reforms. Narraghi and Conaway in Doro defined SSR as generally referring to organisations and entities that have authority, capacity and orders to use force or threat of force to protect the state and civilians. Musavengana and Chitiyo argues that the political functions of the ZNA which now stands in the way between people and their aspirations for democracy has left a legacy of mistrust, animosity and antagonism. The army it is argued is a willing and effective midwife to ZANU PF political ambitions as it has been co-opted into the regime power matrix and a pawn in the game of great power politics. As argued by Doro (2013) the needs for changes in the security system is influenced by two conditions that is when there is a democratic deficiency or military inefficiency. However the relations between the army and government are unstable and as Tendi-Miles argued, the ZANU PF –ZNA partnership has always been oversimplified. The dereliction of duty by the military with respect to compliance with the laws stating and requiring that they be impartial and non -partisan has prompted urgent calls expressing the need for security sector reforms. Bratton and Masunungure concurred with Chitiyo when they characterise the current politico-military interaction as implying a salient coup and resultant hybrid as a civilian military clique.

Studies on civil military relations in Zimbabwe by a number of scholars including Rupiya , Sabelo Gatsheni- Ndlovu, Sadomba, Lindsay Cohn, Bhebhe and Ranger suggests that there is a substantial rift or gap in civil military relations in Zimbabwe. While it is acknowledged that civil military relations is subject to changes on spatial and temporal basis, the findings of these scholars though belonging to different time periods brings out the common theme of civil military divergence. Although Ranger and Bhebhe (1995) did try to picture some quasi-positive aspects of civil military relations, the ultimate conclusions reached did

fundamentally doubt the mutual and cordial conditions in this discipline. The conservative nature of the military which identifies it at both political and ideological level with the incumbent regime is regarded as the proximal cause of the continuously deteriorating civil military interactions.

The conservatism in the military which corresponds with the reactionary tendencies of the regime resulted in the abuse of the military by political authorities in an effort to buttress and maintain its hold on power. Lack of political appeal and unpopularity of the regime became vendettas that the civilians and the military fought. According to Philian Zamchiya, Zimbabwe is a state in which military and political institutions are conflated together. He argued that without DCCs, ZANU PF will rely on soldiers commonly referred to as boys on leave to prop and spice up its electoral base. Thus the seemingly permanent symbiotic relationship between the army and the allegedly unpopular regime rendered illegitimacy to the military organisation. However, what these scholars did not address were the underlying reasons explaining that despite popular and widespread challenges, the army and government of Zimbabwe still remains locked in a united but largely unchanging creed which intersects and confluence at JOC.

Much of the literature of today material to the activities of the army or the military has been considerably devoted to the economics of defence. In the post cold world, military and political dangers are probably more numerous and more complex than ever before. In response policy makers and researchers are increasingly applying economic techniques and insights to improve our understanding of issues. Defence economics is the study of both defence and peace issues using tools of modern economics. With the everyday challenges and threats of low level conflict in the form of terrorism, guerrilla warfare and insurgencies, the main focus of recent literature has been directed on the efficiency and ability of armies in providing and guaranteeing collective security and defence that everyone can safely depend on. The increasing integration, interdependence and globalisation which has speeded up the formation of interstate security organisations such as SADC RPTC- regional peacekeeping training centre in Zimbabwe , there has been emerging an increasing body or corpus of literature involving burden sharing and membership composition and contribution in military alliances. Although tentative studies on the role of ZNA in contributing to international peace and stability as well as its efforts towards regional peacekeeping by Bratton and Cheesman did much to disassemble and unpack the roles of the ZNA, the overwhelming focus on the liabilities of burden sharing and membership composition in military alliances such as SADC

Defence Pact and Regional Stand-by Force and RPTC on national budget meant that no amount of attention was given to a detailed exploration of the legal and constitutional framework guiding the operations and roles performed by the Zimbabwe National Army.

In an attempt to consolidate an enhanced public understanding of the Zimbabwe military and its operations which begins with a firm grasp of the purpose of the armed forces prompted by the realisation that the military is never an enemy of its country people as what the erstwhile detractors are opining. Nox Chitiyo (2009) lay an overwhelming emphasis on the controversial relationship between the Zimbabwean military spending and economic growth. His work culminated in the emergence of the most discussed topic in themes of all social science literature – security sector reforms and it endangered a general feeling among Zimbabweans that the activities of the Zimbabwean army goes beyond the normal army duties of defending the country from its internal and external foes but acts as an instrumental hand of incumbent authorities to affect one party governance and thus guard against both the agenda and possibility of regime change. Although most of the literature especially that whose cradle is marked after 2000 had paid particular attention and focus on the necessity of the army as an active player in economic sphere, it is no coincidence that even in fields such as peace and security studies , pre- occupation is now on economic outcomes of military duties .

This increasing body of literature has been construed by social observers as the initial approach dissecting for palatability purposes from the doctrine of military Keynesianism which posits the view that government should always increase military spending to increase economic growth. The relationship between military spending and economic growth has generated widespread controversy among researchers and rudimentary economist who are presented with the dilemma of weighing these incompatible variables and reach a judgemental and well acceptable conclusion on the causation linkages or nexus between army spending and economic growth.

Research by Grey Mills does indicate that military integration in Zimbabwe as is elsewhere in Southern Africa was a harshly and rashly concluded process. The fault lines and short-changes in the process created problems in the post- colonial state as the limited knowledge and understanding of military affairs by the novel pool of cadres who went on to occupy commanding positions without prior acquainting with their duties resulted in poorly organised, politically vulnerable and inefficient military organs. Integration in Zimbabwe was

part of the nation building project but it soon fell into problems as the attempt to coordinate let alone merge the different forces with different ideological commitments and philosophical conceptions faced great challenges. This research represents the first of its kind to have given special attention of Zimbabwean military as an output of the colonial Britain. However this is very remote and stands nowhere near debunking the activities of the army as analysed within the appropriate legal framework.

2.2 Knowledge Gap

The results of the foregoing literature review as applied to the subject of military activities in the socio-economic and political development of Zimbabwe points to an increasing literature gap that could have been useful in enhancing an understanding of the domestic functions of the army. While the task of tracing or inferring on the research objectives of the reviewed scholars in order to establish their areas of interest can be mammoth, the literature is apparent and crystal clear on its focus (political) which distinguishes it from the sine qua non focus (legal) of the present one. The political approach manifested by most if not all of the scholars consulted is largely detached and removed from the legal-behavioural approach used by the present researcher. It is precisely from this legal-political dichotomy that a map of knowledge gap in the literature was drawn. This was due to a number of factors and influences for example using deductive methods to capture the key themes in much of the literature discussed, it can be established that the scholars noted resorted either to qualitative or quantitative methodologies and this remotely located or situated them from the threshold and focus of the present research which amalgamated the two instead of taking a bi-polar stance as is the habitual tendency of veteran researchers and traditional scholars in this field.

The basic theme acknowledged as separating this research from the foregoing scholarly review is the overwhelming emphasis of the later as opposed to the former to treat the roles of ZNA and the discourse of civil military trade –offs independently from its legal context. This stance impoverished and undernourished a clear understanding of the dependability of the army to its legal framework and it was largely this omission and error that the present research attempted to rectify. Treating military affairs without paying attention to its standard legal precepts denies one a chance to empirically test and verify some measurable attributes of the military and its operations. Thus the researcher did shift and depart from the seemingly inherent scholarly tradition of merely describing and nominally explaining events incognisant of the various legal, economic, cultural, political, ideological relationships and factors that helped set priorities and agendas within the military establishment.

Other notable and observable gaps in literature includes dearth of comprehensive explanations on how peace, security and stability as attained through the efforts of the ZNA can contribute to economic growth and development. Most of the defence economist such as Nox Chitiyo and others highlighted in the literature review seemed to have been entangled or fallen into the layman approach dilemma where the archaic belief that “war is not good for business” is upheld as an explanation of the usefulness of peace to economic well-being without offering objectively verifiable answers to the how question. This was caused by their misreading of DRC and Mozambique war.

2.3 Theoretical framework

The theoretical foundations of this research is imputed from the influence rendered by the works of Samuel Huntington, S. E. Finer, Francis Fanon and Talcott Parson most of which (with the possible exception of the latter) written on the basis of the experiences of the two world wars and the cold war at the turn of the 20th century. The wars had dramatically changed the social, political and economic life of the people which was the basis of a stable, peaceful and harmonious society in particular the relations between the armies and the communities they served due to advances in technology, the inception and proliferation of the values of democracy and human rights which enlightened and emancipated man and the propagation of ideas which condemned wars as evil and the work of the devil. In the work of these revolutionary changes, the large armies drafted and conscripted during the war could no longer be sustained in a free war world so concerns began to be raised as to how they could be meaningfully utilised for the benefit of community welfare or at least be rehabilitated and reintegrated to the broader society. The needs expressed by these concerns resulted in researchers and political scientist coining theories about what social, political and economic roles armies could play or service to society in post war situations. The civil military relations theories of Huntington, Finer and Fanon in addition to military sociology theory, structural functionalism and military theory provides the theoretical basis of this research.

Smith (2011) acknowledged the usefulness of theories in research and argued that it is almost impossible to dodge using some theory whether explicit or implicit in order to arrange and organise information. The question of why the military intervenes in politics is the single most important theme running through aforementioned schools of thought. Nevertheless, some of the terminology and expressions that defines their work subtly and elusively differs with the basic and fundamental pillars of this research. In their works particularly Huntington, they limited the involvement of the army in politics as either features of or

consequences of military takeover or coups. This was due to their conviction that the army like is the judiciary stands for or as a protector and promoter of civilian interest and thus is empowered to depose leaders who does not have obligations to that end. In the final analysis , the major domestic function of the military is making sure that the government comes from the people and if the government does something untoward or unbecoming to the people like institutionalising corruption and political decadence among other unsavoury and unscrupulous actions , the army should move in to expunge the government from power but the army itself must not take part in the subsequent process which determines whose and what government will be next to be in control .

In the long run therefore, the military and the government treat each other with suspicion and this contemptuous relationship works better to monitor government misconduct and the excesses of bureaucracy. However, in the present research, military involvement in politics and governance affairs of the state is not taken as an indicator of army takeover nor is the participation of the same in the political economy a signal of government's failure in its obligation to the people as hypothesized by the theorist indicated in question. With apparent reference to the Zimbabwean army , it is crystal clear that the military is in strategic alliance with the government in its bid to determine the general will of the people , thus as opposed to the position of the theorist noted , the government and the army are dependable and symbiotic partners in national development.

Various reasons have been adduced in an attempt to answer and justify military interventions in the politics of the third world countries. One such argument is that serving in the army is a national calling and a patriotic sacrifice much like political leadership and is in this context part and parcel of politics. Francis Fanon in his most celebrated book – *The wretched of the earth*- argued that “an army is never a school of war but a school of civics“. Therefore , attempts to circumvent the military from undertaking political business and tasks is therefore meaningless because the two variables works compatibly together towards the achievement of common goal – serving , defending and safeguarding national interest . In the *Art of War* 2, Machiavelli suggested that no government can exist in the absence of a standing army which is always ready and pugnacious to take political orders to task. Fanon's model of the military is easy to use in identifying military profile of countries as it answers the fundamental question of what peacetime military organisations do. Fanon's concept of war was that not only armies do participate in war but equally significant is the role of or played by and the efforts rendered by civilians to the broader purpose of war. Thus the military

establishment is not formed to provide answers to the constant threats that conditions interstate relations but to offer deterrence to those threats. These arguments are valid with respect to the roles of the ZNA as traced from the liberation struggle.

According to Samuel Huntington, although the constitutional basis of the army in deciding on the questions of who get what, when and how is largely circumscribed; it is common knowledge that the army superintends virtually all national affairs. Because of this influence, the army constitutes the upper economic strata of the society known as the military elite who leverage on their lucrative position to advance their welfare and that of other members within their ranks. Huntington further notes that because fundamental conflicts in society are between the poor and the rich, this makes the place of the army in society more complex as it is the interface of various sections of society. Huntington concluded that the government must always be able not to allow its army to acquire and exercise unrestrained power beyond the capabilities necessary for defence. The point preached by Huntington that if left to their own whims and devices, the military will wield or at least try to usurp national power without necessarily staging a coup is apt and correct as experiences from various countries Zimbabwe included suggests that governments are having trouble in containing and controlling the military and its activities. Various writers agreed that instead of the military takeover approach as the best means by military leaders to acquire or assume and concentrate power on their hands, today's armies prefer an indirect and remote control approach where they monopolise and manipulate the political decision making processes directly from the barracks. The ZNA underscores the point in question. Up till today the Zimbabwean army has never carried out or attempt to carry a coup but it is argued that the army is the major decision making stakeholder in Zimbabwe's socio-economic and political development. However Huntington's theory is conspicuously silent and did not acknowledge the importance of opposition parties, the judiciary, civic groups and rights organisations in limiting or circumscribing the potential of the military to veto the political outcomes.

S. E. Finer in his book *Man on the Horseback* propounded the idea that the army is a source of critical mass for the bureaucracy. Drawing examples from Bangladesh, the country with the highest number of military takeovers on record, suggested that the territorial distribution of power in any modern nation state is primarily determined by military choices and army agendas. To him, the government operates at various levels and it is this variation of responsibility between different constituents of government that open up the myth of military intervention in politics. Since the army is the saviour and liberator of people – a channel

through which grievances of the people are communicated and responded to, the military as a constituent and principal government agent which acts as a reservoir of peace and harmony is never apolitical. It is even the case that in some countries, the army may enter into diplomatic commitments without prior sanction and knowledge of government. The Egyptian army for example is one such military institution which operates fairly independent from the government as was witnessed by its authorisation to allow the opening up of the Suez Canal for the US marine company and naval regiments to navigate into the interiors of the Nile countries during the Suez campaign. Using the example of rampant militarisation of state institutions in Zimbabwe and the subsequent emergence of a military- disciplinarian state, it can be supported and sustained that Finer's conceptions represents a satisfactory working framework for understanding the overarching influence of the military institutions in national discourse.

Structural functionalism theory as developed by Talcott Parson and advocated by a number of expositors including Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim, Augustine Comte and Robert Merton is one of the best theoretical frameworks underlying the study (Ritzer 2005). According to Sadomba and Tom (2011), the major focus of functionalist is on large scale social structures, sub parts, stability, integration, consensus, effective effervescence and structural superiority over individuals and evaluating change. Functionalist treats society as a vast and complex phenomenon whose constituent parts are systematically interrelated. Structural functionalist place emphasis on institutional roles and functions of various societal organs in maintaining harmony, resolving and addressing undercurrent problematic issues. The key units of analysis in functional theory are status, role and institution. There is constant interaction between the three in order to sustain healthy institutional practices. According to Sadomba (2011) status is the socially defined position in a group or organisation and people occupy different statuses in the group or organisations they are part of or members to. Role is a certain set of behaviour that are expected of and performed by an individual on the basis of his or her status or position in society (Sadomba and Tom 2011). Thus the roles ad statuses of members of a group form an institution- hence the institution is a relatively stable structure of statuses and roles divided to meeting the basic needs of people in society. This theory is ideal and relevant in this research because the focus of the study was in analysing the roles and functions of the military in socio-economic and political development which is what the theory purports to bring out. It also enabled one to distinguish between the civil-military dichotomy treating the

military and civilians as sub units of society that interact on their own or in relation to other sub units to form an integrated whole society.

