

BINDURA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES DEPARTMENT OF PEACE AND
GOVERNANCE



NAME : **Takudzwanashe Basera Mutumbwa**

REG NO : **B1953025**

PROGRAMM : **MScIR**

COURSE : **DISSERTATION**

SUPERVISOR : **Dr Makwerere**

WORKING TITLE : **Re-engagement with the United Kingdom, a study of non-state actors in Zimbabwe's foreign policy since 2017**

Year : **2020**

Declaration by student

I declare that the thesis herewith submitted for the MSC: International Relations at Bindura University of Science and Technology has not been previously submitted for a degree at any other University worldwide.

..... SignatureDate

Takudzwanashe Basera Mutumbwa

I hereby approve the final submission of the following thesis.

Dedication:

I want to dedicate this thesis to the most important individuals in my life. That is my family, friends and colleagues. Special thanks to my supervisor who toiled and guided me in times of countless struggles and challenges. I also to give gratitude to the All Mighty that helped me to conquer and push through during difficult times.

Acknowledgements

It would not have been easy to complete this research without the following individuals. My most sincere gratitude goes to these gracious souls that were with me throughout the entire research process. Special thanks go to my father Mr I.S Mutumbwa. It would be inconceivable without his support to undertake this study. For this I am truly indebted.

Special thanks goes to Dr Makwerere who guided me and through his wise counsel, steered me in the right direction towards my goals. His knowledge and insight provided me with the necessary skills to successfully embark on this research. I would also like to thank the MIR class of 2019 for all their dedication and fraternal friendship that acted as a support structure in my two years of study at Bindura University. Indeed your companionship was truly invaluable.

Lastly, I would like to thank all the participants that provided me with all the data that I needed for this research. The information that they provided was priceless as it assisted me in the most critical part of my research findings. May the Lord bless everyone that helped me through this journey words cannot fully express my sincere gratitude.

Thank you.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
AIPAC	American Israel Public Affairs Committee
CANF	Cuban American National Foundation
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
GOZ	Government of Zimbabwe
FTLR	Fast Track Land Reform
IR	International Relations
NSA	Non state actors
NGO	Non-governmental organisations
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
UNO	United Nations Organisation
U.K	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
World Trade Organisation	WTO
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
Zimbabwe Human Rights Association	ZimRights
Zimbabwe Human Rights	ZHRF

Table of contents

Chapter 1

Contents	Page
1.0 Title	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background of the study.....	1
1.3 Purpose of the study.....	6
1.4 Statement of the problem.....	6
1.5 Objectives of the study.....	7
1.6 Research Questions.....	7
1.7 Assumptions	7
1.8 Significance of the study.....	8
1.9 Delimitations of the study.....	9
1.10 Limitations of the study.....	9
1.11 Definition of Key Terms	9
1.12 Chapter Outline.....	11
1.13 Summary.....	13

Chapter 2

2.0 Theoretical framework and Literature Review.....	14
2.1 Introduction.....	14

2.2 Key terms.....	14
2.3 Complex interdependence	15
2.4 Theoretical debates FPA.	15
2.4.1 NSA’s foreign policy	18
2.5 Ethnic lobbies	19
2.5.1 Think tanks.....	21
2.6 NSA’s Methods.....	22
2.6.1 Public opinion.....	23
2.7 State and Civil Society Relations in Africa.....	25
2.7.1 CSOs foreign policy in North Africa.....	26
2.7.2 CSOs in Foreign Policy in South Africa.....	26
2.8 State and Civil Society Relations in Zimbabwe	28
2.9 Summary.....	32
Chapter 3	
3.0 Research design and Methodology.....	33
3.1 Introduction.....	33
3.2. Research Philosophy.....	33
3.3 Research Methodology	34
3.4 Research design.....	35