Military theory as propounded by Clausewitz – the 18th century German general who served in both the Napoleonic wars and the unification wars of German is a useful and relevant theory for analysis of normative behaviour and trends in military affairs and military history beyond simply describing events in wars. It attempts to encapsulate the complex cultural, political and economic relationships between societies and conflicts they create. In this respect, the Zimbabwe national army will be analysed as a continuously evolving organisations and conclusions drawn from its patterns of development will not be regarded as final or permanent as they are subject to change as time progresses. The military theory provides an opportunity for the researcher to observe the army roles in wars as instruments of foreign policy and largely focuses on the role of the military in instigating conflicts. Militarily powerful countries are more inclined to manifests readiness in wanting to engage in wars due to the understanding of their strengths and their belief in achieving favourable outcomes. However the theory is largely archaic and war oriented and can no longer adjust to explain the new peace fostering roles of the military. Therefore attempts to apply or seek direction from this theory are and will remain anachronistic.

The military sociology theory as developed by military researchers in North American universities implies a sociological study of the military examining various issues such as military recruitment , race and gender representation in the military , combat , military families, war and peace and the military as a welfare . Analyses here transcend the institutional and examine a broad range of social activities. This perspective looks outward at the intersection of the military and larger society. Analyses within this theory are micro, mezzo and macro thus enabling an interdisciplinary approach when capturing the seemingly diverse and broad range of the activities of the ZNA. However the sociological approach is greatly limited as it dwells much on social aspects while neglecting the economic, legal, ideological and political ramifications of the military roles and activities as functional to national development.

2.4 The mandate of the military in Zimbabwe in juxtaposition to the legal and constitutional framework

In their quest to maintain relevance and remain useful in a constantly changing environment which has witnessed not only unprecedented influx of new actors or role players in the field

of national security and defence but also that the admission of these new players meant that some of the once exclusive roles of the army would now be shared or usurped by the new entrants, ZNA-as a peacetime military has since the year 2000 reformulated and remodelled its role concept in order to broaden and extend its operational activities to encompass responsibilities that previously fell/rested beyond the purview of the military. Traditionally, armies were seen and regarded as shields of a nation's or society's defence by performing such roles as countering neighbouring enemy incursions and containing and curbing any form of internal aggression (The Republic- Plato). Nonetheless, with the increasing consummation of the normative doctrine of pacific settlement of disputes which by now has greatly hampered and de-incentivised nations readiness and propensity to resort to wars or armed conflict as an instrument of affecting policy (Clausewitz 1835), military establishments are in a dilemma of articulating their roles in order to answer questions of military necessity in peacetime which have rendered the army superfluous and redundant more so because of the emergence and birth of new security and defence apparatus like the police , the intelligence, prisons services and other non -statutory security bodies who now actively take part in responsibilities that used to be the prerogatives of the army.

For example, the conventional wisdom is that in traditional society as noted by Plato, both prison and policing were functions of the army as society consisted only of three distinct classes that is philosopher kings (leaders), artisans (labourers) and guardians (army). Because of this quandary (emergence of new players who threatened the all- powerful position of the military), armies began to devise new ways and means of remaining aloft and relevant in a tense, evolutionary but highly competitive environment. The competition required that new rules of the game be established to control and guide institutional practices and maintain inter-organisational harmony. The rules of the game are the ones presently referred to as the legal and constitutional framework. However like every other institutional arrangements designed to control and regulate human behaviour either individually or collectively, the rules have not been diligently followed and complied with and as such questions and concerns have been raised as to whether the military is able to fulfil and honour their legal obligations and commitments.

2.5 The Zimbabwe National Army

The ZNA was established at independence in 1980 and its predecessor the Rhodesian Army (RA) was used as a tool of oppression and the laws which regulated its conduct were a straitjacket. The ZNA make part of the executive branch of government, operate as part of the

defence and military justice system and operate at all levels of government. The army consist of 35 000 plus active duty members and the force is centrally controlled with its command and control centre situated in the capital Harare. The army is largely a land force and have no navy or naval units. Administratively, the Zimbabwean army is a 3-star headquarters commanded by a lieutenant general who is overall commander of ZNA. The commander is deputised by 3-Maj Generals appointed as chief of staff (www.zna.gov.zw). Together with the commander, they constitute the ZNA command element. Below this structure are five staff branches namely general staff, training, administration, quartermaster and inspectorate. The Zimbabwe national army is operationally divided and organised into general and specialised units. In a nutshell it has a mechanised brigade, five motorised infantry brigades of three battalions each, an artillery brigade, Presidential guard brigade and several Special Forces and support units (Southern Africa Report 2011)

2.6 Policy Framework and Conceptual Considerations

Zimbabwe is one among the few African countries which has the best legal frameworks regulating and governing the conduct of and institutional practices by the military and the police. Murunga and Nasongo (2007) has it that at independence, Kenya and Zimbabwe inherited competitive, regulative and democratic institutions from Britain. However as observed by Maranga (2011), African countries have the best constitutions but they lack the culture of constitutionalism. He added that a constitution may structure state institutions but may fail to infuse these institutions with values and principles thus having a wonderful constitution is one thing while making it a living vibrant document is another. It is an assumption of maturity that the army is obliged to perform their functions in accordance with the law and that all administrative activities and operational engagements of the military need to be done under or within the relevant legal and constitutional frameworks as interpreted and applied by military courts and Court Martials. However, variations though sometimes nominal continues to be witnessed between what the army does and what it is licensed to do by the legal (policy) and constitutional frameworks including treaty and non-treaty based standards. The relevant statutory and constitutional framework guiding the code of conduct for the Zimbabwean military includes the following:

- Constitution chapter 11 (eleven)
- Defence Act

- Global political Agreement - section 13,1 (now abrogated)
- National security act
- POSA
- AIPPA
- Statutory instrument 152 of 1988 (regular force) officers regulations section 90

The treaty and non -treaty based standards which also forms part of the regulatory framework of the Zimbabwe national army includes inter alia the following;

- Millennium Development Goals
- Cotonou Agreement
- Ottawa Convention
- Code of conduct for law enforcement officials General Assembly resolution of 1979
- The resolution of the international conference for denuclearisation, peace and anti- imperialist ideology
- UN basic principles for use of force and firearms
- Charter of the Non- aligned Movement
- Harare resolutions on SARPCCO code of conduct for law enforcement officials
- Guidelines on the right to a fair trial and legal assistance in Africa
- SADC Protocol on the control of firearms Ammunition and other related materials
- SADC Protocol in Combating illicit drug trafficking
- SADC Protocol on wildlife conservation and law enforcement
- SADC Treaty of Pelindabha

The mandate of ZNA and the standards adhered to when discharging such duties are mainly derived from the aforementioned. In Zimbabwe, international law does not become applicable forthwith upon ratification because the country follows the dualist doctrine which views international law and municipal law as distinct systems without direct jurisprudential relationships. For it to become applicable at domestic level, international law needs to be incorporated normally through an act of parliament (Hatchard 1993)

2.7 Current role of the military in Zimbabwe vs the legal landscape

The ideal role concept of the ZNA as per the expectations of its clientele community is compounded by the numerous and highly diversified nature of the communities that the army serves. Because of the heterogeneous nature of society served - to which the army is paradoxically an integral party or member, the essential contribution of the military in the socio-economic and political development of the present day Zimbabwe is difficult to grasp and grapple with since what one society may hail as a positive manifestation of the military's role in society might not necessarily constitute a similar reception in another society as more depends on situational exigencies. A comprehensive and thorough operations audit of the role performed by the ZNA points to a systematic covariation on the legal obligations – a scenario which suggest among other factors insufficient resources, underfunding , inadequate training and knowledge and outside interference to military affairs. Tracing the roles of the army in Zimbabwe and relating them to the relevant legal and constitutional guides requires a micro prognostication of the provisions currently in place in order to explore and determine the extent of their adequacy which enables one to answer questions of whether there exist military non-compliance with standard guides and regulations or it is a result of legal deficiencies or a result of the combination of the interplay of the two.

The military's operations can be assessed through its influence on society and development. It cannot be denied that the military does provide directions to society on national development and economic growth. Protecting the political and economic sovereignty of Zimbabwe has been one of the fundamental roles played by ZNA in the post- independence era. The constitution charges the ZNA to ensure and guarantee the protection and promotion of Zimbabwe's national interest as defined and pursued through its domestic and foreign policies with other countries. These duties had been performed under the auspices of and complaint to the provisions of the Defence Act Part 2 section 3 and 4 which authorises the military to take all actions and measures necessary to safeguard and preserve the political and economic security of Zimbabwe. Acknowledging that national security should be seen and

pursued through efforts to meet the political, economic and social needs of Zimbabweans and through efforts to promote and maintain regional harmony and security, the Zimbabwean military was able to adopt a balanced approach which allowed questions of military security to yield to the demands of national self-restraint. Thus the assumption that Zimbabwe is inherently secure yields an indifference to questions of military efficiency and reliability (Munendoro 2011).

The concept of political sovereignty means the supremacy of the people's will as expressed by the state's laws over all the individuals and associations within its boundaries and independence against all foreign control and intervention. Economic sovereignty on the other hand refers to the permanent and exclusive privileges of a country over or to be in charge of its economic activities, wealth and national resources. The military motto of the Zimbabwean army: "Our guns are the shield of the nation" apropos to its broader vision and mission statement of defending the sovereignty, territorial integrity and national interests of Zimbabwe which aptly captures the provisions of Constitution chapter X1 Part 2 section 212 requiring that the military priority be defined by the overwhelming need to protect and safeguard the collective interests and multifarious concerns of Zimbabweans from all walks of life. To this end, ZNA has been able to satisfactorily cater for these needs and the now widely acclaimed doctrine or mantra of "peace is our profession" continue to be a source of pride and colossal glory for the army as its sterling performance fulfils these commitments albeit some hardships and challenges in its hardware supplies and this proves that the Zimbabwean military is a citadel of commitment in the provision of collective security that guarantees the general safety. For example, the resounding success of Operation (code-named) Green leader during the Mozambique civil war of 1984-1992 which involved approximately eleven thousand ZNA manpower was waged precisely to defend the trade routes and commercial supply lines of Zimbabwe particularly the oil pipeline which passed through the Beira corridor. The military commitment to the operation proved beyond reasonable doubt that issues of economic sovereignty equally matters to the military as it does to the civilians. Gartzke and Hewitt (2010) has it that the extension of economic and other interests beyond national borders increase incentives to police relevant regions and exercise influence sometimes through force.

In the absence of a proximal military threat, ZNA will pursue a strategy of peaceful engagement. Across the globe, trends do suggest that that the primary duty of the military is not just to fight wars but most importantly to act as a deterrent. Planners and military

strategist of hostile countries or potential rivals are discouraged to engage or resort to armed conflict with countries which exhibit strong military capabilities –actual or perceived. The concept of deterrence had been practically useful as a neutralising and stabilising factor in international relations and Zimbabwe National Army had since 2 000 been organically locked in its use as a way of containing and repulsing possible threats from its regional neighbours and international acquaintances. Although the principle of deterrence is not covered in any of the regulatory framework governing the Zimbabwean military, the idea is one among the many strategies that armies employ to affect soft –war objectives and thus stands as part of the uncodified customary military practice within military establishments. The concept of deterrence moderates competition and achieves a win – win situation or outcome in a supposedly zero sum game as it compels nations to consider diplomacy seriously thus complying with the UN Charter whose principles prohibit use of force, unwarranted aggression or undertaking of measures that actively sabotages the socio, economic and political welfare of another country as an instrument of foreign policy. The political stability, economic security and national integrity that Zimbabwe is currently enjoying is imputed to the shrewdness of its military in both its domestic functions and foreign liaisons. The Zimbabwean military managed to promote and protect the social and economic interests both at national and international level by entering into contractual bilateral military to military agreements in the spheres of technical assistance, supply and servicing of equipment , military aid and assistance in procurement of sophisticated military science and technology development devices, exchange programs ,refresher courses and joint training sessions grants for learning opportunities and further advanced training for its members.

Military to military diplomacy is not a relatively new phenomenon in Zimbabwe as it had been done since colonial times. At regional level, ZNA through its sister organ ZDF has several bipartite commitments with other armies in areas of arms trade, control and curbing of small arms and light weaponry, countering terrorism and contributing to common defence and security. These initiatives had been done under the framework of SADC Mutual Defence Pact and the treaty of Pendhamba which forms a critical but additional legal framework governing the conduct of military organisations in southern African region. Bilateral military 2 military cooperation in the arears indicated above are notably with Namibia, Tanzania, Mozambique, South Africa and Swaziland. Zimbabwean army also actively contributes to common defence and creation of common regional security architecture facilities like SADC

Regional Peacekeeping and Training Centre and the Early Warning System. More recently, the ZNA has been instrumental in training military police of countries such as Angola and South Sudan. Internationally, ZNA enjoys bilateral military relations with Cuba-in the training of military doctors and defence intelligence, Pakistani- training of air force and parachute regiments units, China- in training of military instructors with courses including survival skills and personal combative tactics, Russia –military aid, arms supply and defence technology accessories like aircraft monitoring and radar systems.

The Zimbabwe national army also shares various mutually reinforcing relations with the armies of Korea, former Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania (Makumbe 2007). These overtures shows that ZNA at least with reference to military to military relations does not always maintain a culture of constitutional travesty as security sector reformist nearly always suggests. The practice of military –military liaisons is an integral part of Zimbabwe’s foreign policy and is also comprehensively exercised via delegated legislation in situations or cases requiring technical military input which parliamentarians might not necessarily provide. Just like other relevant security organs such as the Police which asserts not only membership but also leadership of SARPCCO and the Central intelligence organisation which also have an equally influential position in the Committee of intelligence and security services of Africa (CISSA), the Zimbabwean military apart from hosting the headquarters of SADC RPTC also participates and asserts membership to regional defence arrangements such as in African Union standby force.

One of the greatest ways ZNA has contributed to the economic, industrial, technological and social development of Zimbabwe was through its concerted efforts to demine cluster munitions and anti-personnel landmines planted in the country. In fact landmines clearance activities by the ZNA had not been limited to Zimbabwe for the army and its partner Mine-tech also participated and won foreign tenders to undertake landmine discovery operations in countries Fiji, Mozambique, East Timor and Sudan and these operations provided a financial cushion as it raked foreign currency. In line with the provisions of Ottawa convention, the Zimbabwe national army is presently and destroying landmines that were planted by the colonial government of Smith during the war of liberation. It is estimated that between 1976-1979, 3 000 000 buried and 200 000 surface anti- personnel mines were laid in six distinct minefields in the northern and southern borders of the country covering a total distance of 850km. According to Halo Trust Statistics (2010)- a British based demining organisation, Zimbabwe is one of the densest minefields in the world with approximately 5,500

unexploded landmines per kilometre and it takes nearly a \$100 million to clear them. Nevertheless, the demining exercise has been seriously underfunded and last year (2014) it was allocated only five hundred thousand despite a request for two million and this will result in the country failing to meet the 1999 Ottawa Convention deadlines which required that all anti- personnel landmines in the country be removed (Parliamentary Report on Defence and Home Affairs 2014).

Be that as it may, the Zimbabwean military has since formed consortiums and partnerships with an array of public and private actors in order to synergies to fundraise this exercise and one of the most notable liaison is with the International Committee of Red Cross Society which is providing both additional funding for training the military personnel removing the mines and also cater for their subsistence and occupational welfare. Although it might be difficult, nigh impossible for the army to meet the deadlines set by the Ottawa convention, landmine clearance and cluster munitions is considered one of the most celebrated role of the ZNA as it is fundamental to the security and safety of communities. It also frees land for agriculture and tourism activities as the cleared but once mine infested arears provides land for human settlement, historical sites, roads and transport network linkages and graze lands and pastures for animal farms and ranches. Therefore with respect to landmines discovery operations, the ZNA can be commended for a job well done although impediments exists mainly as a result of non- availing of finance and technical support from the traditional donors of America and German which has been the long -time sources of funding until the year 2000.

With the increasing scourge in illegal poaching and a pronounced extinction of valued endangered animal species like rhino's, elephants and hippopotamus, Zimbabwe had increasingly depended and turned its attention to the military to arrest and put a stop to this illegal activity whose sheer magnitude is outmanoeuvring the combat capabilities of parks and wildlife officials and stubbornly but systematically eluding and evading Police control measures thus calling for joint military reinforcements. According to Tatham (1988) the incursions of poachers into sovereign states necessitates considerable debate by head of states because it is a direct threat to national security of sovereign states. The participation of the army in anti -poaching operations is because of the defence and security implications of poaching activities. According to CISSA organisation, poaching is now worrisome because there is a great deal of evidence of fledging linkages between poaching and wildlife trafficking on one hand and transnational organised criminal activities including terrorism ad

weapons proliferation on the other. Major General (retired) Happyton Bonyongwe said that there are indications that some of the proceeds from poaching are being used to fund the activities of armed groups and negative forces as well as other destabilising activities. With indications that ninety-five percent of poaching in Africa has occurred in Zimbabwe and South Africa, the need to protect the so called rare species such as rhinoceros from poachers led Zimbabwe and Zambia to be signatories to CITES and to receive funds from World wildlife fund to try and control endangered species. Such diplomatic relations were not just limited to hunting activities but also immigration control measures along the borders and between 1982 -1992, Zimbabwe launched the military type of wildlife control along the Zambezi border boundaries with Zambia to stem Zambia based poachers who infiltrated the Zambezi valley for the rhino horn.

Supplying military combat aid to civil ministries when they are faced with operational challenges is identified as one of the fundamental functions of the modern Zimbabwean military and thus the police-military collaboration is just but one example of military aid and combat support to other security organs. Constitutionally, the police –military partnership is comprehensively covered by section 219 sub- section 2 paragraph B and C which obliges the police to exercise its function in cooperation with “any other organ that may be established by law for the purpose of detecting, investigating or preventing particular classes of crimes and offences and these may include national, regional and international bodies like Interpol among others. Furthermore, subject to the provisions of section 212 of the Zimbabwean constitution which deals with the operational functions of the defence forces, the military is charged, authorised and sanctioned to protect the country, its people, preserve national security and interests, protect its natural resources and defend territorial integrity by taking measures and actions which appear fit and deemed reasonable to fulfil the above and to exercise punitive ad coercive powers to suppress resistance and opposition thereto: Criminal law (codification and reform) Act.

The involvement of the Zimbabwe national army in curbing endemic illegal poaching and the unlicensed trafficking of animals or animal products in Zimbabwe is pursued compliant to and in fulfilment of three distinct legal and policy requirements that is Parks and Wildlife Act, Convention on international trade in endangered species of wild fauna and flora (CITES) also known as the Washington convention and the principles of Zimbabwe Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals- which partnered the military in its efforts to promote animal welfare and discourage export and translocation of domestic and wild animals and

ensuring the humane treatment of regulated problem animals. In order to enforce the Washington convention, the ZNA in conjunction with other law enforcement organs has a specialised formation- Anti Poaching Unit which carries out search and destroy missions of the products and proceeds of endangered animals and to deter and punish offenders. It also provides and maintains infantry border patrol platoons, combat companies and some small detachments in all the six active borders of Zimbabwe including Beitbridge border posts and Kazungula border posts as well as at Victoria Falls (the most active borders seen as porous by poachers) to control, intercept and recover products of illegally killed or hunted wildlife like elephant tusks, atrophy, rhino skins etcetera.

Participating in ceasefire monitoring and election observer mission in SADC region has been a perennial feature of the ZNA external engagements. The Zimbabwe military played a significant role towards ensuring that peace and tranquillity prevail in Mozambique during the period between 1983-1992 and in DRC under the SADC allied forces from 1998-2002. In pursuit of its external commitments, the army participated in observer and peacekeeping missions in Angola, Rwanda, Somalia, Lesotho, Cote D' Ivore, Liberia , Nepal, Burundi, Fiji and Sudan. Furthermore it has taken part in flood and other natural disaster rescue missions and related situations in Namibia, Zambia and Mozambique. Contributing to international commitments such as sending peacekeepers to UN and AU in its endeavours to maintain peace and stability has also been a hallmark of the Zimbabwean military.

The ZNA through its company Zimbabwe defence industries also actively takes part in international trade and commerce. The role to maintain the ZDI- which is mandated to carry out research and development programs in the arears of defence technology through producing locally invented defence equipment's. This is in line with the countries security strategy of controlling and regulating firearms and discourages the proliferation of unregistered and unlicensed possession of small arms. According to Kaldor (1981) and Pursell (1982), indeed the concept of military industrial complex is based on an almost symbiotic relationship between arms produce and the military. The ZDF as a productive arm of the military manufactures, services and repairs armouries for both licensed local and foreign markets. This greatly helps to fulfil the objectives of Zimbabwe's defence by ensuring that adequate equipment is in place to capacitate and maximise the rapid response defence mechanism in the event of an armed confrontation with a foreign foes. The supervision of ZDI by the army also helps to address cases of under-equipment which tempers with the military's need to achieve a strategic defence policy anchored on the

principles of military deterrence. This according to Anthony (1991) explains why arms production is controlled by states as in trade in armaments which is indeed often seen as an important security instrument as when opponents are subjected to arms embargoes or allies are provided with weaponry. The role of the army in ensuring a modern up to date defence industry is captured from the defence act which charges the military to ensure the safety and protection of defence stores, manage and supervise quality assurance in the defence industry. However, with the coming into effect of the land reform program particularly the wildlife based land reform program which negatively affected wildlife management and orchestrated a downsizing in the animal populations of games and reserves bringing down the business of safari hunting to a grinding halt, the capacity of the defence industry began to deteriorate as its primary customers-the hunters and rangers stopped their operations hence reducing the market threshold and prizes and values of defence products.

The Zimbabwean army is also involved in policy making and policy enforcement. The internal policy functions of the army arise out of and are carried out in conformity with the principles of delegated legislation. Secondary legislation is held equally important in the legal landscape of Zimbabwe and enjoys a privileged status with the full backing and support of the force of law. The internal policy functions of the ZNA includes participating in compiling drafts and texts of bilateral and multilateral agreements, proposing defence policies, suggesting amendments of existing policies, providing technical support and experts knowledge in policy formulation and inputting in the budget process. The domestic functions of the army in policy enforcement has been limited to providing additional and complementary support to the Police as and when they were face with operational challenges. The duties of the army in crime and crime prevention are discharged in pursuit of the peace, public safety and security obligations of the military as contained and provided in POSA, national security act, defence act and criminal law and codification reform act.

Undertaking community assistance programs and social welfare support in areas of healthy, housing, education which is done to fulfil the aims and objectives of millennium development goals is also part of the institutionalised and internalised responsibilities of the army. In this regard, the Zimbabwe national army has been instrumental in taking necessary measures and actions with the effort to capacitate communities to fight the challenges of food security, chronic poverty, and pandemic diseases, illiteracy and lack of decent housing. In the heathy sector, the army has been involved in the training ad supply of medical staff to hospitals, participating in awareness campaigns against certain class of diseases, improving the

countries readiness to contain with new but lethal heathy threats in the form of viruses and supporting research initiatives by other stakeholders in the medical field in trying to understand the challenges of new infections such as Ebola. To fulfil the millennium development goals the ZNA has formed five charities sponsor various initiatives earmarked on strengthening the capacity of the country to meet the deadlines of the MDGs. These include Tsanga lodge convalescent centre, army widows and orphans benevolent fund, ZNA benevolent fund, ZNA school welfare trust fund and ZNA patients fund all of which cater for army personnel and dependants.

In order to maintain its status and corporate image as the best employer of choice of last resort, the Zimbabwean army continues to broaden and rejuvenate its entrepreneurial functions heralded by the military business complex. In Zimbabwe as in USA, statistics indicates that the military and remains the greatest public employer thus contributing to economic stability by absorbing young man and woman of employable age into its manpower ranks and files. Among the many sectors that the army has interest includes mining, agriculture and tourism. This partially fulfils the goals of economic growth agenda of employment creation as defined in the ZIM ASSET blueprint. In this respect, ZNA is an employer of choice among youths who did not have the privilege of proceeding with their education to tertiary levels. Preventing young man from sinking into crime since many soldiers who return from the war are better off economically and mentally than they would have been as unemployed persons at home. However because military strength is now built on sophisticated technology, the Zimbabwean army is no longer a viable as a source of employment of last resort to academically marginalised young man as conventionally believed.

2.8 Nurturing Proper civil military Relations as a Responsibility of the military in Zimbabwe

The term civil-military relations have a long history of usage and dates back to several generations before the scramble for Africa and the subsequent outbreak of colonial wars. Lindsay (1999) has it that the issue of civil-military relations was already well known but now the question of a gap between the two communities began to receive the attention of academics, politicians and military leaders alike. No one is unanimously credited for coining the term but academics generally agreed that the term rose to prominence in the late 20th century with the publication of great works by Samuel Huntington, S.E Finer and others who gave the term a new dimension representing a novel academic flair and philosophical aura.

Since then, the term has assumed and retained a position of a functional working hypothesis capable of providing a satisfactory framework for studying and analysing the trade-offs between military organisations and societies especially with the increasing consummation of the ideal doctrine of civilian control of or subordination by the army to civil authorities.

To fully understand and comprehend the essential nature of civil military relations in Zimbabwe, it is imperative to acknowledge from outset the survey opinion of the Afro-barometer which extensively investigated the phenomena of Civil Military relations and reflected on the impact of the army on present day Zimbabwean society. Afro barometer report number 42 of 2004 revealed a groping fear of the military amongst the population rated as high as 82%, the popularity of the military within the population as rated on individual basis stood at 55% whereas that of the police was fixed at 52%. The report concluded that on average over 45% of the population reserved support to national institutions. These statistics significant as they are cannot be overstretched to describe and explain current patterns of civil military relations as their period of focus is misplaced from the new developments of civil military relations.

Ensuring and fostering cordial civil military relations is part of the operational mandates of the Zimbabwean Army through the Directorate of Public Relations which is charged with the duty to guarantee cordial relations between the Army and Civilians. Samuel Huntington and Andrew J Goodpaster (1977) broadly defined civil-military relations as representing a complex set of interrelationships, established norms and practices between the armed forces and other social structures. The sphere where it is most applicable includes politics, the economy, and science and technology etcetera. However, as functional to the purpose of this paper, the discourse of civil-military relations in its simplest meaning implies the nexus between the army and the society it is embedded in and the value and quality of service each side plays to fulfil and enhance its membership responsibility to the (civil-military) partnership. Thus both the army and the citizenry play active roles useful to the wellbeing and welfare of the other. Jenowitz (1971) believed that the military's first duty was to society and if society changed, and altered its strategic goals, the military must adapt to them and that civilians ought to be more familiar with or supportive of the military culture and more expert in military technical matters to enable them to make informed policy decisions.

For example, while it is the exclusive responsibility of the military to protect and defend the population of a particular jurisdiction and maintain the safety and security of the people and

their institutional property , it is also the duty and liability of society to offer able-bodied young man and woman to the army for recruitment and training as well as to contribute to the war and peace efforts of the army by rendition of such services as collaboration, intelligence liaisons, informers and generally to cater and harbour for the welfare of soldiers during armed conflicts. Most importantly, civilians have legal authority over the military and the military has no functional imperatives to retain a culture contrary to the prevailing civilians' values and the military ought to conform in values and beliefs as well as organisational behaviour.

A careful examination of civil military relations in Zimbabwe suggests that while individually held opinions and perceptions about what questions of military conduct or affairs determine proper civil military relations, it needs to be conveniently acknowledged that the impact and influence that such individuals have in shaping civil military trade-offs is significantly limited unless or otherwise assuming that such self-opinionated perceptions represent the broader opinion or group-think of the collective society or community from whence the individuals assert their membership. There is a monumental discord in the conclusions that different scholars drew in their studies of the discourse of civil military relations in Zimbabwe. Others picture an essentially negative civil military trend while others disputes this saying its positive or a blended combination of both. In order to comprehend the true properties of civil military relations in Zimbabwe, the functional roles and operations both present and historical that the army carried out as part of its operational engagements and duties are analysed to see what civil military episodes generated reactions and responses from society and it is precisely these responses or reactions, if the case permits which is used to measure and test the nature of civil military relations. In summary as argued by feminists, the existing gap between the military and society should not exist either because the society should not need a military or because the military should be more like society. The civil military relations boundary /gap in common parlance came about as a result among others of a society ignorant of and therefore unsympathetic to the military's special needs and uninterested in electing officials who would be militarily prudent, a military increasingly isolated from and by indifferent civilians-which ceased to regard its obligations to society and may turn hostile, a military whose size or effectiveness might decline and civilian officials with so little military understanding to be uniquely unqualified to make intelligent military policy.

2.9 Fostering Peace and harmony as a mandate of the Military

The reception of the military in present day Zimbabwean society is also determined and influenced by the engagements and operations that the army undertook either locally or abroad that had direct consequences on the civilian population. The notable engagements include the 1980 entumbane clashes, the second congo war, the 1981 entumbane uprisings, 1987 gukurahundi and Mozambique civil war of 1982-1992 known in local vernacular as “hondo yematsaga”. Of interest here is gukurahundi and Mozambique war which had far reaching implications on the population as it directly involved the Zimbabwean territory and the active involvement of its citizenry. During the Mozambique war which the ZNA participated in mainly to achieve two goals that is defend the trade routes to Beira and to secure and safeguard Zimbabwean borders from overspill effects of the adjacent war theatre. The operations were mainly limited to border towns of mutare , nyamapanda , mukumbura and chiredzi which experienced daily contacts with dissident forces. The ZNA managed to successfully repel of the dissident intrusions and incursions along porous borders and expeditiously evicted people and their properties and livestock from the rear of war with minimum loss of human life or property wasted or damaged. In the eyes of civilians, the army thus became the liberator and saviour of people from falling prey into RENAMO casualties or hostages and this enhanced the status of the military in those communities. Up to the present, those communities are rich with tales and stories from oral sources which vividly glorify and revere the army thus fostering stable civil military relations.

However, in a more contrasting case, the seven yearlong gukurahundi operation provides an example of an engagement that severed civil military relations with the communities where the operation took place. According to Shubin (2008) from onset ZANU and ZAPU were violently opposed to each other and this animosity permeated to ZANLA and ZIPRA .The operation which was mainly concentrated in matebeleland and midlands provinces remains a cause of concern for both the military and the government as it is failing to secure legitimacy in the affected regions and the recent but increasing calls for compensation by the surviving victims as a result of the allegedly military atrocities continues to drag the implementation of and denies the chance of success to national healing and reconciliation policy. Although the main targets of the operation were ZIPRA renegades who refused to surrender their weapons and were fleeing demobilisation, the army through the five brigade- unit largely composed of shona speaking members failed to properly identify the targeted enemy and the operation went out of hand as it raked and ransacked ordinary civilians, their shelter and their

property and all other belongings into the zone of war. The immediate and long term effects of gukurahundi were to manufacture a refractory spirit of dissension manifested today by the concerted efforts of cessation and a low level of regard and respect for state institutions and national values. For example, a considerable number of matebele people do not willingly and voluntarily celebrate the independence day of 1980 April because they believe it was not the independence of Zimbabwe as a whole but of shonas and other shona affiliated tribes.