3.5 Target Population.....	36
3.6 Data Sampling Techniques.....	37
3.7 Data collection tools.....	39
3.8. Interviews	40
3.9 Focus group discussions	41
3.10 Documentary data	42
3.11 Data presentation and analysis.....	43
3.12 Validity and Reliability.....	44
3.13 Ethical Considerations.....	46
3.14 Summary	47
Chapter 4	
4.0 Data presentation, data analysis and discussion of findings.....	48
4.1 Introduction.....	48
4.2 Human rights abuses	48
4.3 Reforms.....	50
4.4 Influence of CSOs	51
4.5 Image making.....	53
4.6 Digital diplomacy.....	55
4.7 Summary.....	56

Chapter 5

5.0 Summary, Conclusions, Recommendations and areas for further research...	58
5.1 Introduction.....	58
5.2 Summary.....	58
5.3. Conclusions.....	60
5.3.1 Democratic constitutionalism.....	60
5.3.2 Recognition of CSOs.....	61
5.3.3 Digital diplomacy.....	62
5.4 Recommendations.....	63
5.5 Areas for further research.....	64
5.6 Summary.....	64
References.....	65

Abstract

This research aims to understand why Zimbabwe's re-engagement foreign policy of 2017 encountered challenges from a non-state actor perspective. After the dramatic end of President Mugabe's rule, the incoming administration re-oriented its foreign policy thrust by engaging Britain and Western states. In spite of government's efforts to re-engage Britain, it appeared that attempts to mend relations the former colonial power and its allies failed to gain traction. In trying to understand why this policy shift encountered challenges, this research examined the role and impact of civil society organisations CSOs in Zimbabwe's foreign policy. In conducting this research, the researcher employed qualitative research methods since the research problem required the opinions of CSOs and entities involved in the Zimbabwe foreign making process. Interviews and document analysis were the main methods employed to collect data in this research. The primary area that this study was conducted was in Harare, Zimbabwe. This research established that certain lobbying activities CSOs negatively impacted Zimbabwe's re-engagement programme with the West. It was discovered that the damaging activities of CSOs especially on social media affected diplomatic efforts by the government of Zimbabwe to re-establish its bilateral relations and multilateral relations with the Western bloc. Additionally, it was also discovered that other factors such as the issue of human rights and the failure to implement reforms stalled re-engagement process. One of the key recommendations from this investigation submits that government must fix its internal challenges with CSOs if it wishes to make progress on the diplomatic front with Western states.

CHAPTER 1

1.0 RE-ENGAGEMENT WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM, A STUDY OF NON-STATE ACTORS IN ZIMBABWE'S FOREIGN POLICY SINCE 2017

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This research investigated Zimbabwe's re-engagement policy with the United Kingdom. It sought to understand why Harare's re-engagement policy had been ineffective in re-establishing diplomatic relations with the former colonial power. Firstly, it is important to inquire the reasons why re-engagement efforts with the U.K broke down despite prospects of an early foreign policy victory for the new dispensation. Some commentators assumed that, with the removal of President Mugabe from office; strong Zimbabwe and Britain bilateral relations would be quickly restored leading to stronger political and economic ties. From a non-state actor perspective, this research sought to examine the claims made by the government of President Mnangagwa that some civil society organisations were sabotaging Zimbabwe's signature foreign policy of re-engagement by generating false information aimed at undermining the country. It is anticipated that an investigation into actions of some non-state actors involved in foreign policy processes will show why efforts to re-boot relations with U.K have failed to yield the desired results.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The second republic government that succeeded Robert Mugabe in 2017 executed a foreign policy termed re-engagement and engagement (Southall, 2017). Re-engagement entailed re-establishing relations with Western countries and international organisations that had disengaged from Zimbabwe at the dawn of the millennium (Hodgkinson, 2019). The minor part of the new foreign policy (engagement) trajectory focused on engaging with allies that