2.10 Role of the military in the administration of state enterprises and parastatals.

The militarisation of state institutions, public parastatals, civil service boards among other notable national organisations is also instrumental in determining the configuration and morphology of civil military relations. Wiktionary (2013) defines militarisation as the process whereby some procedures becomes controlled by the military or administered in a military fashion. In the context of Zimbabwe, militarisation refers to the act of giving something especially an organisation a military character by or through appointment of military personnel or individuals with history of military service to leadership positions and other influential posts in a civil and non-military organisation. Jenowitz postulated that to balance civil military matrix, the practice of militarisation produces a countering wave of civilianisation of the military. According to him, peacetime military is beginning to have a larger ratio of support jobs to uniquely military combat related jobs. Defence departments are adopting many functions that previously had been provided by the surrounding community such as commissars, social services and others. Janowitzians hailed this as enhancing civilian control over a possibly alienated military. Some however saw the growing structural similarity of military communities to the civilian community as increasing the military's independence of and hence distance from civilian society.

The influence of military personalities in the civilian sectors impinged negatively on both the organisational operations and on civil military relations. The deployment of people with military attachment to run organisations with direct contact with the public portrayed a negative picture of the competence of the army especially when the organisational policies failed to fulfil their priorities. Ever since 2000 when the regimes electoral appeal began to wane and appear anecdotal to all and sundry, military personnel began to strategically infiltrate into and reshuffle from one organisation to another as a strategy by government to ensure not only expeditious service delivery but as a means to maintain and retain control of those bodies which had now become expedient instruments of defending the regime and its ideologies. Notable examples includes Grain Marketing Board, Electoral Supervisory

Commission, National Oil Company of Zimbabwe and a vast of local authorities and city commissions which were appointed to run city councils amidst deteriorating social services support facilities and amenities since 2005. As a result of the abysmal failures of these organisations to their market enclaves- civilians under the control of military leadership did much enough to convince people that the military is a superfluous state organ whose operations sometimes puts it in opposition with civilians .

2.11 Policing Functions as a mandate of the military

The policing function and law enforcement prerogative of the ZNA in particular the application of martial law has been instrumental in shaping and determining civil military relations in Zimbabwe. It is important to note that the exercise of use of force issue is a symptom that the army citizen transactions are seriously impaired (Cronje 1997). While the police is the primary domestic law enforcement organ of the state, the army through the military police and as provided for by relevant statutory instruments also equally shares the responsibility of combating and preventing crime. Apart from the military police working as the law compliance organ of the army, the military also have two intelligence gathering departments with similar functions and duties to those ordinarily found in PISI, CID and at least CIO. The dual structure of military intelligence consist of the Directorate of Military Intelligence and the Military Intelligence Unit which sometimes operate as plain clothes officers, are heavily dreaded by civilians for using inhuman and degrading treatment of interrogation . The extent to which civilians can be subjected to martial law as administered by the military had left a permanent strain on civil military relations as more often concerns are raised though most of them are ignored over the miscellaneous conditions that civilians are subjected to under the behest of the army.

2.12 Role of the Military during state of emergencies

The unlimited role of the Zimbabwean army during state of emergencies had been impeccably singled out as demonstrating a value oriented system that undermines; if anything opposes civilian interests. The civil –military conflict as Huntington views it is primarily imputed to the fact that the military’s function is irreducibly different from anything civilians does and this develops and requires a different culture. That difference was then reinforced and preserved by the natural conservatism of the military. Public emergencies and the military readiness to enforce them has been a common recurring feature of Zimbabwe’s history of constitutionalism and the quest for legal reforms. Under emergency measures, the state would be effectively turned into a disciplinarian state where all powers would be

concentrated and shared between the executive branch and the military establishment usurping the functions of other arms of government as idealised by the model of separation of powers. This paralegal arrangement has not worked well for the military's need to maintain cordial civil military relations.

The military is also blamed by civilian communities for imposing exceedingly unusual and unmerited punishments not warranted by the law when enforcing the requirements for unauthorised wearing of camouflage or anything resembling military regalia or insignia. A more recent example illustrating the ubiquitous and all-encompassing roles of the military has been witnessed in Baba Jukwa case which the military followed so closely and was so immersed in. Baba Jukwa, it is said, was an anonymous and faceless Facebook blogger who in the run-up to the 2013 harmonised elections dished out compromising and sensitive in-house information that severely damaged government officials. Throughout the arrest and trial of the suspected culprit, the army remained an interested party in the proceedings and actively undertook investigations alongside the police. This involvement and participation by the military in issues that does not directly affect and temper with the broader national security and defence created a negative image of the army in the eyes of the citizens and the international community as people continue to wonder the implications of military's usurpation of police duties and functions.

2.13 Enforcing Municipal by-laws as part of the functions of the military in Zimbabwe

More recently, reports had been awash in both local and foreign media outlets that Zimbabwean military was deploying its members into the towns and metropolitan cities to evict street vendors from selling their wares on undesignated sites. Although this could not be counted as the first time involving an open confrontation between the military and certain sections of civilians, the mere presence of soldiers in prosecuting municipal by-laws which are statutorily mandated duties of municipal police and other internal means of control invited a litany of criticism from the civilians and international community as it blurs and defies the standard principles of civil military relations. The municipal – military cooperation seems to be inherently strong in Zimbabwe. For example in 2012 local authorities in the capital Harare and other towns and cities contracted the military to return sanity in the public transportation sector by dealing with the mushrooming and sprouting cases of touting. Thus here again, the army was deployed to curb and deal with the problems created by rank marshals and touters who wilfully violated the regulations of Municipal Traffic Enforcement Act but the operation was however terminated before the expiration of

its planned life span as the usually rough handling tactics by the army once again boiled down to questions of political loyalties. Although the planned military participation in removing or driving out vendors from the streets and lanes never became a reality, this conspiratorial episode embittered the civilians and further widened the gap between these two communities.

2.14 Environmental Management and the Military in Zimbabwe

Military assistance to troubled communities such as through flood abatement, military aid and donations, army charities and welfare assistance program had greatly enhanced civil military relations in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the contribution of military schools and clinics to enable underprivileged students and pupils to have affordable access to education and healthcare has gone a long way in cultivating quality civil military relations. The military also engages the community through presiding over career guidance workshops, seminars on peacekeeping, participating in social functions like sporting activities and all this is proving to be a necessary ingredient in palliating and embellishing the standards of civil military relations. Furthermore, the current military efforts to eradicate minefields of their lethal hazards by undertaking landmine recovery operations is receiving a warm and heroic welcome by affected communities and this is ideally working towards the establishment of meaningful civil military relations. In heavily mine infested areas such as Dande, Chiredzi, Karoi, Murehwa among others, the army is pictured in good light as they are seen as harbouring community interests.

Assisting the government in addressing challenges facing communities is also part of the military obligation to improve the social, economic and political ties that the army shares with the broader society. The ZNA has sponsored a multiplicity of projects and programs which are of great benefit to members of the public. It has built various schools countrywide supplied hospitals with medical equipment and clinical personnel, provided drought relief and actively participates in disaster response operations like evacuation of people from flood prone areas like Muzarabani and more recently the ZNA offered to help Tokwe –Mukhosi flood victims. The army also boasts of sponsoring various initiatives meant to empower and benefit the society and economically disadvantaged communities and individuals. Among the initiatives includes the ZDF charity fund and ZDF benefit fund. The benefit fund continues to enhance the welfare and financial well-being of its members through the provision of accommodation and financial assistance. Since its establishment in 1998, the fund has assisted members by providing loans, purchasing of stands and construction of housing units

across the country. For example army construction projects at Dzivarasekwa housing project, 5,2 infantry battalion housing project and construction of flats and diagnostic laboratory at Fylde airbase helped to replace the seemingly axiomatic beliefs planted in people that the army is only useful during wars. The combined fund that is the charity fund and benefit fund boasts more than 35 000 members and seeks to fulfil MDGs and a total of 3567 houses have been built and handed over to beneficiaries of the defence forces. (Herald of 12 August 2014) These projects are repairing civil military relations and have greatly contributed to the new conceptualisation and realisation that the ZNA is a responsive organisation which harbours the concerns and plight of communities and their leaders.

The ZNA has extended and offered its hand to help vulnerable communities fight diseases, poverty and other natural catastrophes. In 2014 the army established a fund to help cater for widows suffering from non- communicable diseases. The ZDF through the military intended to raise \$2,5 million through its annual golf tournament and fundraising dinner to assist war veterans as well as spouses and widows of defence forces personnel suffering from non-communicable diseases (NCDs).To this end, the military has fostered community development and has brokered various strategic partnerships with an array of organisations and other stakeholders with the goal of creating conditions necessary to attain and strengthen community awareness and preparedness to respond to environmental risks and natural hazards. In the field of risk and disaster management, the Zimbabwean military has joined forces with the civil protection unit in their joint endeavours to create synergies for timeous rehabilitation of affected communities.

The ZNA helped by offering advice and assistance in formulating emergency measures like building of makeshift houses, repairing shattered road transport ,deciding on waste disposal methods as well as providing social welfare support amenities like healthy and education facilities to cater for the affected communities and populations. As a result of this, to both the local and the broader society of Zimbabwe, the image of the army was greatly enhanced and adored. The participation of the army in promoting and strengthening the capacity of communities to handle their affairs and attain self -sufficiency through encouraging micro-economic rebound after cataclysmic tragedies helped to foster trust between communities and their army and establish mutually reinforcing civil-military relations by dislodging the conventional ideological beliefs which epitomise the role of the military in the entire aspects of human life as a characteristic function of war.

2.15 Bureaucracy as a factor shaping the mandates of the military in Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe as is elsewhere in the developing countries where incumbent governments are led by former liberation movements, the relationship between the regime, its bureaucracy and the military is mutual and cordial as each party is committed to the other in the provision of services essential to the life and survival of the other. Although examples are replete galore of post-colonial governments or parties that failed to secure, maintain and retain the control and command of its armed forces, the patterns and trends of most countries indicate the imposition of political agendas on military priorities. With reference to Zimbabwe, the objectives of creating a one party state soon after attaining political independence meant that the tasks of preparing sufficient political conditions necessary to advertise and market this vision demanded that the army take active steps and measures to handle the resistance and palpable tensions that usually characterise such political grand-scheming. In return, the military will be given political approval to access certain substantive benefits not ordinarily warranted under normal circumstances and to enforce its views and agendas to society without political obstructions as long as it compromises not the national interest and security of the state. To trace the relations between the army and its political counterparts and explore their patterns, various institutional arrangements through which the military formally or informally meets and interfaces with the government and possibly the ruling party –if the situation so permits is discussed and analysed here under. These include JOC, national Security Council, the ministry of defence, the defence forces service commission as well as the civil service commission which constitutes the institutional framework for managing and implementing the security and defence policy in Zimbabwe.

As a matter of statutory policy, the security forces of Zimbabwe including the army, the police, prisons and correctional services, the intelligence and of recent National Youth Service interfaces with the government formally through the National Security Council as per the national security council act of 2008. The Council meets on every Mondays and is chaired by the president in his capacity as the chief of the defence forces and the plenary meetings of NSC are attended by selected ministries who are stakeholders in the security sector framework and these include the ministries of defence, home affairs, states security, foreign affairs, and local government. The NSC is principally charged and assigned with the

task formulating and monitoring the implementation of policies to do with a wide spectrum of socio-economic and political fabric of Zimbabwe. In practice however the NSC is nothing more than a bickering and political wrangling platform as it is a product of interparty compromise and thus there is no consensus on how its policies and recommendations can be adopted and implemented. If anything, it is nothing more than a cosmetic window dressing as genuine and actual decision making process takes place through JOC –which is a strategic axis and intersection point between the security apparatus and the ZANU PF led government of Zimbabwe. According to southern Africa report (2011), JOC meets the president weekly to receive and review intelligence reports from across the country and to make policy recommendations to the NSC on the basis of those intelligence reports and is replicated at provincial and district level where in addition to the usual representatives of the security ministries, the provincial governors and district administrators are included and chairs JOC meetings at provincial and district level respectively. The report further noted that once the NSC has noted and adopted the recommendations they are then presented to ZANU PF politburo-the highest decision making body and implementation arm of the central committee and if approved by the politburo the recommendations will then be tabled before cabinet for final adoption as official government policy. To ensure there are no delays in the process of policy formulation, JOC and NSC meetings are held on every Monday, politburo meetings every Tuesday and cabinet meetings every Wednesday. It can thus take less than a week for JOC recommendations to pass through all the stages of approval (Southern Africa report (2011)).

Administratively, the ministry of defence (MoD) is the primary and parent ministry which oversees and retains ultimate authority over the ZNA and provides the link and connection through which the military interacts and relates with other arms and bodies of the government, the private sector, civil society organisations and representatives of foreign governments. The budget of ZNA is released through the ministry of defence which sets and fixes expenditure levels, approves projects of the army, regulates the procurement and supply of new weapons and consignments, controls recruitment and training and determines the standards and opportunities for further education of the members of the military. Hierarchically, the ministry is headed by the minister who represents the ministry parliament with the assistance of a deputy minister and the two constitutes the political face of the ministry and below them is permanent secretary who leads and directs all administrative affairs. The commander of the defence forces occupies the position immediately after the

minister and is followed by the commander of the army (left wing) and the commander of the air-force (left wing) structured in an astride fashion. Internally, the minister chairs the defence council and approves the defence council command resolutions and strategies. MoD is responsible for operational efficiency of the defence forces, formulates national defence strategies and is the key implementer of defence policies, guides and regulations.

The defence forces service commission- a statutory organ created in terms of section 34 part IV of the defence act is also a relevant bureaucratic stakeholder which links the Zimbabwean military to political authorities. According to defence act chapter 11:02 of 1981 as provided in section 34 sub-section 1 paragraph a and b the functions of the commission are to make recommendations to the ministry of defence regarding salaries and general conditions of service members of the defence forces and to inquire into, deal with complaints other than complaints relating to disciplinary action by any member of the defence forces. The commission is thus empowered to handle all staffing issues of the military as well as other managerial and labour related affairs of the ZNA. However, the uniformed forces of Zimbabwe which have the “essential services status” as per the labour relations act are not allowed to belong to any labour union. The defence forces service commission thus also assumes responsibilities of communicating the grievances of uniformed forces and of dispute resolution. It is also through the commission that ZNA shares and identifies itself with labour court, administrative court and civil service commission-the recruitment arm of the government. Thus the commission is the central hub that drives and coordinates the outside engagements by the military.

2.16 Accountability and transparency in the mandates of the Zimbabwe national Army

According to Kuye and Mafunise (2003) as quoted in Ssonko (2010) it is now general reality that the quest of public responsibility and accountability in government has been stimulated in most democratic states. The constitution of Zimbabwe mandates the military to execute its duties and exercise its roles in conformity and in tandem with the recognised standards and principles of good governance such as transparency, responsiveness and accountability. Chapter 11 part 2 section 214 of the constitution requires that there be political accountability in the manner and way through which the defence forces are deployed and that there be full disclosure of information regarding the operations and engagements by the army. Accountability as defined by Ssonko (2010) means that those who exercise power whether as governments, elected representatives or as appointed officials must be able to show that they have exercised their powers and discharged their duties properly. However as functional to

the purpose of the army, accountability will be defined in terms of the responsibility of government and its agents towards the public to achieve previously set objectives and to account for them in public (Meyer 1995). Transparency is defined by Chapman (2000) as meaning the act of giving reasons for decisions and actions taken and restricting access to information only when doing that compromises public interests. It implies openness, communication and accountability Ssonko (2010) and finally responsiveness refers to the quality and ability of the system to adjust and react to changes, threats and conditions embedded in both its proximity and territorial space.

In their quest to fulfil and uphold the ethical needs of accountability and transparency, the Zimbabwean military undertakes a number of activities meant to enhance and improve their public image by engaging and involving various stakeholders in their work such as parliament. The parliament scrutinises the business of the military by summoning members of the armed forces to appear before parliamentary portfolio committee of defence and home affairs where military personnel will be asked and required to answer oral questions without notice pertaining to any aspect or project of the military. The portfolio committee provides supervisory mechanisms and it also acts as an oversight and review panel where the entire aspects of the military are formally brought or subjected to legal scrutiny by competent and professional organs in order to test and validate or otherwise such aspects at all levels of law. However this has not always been effective as sometimes the summoned officials will simply refuse to budge the required information especially where they stand to lose or benefit. There were also instances where the military will not avail its members to the committee as per the summons citing the prohibitions of classified information as provided for in AIPPA, POSA and other pieces of legislation.

Apart from appearing before parliamentary portfolio committees, the army also organises and hosts workshops and seminars as way of reporting back to the community on issues relating to the military. Offering feedback allows the military to open up avenues for public complaints against the army to be timeously and expeditiously resolved. It also allows members of the public or organisations representing communities to follow up and pursue on any subject of the military that might interest them. Workshops conducted by the military in Zimbabwe has mainly been meant to cater on a number of issues such as carrier guidance, peacekeeping seminars and luncheons, disaster and risk management and other services such as agricultural extension support. The idea of workshops and seminars though noble in itself has not been successfully implemented in Zimbabwe as the army drafts and selects what will

and what will not be factored in the agenda of the workshops. This has left some subjects of concern to be given lip service or wholesomely swept under the carpet.

Granting interviews and press conferences for broadcasting to the public has also been a fundamental pillar of promoting public awareness by the army in Zimbabwe. This is meant to enhance engagement with the public and widen communication, openness and accessibility to the military. Interviews and press conferences in the electronic and print media provided a chance for the army to justify its projects, missions and commitments and the motives behind. Nevertheless, the careful selection of what journalist or media houses will be allowed to participate has compromised the usefulness of this method as it is now merely used to rubber stamp the will of those within the military institution. Accompanying this has been media propaganda, media manipulation, sensationalism, sound-bite journalism and all the various other problems that have minimized coverage of deeper issues and understanding while allowing various claims to go almost unchallenged (Anup Shah 2013).

To promote proper and mutual civil military relations and widen the cope of military interaction with a variety of relevant stakeholders, the Zimbabwe national army carries out and participates in public exhibitions and business expo in various capacities through its specialised units or divisions. These includes agricultural shows, Zimbabwe international trade fair, Sanganani/ Hlanganani and others. According to the information on the official home web page of the Zimbabwe national army –www.zna.gov.zw, exhibitions are also carried out at schools, colleges and universities upon requests by those institutions. It also participates in all provincial shows and selected district shows. The exhibitions are mostly tailor-made to showcase the institutional set up of the military and their products. However the demands and interests of transparency cannot be delivered by merely exhibiting the combat strengths and activities of the military without paying attention to the more important questions of military necessity and restraint.

The use of magazines, websites, face book accounts and bulletins to disseminate information about a range of issues is also means by which the military streamlines its activities to meet the demands of accountability, responsiveness and transparency. These methods provide current news about the various aspects of the socio-economic and political activities of the military. The web page of ZNA provides an instant platform for dialogue where people can ask questions in written form about anything and get instant responses without necessarily traveling or arranging an interview schedule. Despite of these vital facilities, these methods

still lag behind as not everyone can have access to these modern tools which might prove expensive to the average person in the rural and remote areas. The content of the magazines may also be influenced by political factors leading to propaganda and sensationalism.

2.17 Public- Private partnership as a factor shaping the mandate of the army in Zimbabwe

Because resource constraints means that the abilities of the military to respond to situations and conditions is hampered, establishing partnerships with public and private players has become a fundamental goal of the military institutions as this strengthens and capacitate its efforts to be responsive and proactive. To this end, the Zimbabwe national army has contracted and formed a number of partnerships with civic organisations and statutory bodies in their endeavour to remain a resilient force to reckon. Among other organisations that the army has entered into contractual agreements with is the International Society of Red Cross, Civil Protection Unit, Parks and Wildlife Authority of Zimbabwe, fire departments of municipalities and city councils, Church based groups, Schools and Hospitals. It has also established multi-task forces with the armies of other countries both in the region and internationally.

The liaison between the Zimbabwe national army and the civil protection unit is one of the longest and permanent partnership that the army shares with a non-military entity. The partnership is geared to provide lasting solutions to natural disasters and hazardous risks by developing robust mechanism to handle such challenges. It also carries out risk assessments; provide relief support and rehabilitation of victims of calamities, formulating coping and improvisory strategies among others. The civil protection unit was established in terms of the civil protection Act and administratively it falls under the ministry of local government. The key result areas of the unit are to provide reliable solutions to hazardous risks such as drought, veld fires, floods, epidemics, traffic accidents and environmental degradations. To properly discharge its duties, the unit depends on the military for additional manpower support and facilities such as chopper (helicopters), all-terrain vehicles, tents, and cargo carriers' etcetera. The unit also works with the Meteorological services Department and the Zimbabwe vulnerability assessment committee which provides monitoring teams on continuous basis to assess the constantly changing conditions of society and on climate and whether patterns irrespectively.

The International society of Red Cross and the Zimbabwe national army enjoys cordial and mutual working relations in arears of de-mining of landmines, assisting landmine victims and rehabilitation, medical aid and support to landmine infested communities. The society also offers training courses for would be de-miners and provides the funding and equipment to be used when de-mining the cluster munitions and landmines. Ever since the imposition of sanctions on Zimbabwe which closed the lines of credit support and development aid from the Bretton woods and bilateral donations from European Union countries, the Zimbabwean army has increasingly depended on Red Cross to broaden its efforts to fulfil the goals of the Mine Ban Treaty.

ZNA also nurtures relations with Churches, schools and hospitals. While the military own some public schools, church based organisations have of late been identified with the military on a number of issues of common interests. Churches participate in some functions of the military such as funerals where they join hands with the burial societies of the members of the armed forces. They also provides training to military personnel pursuing religious and theology studies as is required for the positions of chaplain. The military institution also nurtures relations with a variety of public hospitals scattered across the country in the provision of healthcare with respect to particular diseases such as non-communicable diseases.

The military partnership with the Parks and Wildlife Management department is one of the longest serving public- private partnership that the Zimbabwean army has sustained since independence. The partnership is anchored around the need to curb endemic poaching of wildlife resources in the countries games reserve, conservancies and ranches. The military actively participates in search and destroy missions and supplies sentry services to guard strategic points in game reserves and other border patrol units to impound smuggled products of game products and suppress the movement of poachers to and fro the country.

Partnering with armies of other countries and establishing joint training and multi task forces with regional armies has been at the centre of the engagement strategies of the Zimbabwe national army. Today, the Zimbabwean army has befriended a number of armed forces from the region notably Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia, Angola and DRC among others. This was meant to create synergies to enhance the efforts to curb the new regional threats of terrorism coupled with an unprecedented proliferation of small arms and light weaponry. These arrangements are also designed to promote inter-operability, enhancing the transfer and

sharing of skills and services not available to the other and ensuring and strengthening regional security by jointly suppressing and purging of dissident and renegades movements.

2.18 Amenability and flexibility of the roles and activities of the military to its mandates

It has been maintained for generations that the quality and standards of the roles and services of the military to communities is a direct product of adequate training, access to continued learning and education enhancement, the ability and flexibility of military doctrine to adapt to changes, attributes and strengths of institutional leadership and the availability of support services and facilities. Quality service is essential to enhance public confidence and respect of the armed forces by the society and this nurtures and improves civil military relations and thus it is recognised that the military should strive to attain quality service. With reference to the Zimbabwe national army, there have been challenges in the quality of work done by the army and the attainment of professional military output mainly due to lack of institutional resources, massive retirements of experienced personnel at the height of economic meltdown of 2008 and lack of modern equipment's coupled by down-cutting of military budget which tempered with procurement and supply of new weapons and military accessories. Nevertheless these challenges strong as they are did not mean that the operational efficiency of the army was curtailed as the Zimbabwean military continue to demonstrate to be versatile and resilient as it developed robust problem solving and challenges busting measures and strategies for improvisation one of which was the forging of strategic partnership of cooperation with other friendly armies in the region as well as with an array of private organisations.

Researches indicate that the Zimbabwe national army is one of the best disciplined and professional forces outstanding throughout Africa (Nairaland Forum 2009). The army has been instrumental in peacekeeping operations and various other operations in Angola, Mozambique, Sudan, East Timor, Fiji, DRC and many others. The Zimbabwe national army is a collective repository of military efficiency to be regarded with reverence and if reformed at all must be with due respect to the continuity of its traditions. Zimbabwe national army commander lieutenant general Phillip Valerio Sibanda cautioned society not to take or treat the military staff lightly because they are leaders, organisers, tacticians strategist and managers whose duties entail enormous responsibilities. They are accountable for operational efficiency and effectiveness and overseeing the training, discipline, welfare and carrier development of solders under their command. Thus the assumption that Zimbabwe is

inherently secure yields a certain indifference to questions of military efficiency (Munendoro 2012)

2.19 Case study – Egyptian armed forces

Egypt provides a perfect example of a military whose roles and duties ideally position it in the league of ZNA since it emerged from a situation more or less similar to that of Zimbabwean military. Having gained independence from the reluctant British authorities after a not so violent campaign beginning in 1918 carried out by militants under the leadership of Muslim Brotherhood and resulting in the exodus of the British in 1922. The departing authorities left the governance affairs of the country under a monarchy and the new country was recognised as United Kingdom of Egypt under a king who was expected to preside over the entire institutional arrangements of the kingdom. Meanwhile, the military embarked on a campaign of integrating the various but informal groups that carried out the revolution. The process as it always does resulted in remarkable patterns and forms of violence between and among the various units of the army due to the perceived marginalization of non- Muslim members within the army. With the coming into effect of the Republic which supplanted the kingdom in 1953 and restructured the army to become one of the largest military in Africa and Middle East, the role and status of the Egyptian armed forces came under spotlight and became a subject of public scrutiny. Questions of civilian loyalty and independence from political authorities became the order of the day culminating in debates about security sector re-adjustment. The dynamic and widely expanding roles of the army became a centre of public inquiries with particular interest on the legality of those roles at in face of the constitution. The Egyptian case is useful and relevant to the Zimbabwean scenario because it provides a window through which the current challenges of public acceptance for the army can be analysed and be resolved without necessarily invoking the overhaul of the military system as a whole.

2.20 Case study: Chinese People's liberation army

Zimbabwe's military set up largely mirrors the organisational arrangements, methods and doctrines of the armed forces of China. The people's liberation army which succeeded the Red army of the communist party of china in 1927 was a largely peasant drawn army which used guerrilla warfare strategies as its primary method of engaging the enemy. Like the Zimbabwe national army it arose out of a revolutionary background and it participated in the war against Japan and the subsequent Cultural Revolution. The liberation struggles in Zimbabwe were carried out under the operational models of the Chinese Red Army were they

received training, technical support and ideological orientation. The political subjectivity of the Chinese army and its relationship to the communist party which is seen as undemocratic has compromised the credibility of the army as pressures continues to mount on both the political and military authorities to reform the system. On the whole, the roles of the Chinese army which are shaped by its historical evolution and ideological values are now being seen as obsolete in an age where democracy and human rights are the central theme and focus of government. What connects ZNA to the red army is the ideologies that the army cherishes and shares among its members which directly affects institutional practices, relations with other stakeholders and civilians thus the articulation of the socio-economic and political activities of the Zimbabwean army requires the application of relevant situation and case data from the communist China since both countries share and adhere to semiosis communist principles.

2.21 Chapter Summary

In a nutshell, the chapter addressed the relevant literature and identified pertinent theories that informed and underpinned the study. Some of the major components that constitute this chapter includes the review of existing literature to satisfy the ends of establishing the gaps and omissions present as is necessary to understand the significance of the study. A documentation of relevant theoretical frameworks and dogmatic paradigms enlightening the research was carefully done with special attention being offered to the applicability of such theories in contributing to the understanding of the phenomena or subject under consideration. The review of literature was done conscious of the need to establish a gap that justified the need for scientific inquiry in order to answer the questions that were raised in the course of this project. The theories identified were assessed carefully taking note of their relative strengths and weaknesses especially emphasising the applicability of the views contained therein.

A discussion of the legal framework and policy considerations which provides the regulatory guidelines for the military activities and the required standards and quality of military output was also dealt with, while also offering relevant regional and international case studies from China and Egypt in order to trace the patterns of military conformity to legal commitments and thus enabling external validation or invalidation of the roles of the Zimbabwean military. Issues of service excellence, transparency and accountability, organisation- society connections and public private partnerships by the Zimbabwean army were also considered and addressed. It can thus be concluded that the primary question of military compliance with the legal and constitutional provisions cannot be satisfactorily answered as there are sufficient

reasons to believe that the current laws in place are ambiguous and vague thus they are liable to manipulation and subjective interpretation and application. As a result, it is acknowledged that there are emerging gaps in the actual roles of the Zimbabwe national army and the regulations guiding those roles.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 Data Presentation and Analysis

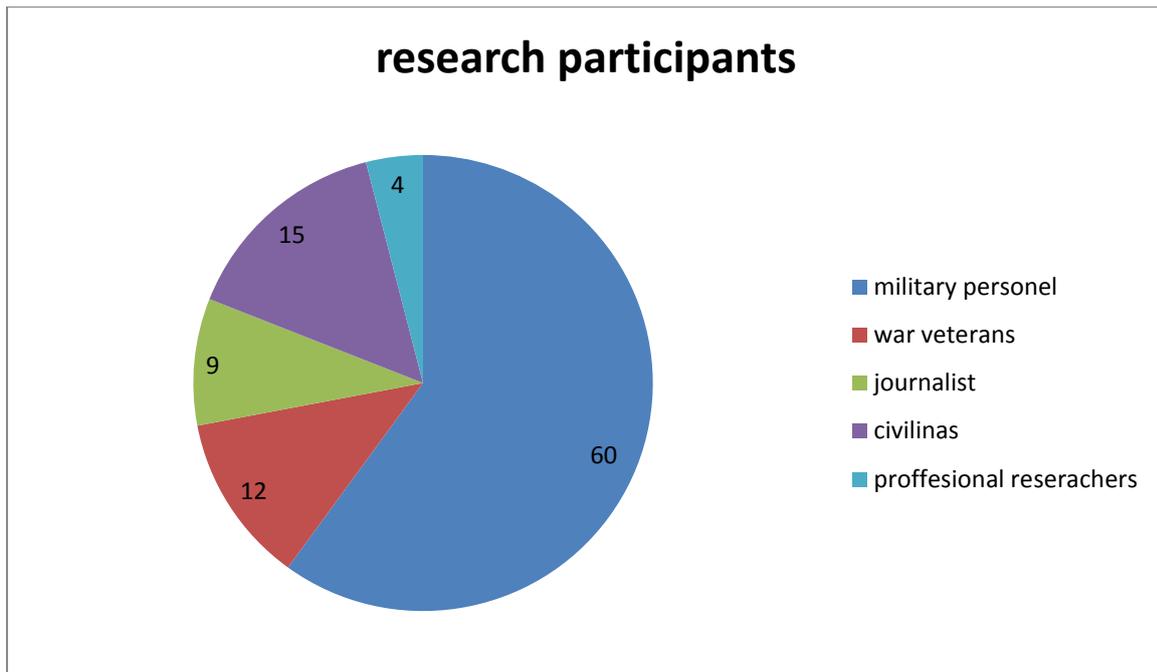
3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with field work and fieldwork results. In the exordium, it opens up by narrating all the observable aspects of the research, identifying and detailing the stages involved in the fieldwork, explaining the methodologies used and giving an outline of the data presentation methods utilised along with a brief justification for the choice of each method indicated. A substantial part of this section also discussed the procedures of data analysis and interpretation and presented the test results as research findings and hypotheses - if any and arrives at new conclusions answering the research objectives and questions.

3.2 Response Rate

The response rate which is also known as cooperation rate refers to the calculable number of eligible sample units that favourably cooperated in the survey. As a rule of thumb, the quality of survey results and estimates directly depends on proportion of participating sample units. Time is the most influential factor determining the response rate especially where questionnaires are to be returned later or posted. In order to calculate the response rate for the present research, it is imperative to identify the various study groups that participated as respondents in the research. These include military personnel, war veterans, civilians, journalist and researchers. These groups and elements under them were then aggregated and summed up to a study population of forty five respondents who were supposed to respond through questionnaire's and interviews. Respondents in the military service member's category which constitutes sixty percent of the total respondents or sample composition are disintegrated into four major departmental or formational sub-units which are; five brigade , military police, army public relations and the education corps.

Below is a pie chart which was used to illustrate the response rate expressed as a percentage of the various institutions that were selected for answering the research questions and objectives. The chart shows the relevant stakeholders and their relative contribution as the research participants.



Military personnel- the military service member category constituted the largest chunk of the respondents in the statistics of institutional representation indicated above. The choice for allocating military personnel the largest quota or share was influenced by the realisation that some of the details about the military are technical and specialised thus without a majority of respondents coming from the military institution, no meaningful appreciation of the varied and complex phenomena of the military discipline can be guaranteed.

War veterans- these provided 12% of the aggregate respondents. These were carefully chosen from the ranks of the retired ex-combatants of the Zimbabwe national army. Because this group constitutes the reserve force of the Zimbabwean army, it was decided that they be allotted a minor quota because the information and knowledge they will supply is more or less the same with that offered by the active members of the army. However because the war veterans and the current members of the army belongs to different periods of service and generations, their participation will help understand the changes in civil military relations across time.

Journalist- These settled for 9% and included mostly editors and columnist of certain print media. Journalist were useful because they could aptly articulate some aspects of civil military relations not in their capacity as media practitioners but as integral members of the society in ways and means that are much better than what the general citizens could have done. Although their perceptions might be influenced by the nature of their work or carriers,

their participation provided a wealthy of professional and competent information that can be easily comprehended at the level of scientific inquiry.

Civilians- they constituted the second largest stock of 15%. They provided the researcher with a lot of pertinent information useful for judging the nature of civil military trade-offs. They provided a glimpse of the perception of people regarding the position of their military. Focus on the civilians also enables the researcher to answer to questions of military service excellence and the degree of public acceptance of the military.

Professional researchers – these included certain individual researchers and professional policy research institutes on security and defence issues. The most notable was the Peace and Security Databank Project- specialised department within SAPES Trust and the Zhubawo Institute. Because the information they have is fundamentally secondary, these comprised of a paltry figure of only 4% which was the maximum allowable quota to be reserved for this category. Nonetheless, because of their expert knowledge imputed to years of experience in research on topics and subjects material to military security and defence, the relevance of this group was of utmost importance.

Although members of the military indicated some interests in participating as respondents, their involvement was limited and fixed as they could not open endedly express themselves beyond the scope of the questions posed. This was testimony of the influence of various policy frameworks that prohibited and de-incentivised the respondents to fully and holistically cater for the questions asked. War veterans on the other hand showed enthusiasm and unencumbered interest in the research as they supplied a wealthy of information rich of details and thus enabled the researcher to follow up and pursue on interesting subjects arising out of the interviews. This could have been a result of their wanting to be remembered and to bequeath a legacy to incoming generations. Also the interview method which was the major instrument used and applied to them proved useful as people indicated a tendency to express themselves more freely by verbal means as opposed to questionnaires. Civilians were very reluctant to divulge information because of distrust and lack of proper understanding to the ends of the research. More oftenly they were concerned about the possibilities of future victimisation and political retributions as the subject raised and was pregnant of political overtones and partisan connotations.

3.3 Fieldwork engagements and data collection

In this study, the research participants ranged from soldiers, war veterans, policy analyst, journalist and civilians. The opinions and perceptions of these people were used as key decision making inputs in the refinement process which generated the thematic research findings. In order to answer and solve both the primary and secondary research questions, qualitative and quantitative research methods were used and methods here impliedly refers to the means to apply or obtain or secure information. Trochim (2000) views qualitative methodologies as premised on the recognition of the significance of particular social, cultural and historical context. Quantitative methods on the other hand places emphasis on statistical formulas and calculable values or variables as guides to explaining research problems.

As a way of selecting and recruiting the ideal respondents from a potentially endless pool of participants, the fieldwork was structured on the basis of survey designs and guidelines where probability and non-probability methods apply. The collection of data using surveys is twofold that is either through census or sample. The census type involves the researcher consulting all the entire subjects of an area under study in totality. Contrary to the census method, a sample is when the researcher picks a fraction of the population to represent the rest. Examples were picked from various general and specialised units of ZNA. Due to the nature of the distribution of data, economical and time considerations, the researcher resorted to the sample type where the selection of the few that represents the rest was the primary bases of participant recruitment. Surveys can be cross sectional or longitudinal, the former referring to those that gather data from a simple point or event in time while the later focus on and attends to a long period of time which may enable the researcher to analyse and explain the evolutions and trajectory in the research phenomena (Babbie 1977).

This research was longitudinal for as much as it attempted to investigate events between 1980-2015. It enabled the researcher to find out what and why changes in the roles of the Zimbabwean army are happening and the ramifications they engender. It also offers the researcher a chance to analyse the cause and effect relationships between the economic, social and political roles of the army and its regulatory legal framework in the context of civil military relations in Zimbabwe. According to Beam (2005) surveys are an indirect way of assessing levels, baseline for future objectives, to determine if objectives are met and to analyse trends over time. Surveys are useful when gathering information about perceptions attitudes and behaviours. The most appropriate applications for surveying are those where participants uniquely qualified to provide information.

3.4 Procedures in data collection

The initial stage in collecting primary data is to conduct situation analysis and stakeholder identification. The situational attributes and the relevant stakeholders are interwoven factors that affect and impinge on the research in more than enough ways. The basic question of “who wields interests in the research and its findings” needs to be answered at this stage through a careful and meticulous identification of salient stakeholders who directly or indirectly impacts on the research. Stakeholders are the individuals or groups of individuals who actively participates in sourcing the required data. In a research geared towards the study of military roles and activities, the following may be considered as pertinent stakeholders; serving personnel, retired or ex-combatants, war veterans, professional researchers and academia, policy consultancy firms and experts on peace and security matters.

After stakeholder identification, the researcher acquired research permits and clearance notices from the public relations department of the ZNA. The clearance serves to inform the respondents that the research is duly sanctioned and it contains an outline of the scope and magnitude of the research. The clearance notification is a standard procedural requirement when studying military affairs in Zimbabwe since a direct approach to military personnel without the clearance will not yield any positive result due to the sensitive and classified nature and taxonomy of information pertaining to military activities. This will therefore help in securing maximum cooperation. Application letters were summum bonum research permit sent to identified units and the letters were attached with supporting letters from the students’ academic department of Politics and Public Management (PPM) bearing the details of the researcher and the university logo.

Following the distribution of application letters, a detailed needs assessment exercise was undertaken in order to identify the resources to be used. This culminated in a bill of quantity covering the period of fieldwork, the budget estimates taking into account transport and subsistence, consultation and research fees of the national archives and other external resources to be used. It is also at this stage that an exploration of research instruments and data collection methods is done. Along with the questionnaire, structured interviews, observation method, historical and documentary analysis were used as the principal tools of sourcing the data. A micro based pilot test was carried out to determine the effectiveness and suitability of the research instruments and the results were noted and applied later.

The pilot survey enabled the researcher to understand the opportunities and challenges embedded in the fieldwork. One such observable challenge was the sheer labour and tension created by the intensive and holistic hands on approach required in a research like this. To resolve this challenge, the researcher recruited and trained research assistance who would help to handle the multiple tasks associated with the research and requiring attention from the researcher. After ascertaining the competence, pedigree and prowess of the research trainees, the actual field engagement starts as pre-arranged in the project plan of action

Finally, the data collected and recoded is then coded, processed and analysed according to the preferred analysis genre by the researcher. It therefore follows that collected data needs to be analysed to test its validity before it is stored, published or used as the decision making guide.

3.5 Data Presentation and Analysis Procedures

Bell (1987) explains that obtained data in research will have little meaning unless it is analysed and interpreted. The data obtained was collected in order to purposively address the research questions and objectives. Descriptive and explanatory narratives were used to interpret and analyse data and determine the most suitable methods for presenting the analysed data. According to Cresswell (2006) data analysis is a method of research that focuses on collecting, analysing and refining data mixing both qualitative and quantitative data in a single study or series of study. The duty of data analysis in research is to assess, verify and systematically organise data in order to test and meet the condition of reliability and validity. The information presented here has been gathered via both primary and secondary sources of data. The two complement each other and neither can be useful in the absence of the other. The information from interviews and questionnaire-which were the primary objects on which this research is premised, was used to identify, describe and explain the somewhat clouded roles of the military and to develop and conceptualise a national model or checklist system of the roles of the military based on the integrated and inter-disciplinary responses as applied to the research questions by the participant respondents. The collected data is arranged, organised and classified into source categories (ie war vets, journalists, service members, civilians and professional researchers) on the basis of what entity/respondent sourced the data and this enhances clarity when tracing the people to people or community to community variation of civil military relations.

The resultant data was presented in the form or with the aid of tables, graphs, line graphs, pie charts, diagrams and write ups in the form of texts. In order to accurately present the data,

thematic approaches were utilised. The pictorial illustrations and colouring enhancements associated with the above presentation methods enabled the researcher to aptly capture and clarify the causal relationships between many dependant and independent variables. Although a variety of data analysis methods could have qualified as suitable, the choice of the analysis genre was prompted by the nature of the distribution of data and the characteristics of the entities sourcing the data and the type of research instruments employed. For example it would be illogical to apply discourse analysis to analyse and verify data sourced by the interview method because discourse analysis implies qualitative tests which may not be necessarily relevant in the ordinarily statistically driven and quantitative based interview methods. Thus the question and predilection of the type of data analysis to be used fundamentally depends and is primarily prompted by the contextual environment and set up within which the research thrived which was largely geared towards secondary sources which thus require a careful scrutiny of both the validity and reliability of the information contained in the texts.

The applicable types of data analysis are textual analysis, discourse analysis, content analysis and historical studies. These analysis methods are relevant as they involve a systematic research technique that focus on the analysis of both qualitative and quantitative manifests or latent meaning of words, ideas, phrases, postures, objectives and artefacts. Content and textual analysis were used to analyse data obtained from the questionnaires and documentary reviews respectively. In both cases, the interests of the researcher would to test the accuracy and reliability of the information and its sources in order to interpret and present it a logical ad chronological manner. Historical and discourse analyses which are largely secondary methods of verifying the recurring patterns and trajectory in literature will be used as a way of subjecting the data obtained from desk top research and documentary review to scientific scrutiny.

Table 1 below captures the selection and distribution of respondent: sample texture and response rate

Composition	Population	Questionnaire	Interview	# respondents
5 brigade	6	4	2	4
Education corps	7	3	4	5
Public relations	8	4	4	5
Military police	5	3	2	3

War veterans	6	2	4	6
Civilians	7	3	4	5
Journalist	4	2	2	3
Researchers	2	1	1	2
Total	45	22	23	62%

The distribution of the formations composing the sample of military service member category where taken from different areas. The **directorate of army public relations** is the department responsible for disseminating information of military activities and highlights the army achievements. It promotes public appreciation of ZNA capabilities and limitations. It is based at Defence House in Harare and a total of eight respondents were taken from this study unit from which five successfully availed and disposed them to the researcher.

The **five brigade** based at Battlefields (Ngezi) kwekwe provided 6 respondents four via questionnaire and two for the interview. This unit was chosen specifically because it is one of the formations of the ZNA whose roles and activities had been prematurely understood. Formed in 1891 by NOKMATT to handle the stalemate conditions unfolding in matebeleland regions, the unit was disbanded in 1988 only to resurface again in 2006 under equally equivocal and controversial circumstances.

Education corps headquartered at Pomoona Barracks (Harare) constituted a total of seven respondents who were carefully selected on the basis of gender considerations. This formation is the learning hub of the ZNA and therefore their competence and reputouir was considered important in the study. Of the five shortlisted respondents, no respondent defaulted.

Finally selected officers from the **Zimbabwe Military Police** were allotted five respondents. This unit is a special formation and is part of the Military intelligence directorate of ZMA based at Kabrit barracks in Harare. Their involvement helped to answer the questions of the extent to which martial law can be applied to civilians. They also helped to demystify the policing prerogatives of the military in crime and crime prevention and how such roles relates to the internal police functions of ZRP.

3.6 Verification of Assumptions – Emerging Gaps

To verify and see if objectives of the research were met, it is imperative to corroborate the assumptions and suppositions that were internalised in the research in order to determine the strength of the hypotheses. The findings indicate that the primary assumption that military non-compliance with legal framework is the proximal cause for the urgent need for security sector reform was attested to by a number of respondents but it was also acknowledged that there were other factors apart from non-compliance that determines and influence the discourse of security sector reform in Zimbabwe. These includes the effects of the blowing winds of institutional reformation that also equally affected other arms of the state like media which is affectionately known as “the third estate”, policy adjustment and ideological realignment with the new forms and concepts of democracy, political interventions from foreign countries, technological advancements and the nature and state of civil military relations.

The assumption that standing armies are a source (causative effect) of conflict as had been similarly assumed by Immanuel Kant and many others before and or after him who argued that the military causes war and in the absence of such, must take active measures to instigate war was not attested by the results of this results. However, evidence suggests that there is a strong correlation between military roles and the emergence of conflict in society. Just like wars needs and requires the army to fight them, the military in turn wants wars to experiment their weapons, verify the effectiveness of their training methods and generally test their relative strengths and capabilities. Thus the military and conflict are two fundamental co-variables in a correlative relationship.

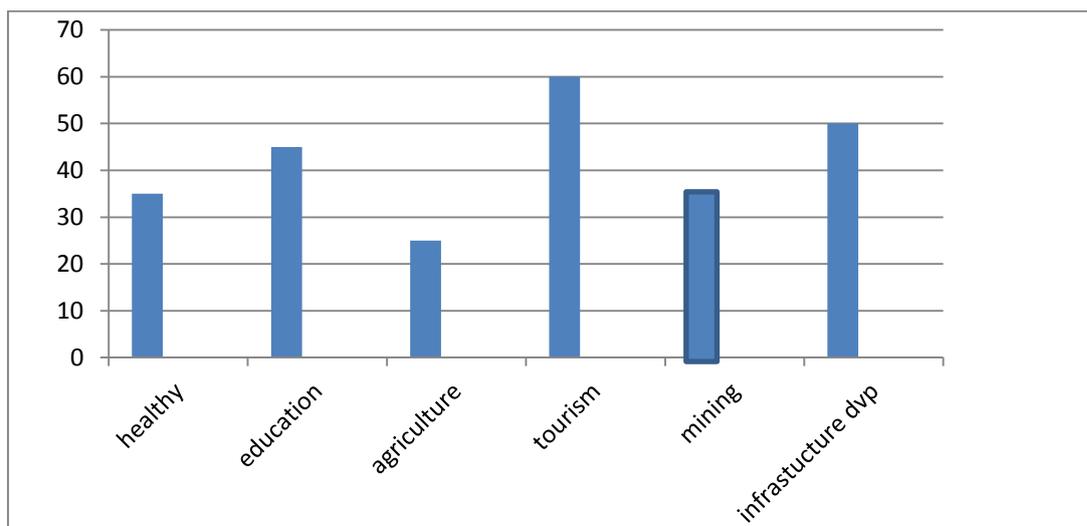
Another verifiable assumption was that of the use of force by the military to maintain and retain conservatism. It is indeed an assumption of maturity that the military unleashes force to dissipate forces of resistance against its internal needs for conservatism. However although resorting to force or threat of force is a preferable option of enforcing conservatism by the arm, the findings indicate that the military has other useful strategies of maintaining the military status quo such as through propaganda, media manipulation and militarisation

3.7 Adequacy of the regulatory legal and constitutional framework as regards the mandates of the military in Zimbabwe

There is variation of opinion between the military and civilians regarding the adequacy of the policy framework and legal measures regulating the conduct of the armed forces in

Zimbabwe. Bratton and Masunungure (2008) believe that there is deficiency in the legal framework which has resulted in the abuse of the army by political authorities. Likewise, Makwerere et al (2012) has it that it has become common knowledge that the framework for establishing rule of law for security organs in Zimbabwe has fallen short of the expectations of citizens and the international community. While those within the military establishment are adamant that the legal and constitutional provisions structuring and guiding the operations of the Zimbabwean army are maladjusted and functionally rigid and thus does not strengthen and empower the army to participate and cater for other issues that traditionally lay beyond the purview of the military, civilians, journalist and policy researchers are content that the laws governing the ZNA are fundamentally adequate but the military with the support of the regime are undermining those laws thus calling for security sector reforms. Almost all of the respondents from the military interviewed concurred that the laws in existence are insufficient, ambivalent and to sketchy to be fully comprehended. They cite the silence of the defence act and the constitution on providing in detail the status of the army and its relationship with other arms of government. For example apart from providing that the army is part of the executive arm of government and is statutorily under the command, control and directives of the President, the laws completely dodges from discussing how the military will relate to the Judiciary and the Parliament.

Below is a bar graph showing the contribution of the military in the various sectors of the economy



The data on the role and contribution of the Zimbabwean military in the sectors identified above had been obtained from both the civilians and military. Since independence, the governments need to raise the standards of education and increase literacy levels saw the military taking a lot of measures to support these aims and more than 45% of the work done by the government in the education sector was realised through or in conjunction and collaboration with the military. Statistics from the education corps- unit which manages and supervises military schools and sources finances for the construction and rehabilitation of existing schools indicate that the army is a useful partner of the government in service delivery of education. The education corps provides relief teachers during strikes in public schools and also trains students in some vocational colleges.

The military efforts to improve service delivery in the healthy sector have been instrumental in creating synergies to combat the prevalence of a myriad of endemic diseases. Currently, the military is involved in the construction of research and diagnostic laboratory centres at Fylde airbase to stimulate efforts in the research of pandemic viral and lethal diseases such as NCDs. They also provide support manpower to hospitals and clinics when they are faced with challenges and the data from interview with members from the five brigade indicates that the current perm sec in the ministry of healthy Brig General Dr Gerald Gwinji is a former member of the Brigade. In the healthy sector, the army also provides medical assistance and healthcare aid, trains clinical personnel and medics and carries out and publish research papers in certain diseases and this amount to +30% contribution in the service delivery of healthy.

The army is also mandated to combat endemic poaching in safaris and game reserves scattered across the country. Because it is now recognised that poaching poses some serious threats to national security, the army has been particularly active in this sector and their efforts contributed to more than 50% of governments measures to curb the scourge of poaching. They carry out search and destroy missions, control the movement of wildlife across borders among others. Of late, the military had been issued with exploration licences by the mining ministry to carry out mining activities and register claims under its title deed. In this respect they are involved in the mining of diamonds in marange and gwayi and a variety of other minerals. Although these entrepreneurial ventures were questionable as regards the distribution of the proceeds, responsible authorities argued that the profits would be used to finance ZNA charities and other projects.

In agriculture the mandates of the military have been limited to production and farming of food crops such as maize, wheat and beans for in house consumption. They also have piggery projects at various farms it owns and leases notably at Alphida farm in Domboshava which is managed by the Artillery brigade. Since the produce of agriculture from the military is mainly for consumption by the army, the contribution and impact of the army in this sector has been limited.

The army is also involved in the construction of infrastructure mainly in roads, clinics, and schools. The military through the construction and engineering corps rehabilitates transport and communication networks and provides shelter to people affected by natural disasters like floods. This augurs well with the Millennium Development Goals which require the provision of decent shelter and housing for all. Among the projects that the army undertook to fulfil this mandate includes the construction of 5.2 Infantry Battalion housing project, Dzivarasekwa housing project and construction of flats at Fylde airbase among others.

The table 2 below quantitatively illustrates the degree of militarisation of state institutions in Zimbabwe

NAME	INSTITUTION	POSITION
Brig General Aggripa Mutambara	Ministry of Foreign affairs	Former Ambassador to Russia and Mozambique
Brig General Ambrose Mutinhiri	Ministry of Youth Local Government	Provincial Minister of state for Mash- East
Colonel Christian Katsande	Presidential affairs ministry Ministry of industry and commerce	Former chairman of Noczim Deputy Sec for OPC
Maj-General Bonyongwe Happyton	Ministry of state security	Director general of CIO
Bri General Gerald (Dr) Gwinji	Ministry of Heathy and Child care	Perm sec in the ministry
Brig General Karikoga Kaseke	Ministry of Tourism	Chairman of Zimbabwe tourism authority
Colonel Sobuza-	Ministry of Justice and legal affairs	Former chairman of ESC

Gula Ndebele		Former Attorney General
Maj General Edzai Chimonyo	Ministry of foreign affairs	Ambassador to Tanzania
Major George Chiweshe	Ministry of Justice and Legal affairs	High Court Judge Former ZEC Chairman
Colonel Samuel P Muviti	Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigation and Mechanisation	General Manager –GMB
Brig General Epmarcus Kananga	Ministry of Environment, water and climate	Director of Parks and Wildlife Management Authority

Source: Adapted from Crisis in Zimbabwe coalition (2011)

NB- Most of the people in the list supplied are retired members of the army although most of them were appointed whilst still serving in the Army. Militarisation of public institutions has been a fundamental factor shaping civil military relations in Zimbabwe. A number of scholars concede that militarisation is part of the broader effort of regime survival strategies.

3.8 Fostering peace and stability –as a mandate of the military

It is a long held fundamental axiom that peace and stability is necessary for a vibrant and self- sufficient economy to thrive and guarantee quality and durable human development. Peace dividends are now a requisite indicator of economic stability, human safety and security, protection of property. However it needs to be acknowledged from outset that peaceful areas are not necessarily safe areas. The role of the Zimbabwean army in containing with the internal and external threats to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Zimbabwe has been commendable. The prevailing peace and stability in the country and in the region at large is partly attributed to the efforts of the military and this has been instrumental in strengthening economic self- sufficiency. For example the clearance of the Beira Corridor during the Mozambique war enabled Zimbabwe to expeditiously recover its vital trade and supply routes.

3.9 Role of the Military in National Healing and Reconciliation

Post conflict reconstruction and re-adjustment is one of the fundamental roles of the armed forces of any country developing or developed. Post conflict reconstruction involves not only the revamping of infrastructure and other amenities devastated at the height of the conflict but it also focuses on uniting the people emerging from a conflict and re-aligning them to the

mainstream society by rehabilitation of victims, offering amnesty and clemency to war time crimes, issuing registration certificates such as birth and national identification cards to internally displaced people and former refugees and asylum seekers. In Zimbabwe the military actively took part in the national healing and reconciliation policy that was issued in 1980 and in 1988 as they immensely participated in the proceedings of the National Healing and Reconciliation Commission established after independence and the Chihambakwe Commission of Inquiry established after Gukurahundi in 1988. The military actively implemented with the aid of other stakeholders, the recommendations of these commissions of Inquiry and monitored the disarmament process together with taking measures to ensure the success of the political amnesty announce in 1981 and 1988.

3.10 Regional and international duties

The Zimbabwean army shares a multiplicity of relations with various regional and international actors and resource centres in its endeavour to become a reliable and trusted force within the region. It also asserts membership to a number of taskforces of regional armies and is also in mutual relations and partnerships with foreign armies through military – military diplomacy which are initiatives geared to improve inter-operability of common security and defence facilities such as SADC RPTC. In pursuit of the Look East Policy of the GoZ, ZNA has expanded its engagement strategy in securing supply and procurement of new weapons and accessing military aid by contracting the armies of China, North Korea, Malaysia and of recent Huawei. These arrangements have been agreed upon as a matter of bilateral treaties.

3.11 Justification for lack of parallels in the mandates of the army

The findings from the research indicate that there are gaps between what the army is doing and what it is expected and mandated to do. Gaps here can either mean omission or dereliction of mandated duties or under-performance in the duties as indicated and assessed either through the amount or the quality of the outputs engendered. Although the Zimbabwean scenario might be difficult to judge whether non-conformity is a result of dereliction of duty or output deficiency or lack of quality service, the results from the field suggests the complex interplay of these factors. However, the failure of the military to dovetail some aspects of its current activities, to the mandated duties and binding and obligatory responsibilities as encapsulated in its regulatory legal and constitutional framework is a testament of the myriad of the challenges and problems bedevilling the army in Zimbabwe.

The ZNA faces insurmountable impediments and stumbling blocks when discharging its duties and conducting its operations. Some of the commonly identified difficulties and glitches include lack of proper funding which compromises with the supply and procurement of new weapons, decreased learning opportunities, down-cutting of military budget which reduces recruitment and training to replace resignations, economic embargo on importation and exportation of the ZDI products, massive proliferation of small arms and light weaponry, lack of adequate legal support, undue interference from political authorities, resistance from civil society and other stakeholders. Lack of maintenance of existing equipment and machinery due to sanctions also affects the military of Zimbabwe.

Because of the characteristic problems noted above, it cannot therefore be absolutely fair to blame the military for failure to meet some of its mandates as there are no sufficient resources to capacitate the operations of the army. These problems compromise the ability of the military to malleable and amenable to its mandatory duties as they deny it a conducive playing and operational ground thus remonstrations and paranormal patterns continue to emerge as regards the role concept of the ZNA.

3.12 Recommendations for problem solving

In light of the challenges mentioned in the foregoing, improvements need to be affected in order to capacitate the army to upgrade its preparedness and readiness to respond to the varied and complex challenges bedevilling its intacity and thus compromising with national security. Because the problems indicated are big and strong for any one nation to handle on its own, it can be suggested that the military take active measures and steps to increase the pace of engagement with foreign governments and their respective armed forces. It is also recommended that the military strive to attain self -reliance by undertaking projects meant to empower its finance base rather than simply depending on treasury allocations.

3.13 Chapter Summary

The preceding chapter covered fieldwork, data interpretation, analysis and presentation as well as some aspects of research methodology. This section was mainly geared towards recording and storing the findings of the research for use by future researchers or other interested parties. It accompanied and took the reader through the way travelled during the actual fieldwork carefully describing and explaining major events and activities undertaken during the field engagement to see how the data was collected and test the usefulness of the research instruments used. An identification and discussion of the respondents consulted was

demonstrated in order to answer the question of whether the participants shortlisted had the sufficient pertinent knowledge required and the criteria used to choose and select the respondents from the population targeted. The resultant data was interpreted and analysed in terms of applicable analysis genres which were mainly guided by the deductive and at times inductive approaches and the rationale for the choice of each method was established or justified. A key characteristic of this chapter was the formulation and drafting of themes arising out of the research and the thematised data was then presented in the form of written text and were possible diagrams and tables depending on the necessity and relevance of such methods as guided by the nature and taxonomy of the data in place. Where diagrams and figures were used, a description and explanation of the trends depicted was done so as to demonstrate understanding of the issues presented and the methods of presentation utilised.

CHAPTER 1V

4.0 Conclusions and Recommendations

4.1 Introduction

Chapter four summarises the conclusions of the entire project and proffers some recommendations to various stakeholders who impinged and have sufficient interests on the research project and its findings. The observations and findings reported and discussed in the precluding chapters are presented in this chapter in the form of concluding remarks which provides the new positions and dimensions in the paradigms that the research focused on. Because of the emerging gaps in the research discourse prompted by the new findings, recommendations were made to the relevant stakeholders regarding the multifarious aspects of the project. The recommendations noted were due to policy makers, researchers and curriculum reviewers.

4.2 Conclusions

The study was able to provide satisfactory answers to the research question. It succeeded in its earmarked endeavour to identify and establish the mandate of the Zimbabwe national army and locate these mandates in the context of the legal and constitutional framework regulating the operations and functions of the Zimbabwean military. It was also able to list and outline the various treaties and non- treaty based standards that impinged on the army with respect to its roles and activities. The ability of the army to respond and honour its mandate was also discussed along with an assessment of the amenability of the legal framework to induce compliance. Finally reasons were adduced for the occurrence of con-conformity and un-parallel patterns between the actual activities and the mandated roles in light of the challenges that the military institution is facing in Zimbabwe.

The research established that the Zimbabwean military play considerable roles in various capacities in a number of sectors or facets of the socio, economic, industrial, technological aspects of Zimbabwe. One of the most visible role that the army renders to society is participating in the service delivery of health and social amenities to various communities countrywide. This mandate is in line with the MDGs stipulating that government must provide healthy at cheap and affordable bills to all its population and that all must have direct access to medical attention and healthcare. This also augurs well with the free healthy policies of GoZ to all citizens below the age of twelve. The army of Zimbabwe has a pool of

medical professionals including doctors, nurses, medics and specialist who from time to time joins their civilian counterparts and create consortiums and synergies to fight the pandemic heathy hazards such as in the outbreak of fast spreading and viral diseases like cholera, dysentery, typhoid and others. The army also have a trust or steward foundation which assist people suffering from NCDs. They also participate in social work were they provide counselling services to patients and people who are victims of traumatic ailments or who are emerging from emotionally challenging and disturbing situations such as landmine and flood victims abatement and rehabilitation.

The military in Zimbabwe also have some responsibilities in the education sector where they actively participate in skills transfer and knowledge dissemination. Through the education corps, the army takes measures to ensure that sufficient resources are availed to pupils in public schools especially those registered in its name by building infrastructure and equipping schools with the required learning facilities. They also assist under-privileged students with tuition support and supply relief teaching staff to most schools for invigilation and tutoring when problems arise in the civilian sectors. Furthermore, it is compulsory military policy in Zimbabwe that children of war veterans and retired army personnel enjoy the benefits of subsidised education sponsored by the military its various benefit funds.

As a way of improvising its lack of adequate resource support from the central government, the military is also involved in the production sectors of the economy like agriculture, tourism and mining. This capacitates the army and provides it with the much needed financial cushion to foot for the supply and procurement of new weapons and equipment's. Although questions continue to be raised regarding these entrepreneurial ventures, conditions within the army suggests that without the benefits accumulating from these ventures, the military cannot be able to fulfil all its mandates as the grants, loans and votes from the government cannot sustain the military. Furthermore, through the ZDI- an arms manufacturing company owned by the Zimbabwean military, the army also participates in trade at both sub-regional and regional level. However because of liquidity challenges and the decrease in the business of Safari hunting which had been providing the largest chunk of the customers of ZDI products, the mandates of the military in industry and commerce are fast dwindling.

4.3 General Conclusions relating to the position of the military in Zimbabwe

With the increasing economic and social hardships in Zimbabwe, the military establishment has emerged as a viable and convenient source of employment for the youths both educated and uneducated. Albeit the general need among the youthful population to pursue military careers, issues of political expediency and security considerations impelled and provoked by the combined onslaughts from western countries and the threats posed by their regional acolytes and proxies which have induced the army to take and adopt a more conservative stance has begun to weigh heavily on the ambitions and aspirations of the youths to join and serve in the army as often priorities for recruitment and promotion will be determined by ideological and political considerations. It is precisely this lack and deficiency of the much needed meritocratic culture within the military, which if present could make it possible for man of all social backgrounds to be admitted and excel to the top brass of the military that has pressed and stimulated the recent calls for security sector reforms in Zimbabwe.

The slow and almost insignificant upward social mobility derailed by the uneven and skewed patterns in the distribution of resources such as land between the military and civilian communities which continuously throws off the populace from rising in the economic ladder has resulted in conflict and tension between the two societies thus causing a pronounced decline and deterioration in civil military relations. Because fundamental conflicts in society are between the rich and the poor as had been argued by Marx and Engels and Aristotle, the identification of the military with elites has embittered the civilians who contemplates the loss of civilian control over the military as heralding the extinction of checks and balances on the supposedly absolute powers of the government. However it is worth to acknowledge that the co-option of the Zimbabwean military into the executive arm of government has not always mean that the military will do as they please the regime as experiences has shown that the military can diverge from or threaten the sovereign functions of the government.

Tendi- Miles (2010) has disputed the arguments that the Zimbabwean military is a willing and convenient midwife to the ruling party politics and suggested that the military has not always been a source of favour and delight to the regime as at times the government failed to control the army and its activities. For example under pressure from his SADC counterparts over the blatant and unwarranted political mudslinging of the military, Zimbabwe's President and ZDF commander in chief couldn't help but suggested that "they are still locked in the war mood" demonstrating clearly the regimes failure to impose restraint on the military.

However, the statement could have been a calculated political gimmick to outwit the allegations by opposition MDC as an equal partner in Government of National Unity.

Although concerns that degrades and doubts military efficiency have been raised since the year 2000 over the social, economic and political roles of the Zimbabwean army, reviews and reflections made in the course of the research suggests high levels of moral and discipline within the Zimbabwe national army. Military efficiency and responsiveness of the ZNA has been impeccably demonstrated and highlighted by the regional operations that the army carried out in Angola where the ZNA fire-force was instrumental in combating the USA backed forces of UNITA under Jonas Savimbi. They were also instrumental in carrying out successful operations in Mozambique and DRC. Their contribution to regional peacekeeping and AU efforts to establish a standing multi- taskforce has also been a cause of celebration for both the government and the military itself.

The information presented was gathered via both primary and secondary sources using various tools and research instruments applicable to each source category. The research and all its findings provides a reflection of the position of the army in the broader society of Zimbabwe as a whole and was not concentrated on a single area of focus like is implied in a case study approach which was however used for the singular purpose of contextualising the Zimbabwean situation for easy comparison with regional and international standards notably from Egypt and China respectively. Otherwise, the research largely resorted to the survey design or format where a broader and all-encompassing approach is adopted in order to systematically highlight the symmetrical or asymmetrical relations that the army shares with various national communities and regional stakeholders.

4.4 Recommendations

This study has made it possible to establish the irregularities in the field under discussion and as part of the intention of this research, recommendations have to be made to address identified problem areas. The recommendations relates to the suggestions that the researcher believes are due to a variety of interested parties .These recommendations captures the arears of improvements or review that were observed in the course of the research and are now formally submitted for attention to relevant authorities.

4.5 Policy recommendations

Because of the ambiguity of the laws relating to the armed forces which is now offering excuses to the military to act and behave in questionable and unorthodox ways, it is

recommended that policy makers either enact new laws or amend the existing ones in clear and straightforward legal language that can be easily comprehended by all and sundry. The current laws and policies in force do not fully empower the army to compulsorily undertake the responsibility of developing and nurturing a culture of constitutionalism as it is subject to varied interpretation. It is also recommended that policy makers quickly domesticate some international conventions and treaties that Zimbabwe ratified so that they can become applicable laws entrenching international standards to the practice and conduct of the army.

4.6 Research Recommendations

The present research opened up new avenues and areas of focus for future study by social scientist. The areas that they can pursue further and deeper includes the effects of military integration on civil military relations, review of labour laws for the study of military manpower, the effects of sanctions on the operations of Zimbabwe defence industries, the relationship between the DRC war to the recurring inflationary spikes in Zimbabwe, the usefulness of the (war veterans) reserve force in contributing to national peace and security, the levels of moral and job commitment between commissioned and non –commissioned officers and also levels of moral between the Air force and ZNA as principal members of ZDF.

4.6 Curriculum recommendations

Curriculum content needs to be reviewed in order to streamline military issues of peace, security, defence and army budget that are assuming a greater importance in the face of threats of terrorism, border conflicts and the free movement of weapons across seemingly porous state boundaries. In this high tech modern world the possibilities of nuclear warfare as replacing conventional methods of combat warfare should occupy a special place in every studies of social science. It is again recommended that resources be mobilised to fund research in issues of military security and defence as they remain under-researched thus limiting the understanding of issues that are inextricably related to the military such as defence economics, peacekeeping and interstate security facilities and their operability and contribution to state security of individual member states.

Reference list

Published books and articles

Basil D (1969) No fist is Big Enough to Hide the Sky; London. Penguin Books

Bennet R (2010) Defence and security in a new Zimbabwe published and commissioned
Bennet

Bhebhe N (1999) The ZAPU and ZANU Guerrilla Warfare and the Evangelical Church in

Boehrer J (1990) Teaching with Cases; Learning to Question New Directions for Teaching
and Learning; Colorado, Colorado State University Press

Chitiyo K (2009) Case for Security sector reforms in Zimbabwe, Royal United Services
Institute

Clough P and Nutbrown J (2007 3rd ed) A Students Guide to Methodology, London ,
University of Sheerfied Press

Cresswell J (2005) Educational Research; Planning, Conducting and Evaluating Qualitative
and Quantitative Research; New Jersey. Pearson Publishers.

Denzin S and Lincoln F (2005) The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research, New York, The
Sage Publishers

Finer S (1958) Anonymous Empire ; London , The Pall Mall Press Limited

Finer S (1960) The man on the Horseback; The role of the Military in Politics, London ,The
Pall Mall Press Limited

Flower K (1987) Serving Secretly; An Intelligent Chief on Record- Rhodesia into Zimbabwe,

Friedman M (2011) Methodology of Positive Economics, Chicago; University of Chicago
Press

Hartley K and Sanders T (1995) The economics of defence, Cambridge, Press Syndicate of
Cambridge university press

Holland J (2004) *Qualitative Longitudinal Research*; London; London South Bank University Press

Keegan A (1993) *Clausewitz and Machiavelli: On War vs Art of War*, New York, New York Press

Kothari D (2012) *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*, New Delhi; New Age International Publishers

Leedy P and Ormrod J (2005) *Practical Research; Planning and Design*, New Jersey, Prentice Hall

Moran D (1991) *Lenin and Schumpeter; An Interdisciplinary approach to the study of classes*, New York, Free Press

Ndlovu-Gatsheni S (2009) *The Ndebele Nation; Reflections on hegemony, memory and historiography*, Pretoria; Rozenburg Publishers

Ndlovu-Gatsheni S (2010) *Do Zimbabweans Exist; Trajectories of nationalism, national identity, formation and crisis in post-colonial state*, Pretoria, International Academic Publishers

Payne G and Payne J (2004) *Key Concepts in Social Research*; New York, Sage Publishers

Raftopolous B and Mlambo A (2009) *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*; Harare; Weaver Press

Sithole M (1979) *Struggles Within a Struggle*, Dar es Salaam, University of Dar es Salaam Press

Uwe P (2006) *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*; London Sage Publishers

Van Der Spy (1998) *Donor Assistance to crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Reform; South Africa 1994-1998*, Cape Town, UCT Publishers

Welch C (1971) *Civilian control of the Military; Myth and Reality; Theory and cases from developing countries*, Albany, Albany state University

Zimbabwe. Gweru; Mambo Press Cawthra G (2009) *African Security Governance; Emerging issues* Johannesburg. Wits University Press

Journals

Alexander J, McGregor J and Tendi-Miles B (2013) Politics, Patronage and Violence in Zimbabwe,, Journal of Southern African Studies

Cohn L (1999) Evolution of Civil Military Gap Debate; Journal of TISS project

Dietrich F (2002) Anti –Terrorism policies and the risks of provoking Journal of theoretical politics vol 26 pg 405-441

Makwerere D etal (2012) Human Rights and Policing; A case of Zimbabwe; International Journal for Humanities and social sciences vol 7

Marunga K (2011) A Contextual and Comparative Analysis of Constitutionalism and political culture on elections; Kenya and Zimbabwe, Journal of global affairs and public policy

Marxwell D (2009) A proposal for Unifying strategic Doctrine for national security- Small Wars Journal

Mills G (1997) BMATT and Integration in Southern Africa; South African Defence Review Issue no 2

Musavengana and Hendricks (eds) (2010) The security sector in southern africa , Institute of security studies

Ndlovu-Gatscheni S (2007) The post- Colonial State and Matebeleland; Regional perceptions of civil military relations 1980-2002, journal of southern African studies

Ndlovu-Gatsheni S (2006) Nationalist –Military Alliance in Zimbabwe and the fate for Democracy; African Journal on Conflict Resolution

Rupiya M (2009) Civil-Military Relations in Zimbabwe; Is there a threat? In Ourselves to Know. Journal on Southern African Studies

Sadomba J and Tom T (2013) Role and Functions of Paramilitary in civil military relations of Zimbabwe 1980-1987, Sacha Journal of policy and strategic stud Tendi Miles B (2010) Making History in Mugabe’s Zimbabwe; Politics, Intellectuals and the media Journal African Journal on Democracy and Development

Tendi Miles B (2012) On why will people support Mugabe and ZANU PF; International Journal of Politics

Tendi Miles B (2013) Ideology, Civilian authority and the Zimbabwean Military; Journal of southern African Studies

Zamchiya P (2013) MDC (UN)seeing eye in Zimbabwe's 2013 Harmonised Elections: A Technical Knock-Out, Journal of southern African studies vol 39 pg 955-962

Reports and Newspapers

Afro barometer opinion survey on Zimbabwe civil military relations (2003)

China's Military Strategy worries superpower; The Sunday mail In-depth 27 April to 3 May 2014

Chitiyo K and Kibble S (2014) Zimbabwe's International Re-engagement: The long haul to Recovery , Chatham House Report

Chiwenga guns for President; The Observer 08 April 2014

Egypt: A military Dictatorship in Disguise, Herald 23 April 2015

Security is essential for national development; The Standard February 8-14 2015

Southern Africa Report Profile 2011

The evolution of the Zimbabwe defence forces; The Patriot August 15-21 2014

US, Egypt: walking a tight rope; The Sunday mail In- Depth July 21-27 2013

ZDF benefit Fund continues to assist members; The Herald 12 August 2014

ZDF not a Political Organisation; The Herald 12 August 2014

ZDF to assist war ravaged rural communities; Herald 12 August 2014

Zimbabwe Police, Army broke; Mail and Guardian February 7-13 2014

Peace and Security Databank Report; SAPES Trust (2011)

Report of the parliamentary portfolio committee on defence and Home Affairs (2012)

Internet Sources

www.mod.gov.zw

www.zna.gov.zw

www.merrian-webster.com

www.zimeye.com

new.zimbabwe.com

www.pindula.co.zw

www.wikipedia.org

Appendix A: Questionnaire

Introduction

My name is David Ndlovu, a student studying Honours degree in Politics and Public Management (PPM) at Midlands State University. In partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree programme, I am carrying out a research project entitled: ‘The Zimbabwe National Army and its mandate in Zimbabwe: 1980-2015’

Please assist me by completing the questionnaire below. The data you are going to provide will be treated with the confidentiality it deserves. You have the right to withdraw from filling this form whenever you feel uncomfortable. Your participation is voluntary and your cooperation greatly appreciated.

Instructions

I. Answer all questions

II. Indicate N/A where not applicable

III. Mark with a tick where applicable i.e. where options for answers are given for example YES/NO questions and boxes provided.

IV. Write your answers in spaces provided

V. You may use supplementary paper when the provided space is not enough and indicate the question being answered on the supplement.

Section A: Demographics

a) Name of your institution

b) Your designation

c) Your age range: below 25yrs 25-35yrs 35-45yrs yrs and above

d) Educational level, (Tick your highest level)

O level

A level

Certificate/diploma/HND

Degree Specify

e) Period since joining the institution:

Less than 2years

2 – 5years

5 – 10years

10 – 15years

15 – 20years

More than 20years

Section B: Mandate of the military in Zimbabwe

1.) What role does the military play in Zimbabwe?.....

.....

2.) Has the military in Zimbabwe been successful in upholding its mandates?

.....

.....

3.) What measures and mechanisms are put in place by the government to make sure that the military does not waiver from its core mandates?

.....

.....

.....

4.) What other factors apart from internal conditions within the military determine and influence the ability of the army to fulfil its mandate?

.....
.....

5.) Are there challenges affecting the military and its operations in Zimbabwe? If yes you can list them accordingly.

.....
.....

6.) How far have the activities of the military in Zimbabwe contributed to economic growth and development?

.....
.....

7.) What defence and security treaties have been signed by Zimbabwe and other countries that impose some obligations on the Zimbabwean army?

.....
.....

8.) Do you think the legislature as the policy making body represent satisfactorily the interests of the military in Zimbabwe?

.....
.....

9.) What stakeholders other security organs relates and collaborates with the army in as far as the fulfilment of the military mandates is concerned?

.....
.....
.....

Thank you for taking your precious time in answering this questionnaire, your contribution is greatly appreciated. For more comments and any inquiries, queries and contributions please contact David Ndlovu, Address 288 Bindura Email: ndlovdavi@gmail.com

Appendix B: General Interview Guide

1. What role and mandate does the Zimbabwe National Army play in present day Zimbabwe?
2. Is there a variation between the current activities of military and its mandate as spelt out in its regulatory framework?
3. What are the main legal and constitutional framework governing the conduct and operations of the Zimbabwean military?
4. Are there any technical co operations and collaborations between Zimbabwe and neighbouring states in the areas of defence and military affairs?
5. Has the Zimbabwean army been able to satisfactorily fulfil and uphold its legal mandates and constitutional commitments?
6. What are the general challenges facing the military in Zimbabwe?
7. What can be done to overcome these challenges?
8. Is the Zimbabwe legislation very effective in enhancing and inducing compliance by the military in its mandate? Are you satisfied?
9. How is the role of the Zimbabwe National Army important to the economy of Zimbabwe?
10. What indicators or measurement instruments are used to review and assess the compliance of the military to its legal framework?
11. What measures and mechanisms are in place to ensure that the military in Zimbabwe acts within its prescribed mandates?
12. How can you explain the involvement of the military in profit making businesses such as mining and agriculture and how does these ventures relate to the core mandates of the army

13. What are the main roles of peacetime military establishments?

[Text-Only Report](#)

2015 DISSERTATIONS 2

DISSERTATION - DUE 15-Oct-2015

OriginalityGradeMarkPeerMark

dissertation

by David Ndlovu

turnitin 

0%

Similar

out of 0