had not broken ties with the Mugabe administration principally, African and Asian nations. In December 2017, President Mnangagwa signalled in his first inaugural speech as the head of state articulating Zimbabwe's new foreign policy by declaring that 'Zimbabwe was open for business' (Chikohomero, 2019). This meant the new administration wanted to work with all nations especially the West that had hostile relations with the previous government. Before the ascension of President Mnangagwa, the former administration implemented in the Look East policy that focused on closer cooperation with Asian countries especially China. The Look East policy came about in the early 2000s when Zimbabwe faced embargos from countries such as Britain, USA, Australia and Japan (Ojakorotu & Kamidza, 2018). These states were the country's main trading partners before the imposition of economic sanctions. However, with the ushering of a new government in December 2017, a new foreign policy trust of engaging everyone including the West was favoured. In the beginning, the new the foreign policy appeared to have been well-received given the receptive responses of Western governments and institutions to the new ZANU-PF led government of President Mnangagwa. Notably, the military assisted takeover of government was recognized as a constitutional change of government not a coup, indicating an optimistic posture towards the new dispensation by Western states (Onslow, 2018). Additionally, several high ranking government officials and business persons from the European Union and Britain visited Zimbabwe in 2017 and 2018 signifying a clear desire to chart a new path with Mnangagwa administration. Furthermore, President Mnangagwa was also invited to several international forums including the World Economic Forum in Davos Switzerland a rare invite considering the frosty relations between Harare and the West. In early 2018, the U.K government also signalled that it would help Zimbabwe re-join the commonwealth by the end of the year (Onslow, 2018). All of these developments showed promise and hope that the re-engagement programme would be result in constructive economic gains and end years of political

isolation of the country. Despite early positive signs, several scholars and international relations experts noted a deterioration of the new policy two years from its creation. On the contrary, diplomatic relations worsened between Harare and Britain. Economic sanctions were renewed by the UK government dumping the prospect of thawing of bilateral relations.

In order to get a better understanding of Zimbabwe's efforts to re-engage the British, it is vital to understand the historical antecedents that have shaped the current state of affairs. Zimbabwe and United Kingdom bilateral relations before November 2017 can be grouped into two phases (Chan & Patel, 2006). The first period which covers from 1980 to 1997 can be described as cordial as both states cooperated at different levels of government. The second phase starting from 1997 to 2017 was labelled by several international observers as being strained due to several reasons. From 1980 to 1997, Harare and London were on good terms. Firstly, both states adhered to statutes that were agreed in the 1979 Lancaster House agreement. This landmark treaty was the precursor to majority rule in Zimbabwe as it resulted in the ceasefire after 14 years of a protracted armed conflict also known as the Second Chimurenga (Ndimande, 2019). The war was fought between the black liberation movements principally ZANU and ZAPU against the white settler Rhodesian regime. The Lancaster agreement became a key treaty in Zimbabwe and British relations because of the contentious land question. The issue of land was one of the main reasons that the liberation movements had embarked on the war of independence. The treaty gave the responsibility to the British government to pay white commercial farmers compensation for land acquired by the government of Zimbabwe since the majority of the farmers were of British ancestry. In this first period, the Zimbabwe government was provided with some funds and guarantees that future resources will be available as stipulated with the Lancaster agreement (Dowden, 2006). Zimbabwe on its part did not make any drastic change to land tenure but implemented a policy of willing buyer and willing seller as a form of land reform (Hove & Chenzi, 2017).

Furthermore, and symbolically, in this post-independence phase, British foreign policy towards Zimbabwe did not alter despite serious allegations of human rights abuses by the state. It should be noted that in the mid-1980s, Zimbabwe engaged in bitter civil war in Matabeleland (Mashingaidze, 2016). This conflict was characterised by allegations gross human rights violations perpetrated by the government against the Ndebele ethnic population. On the contrary, relations flourished in many areas such as trade and in the security sector. During this era, Zimbabwe acquired some of military equipment from the England such as its BAE Hawker trainer jets and the Zimbabwe National Army ZNA where partly trained by British personal under the banner of British Military Advisory and Training Team (BMATT) (Tendi, 2016). The United Kingdom's foreign policy towards Zimbabwe at this time remained affable and no embargos were imposed on the Mugabe administration despite some instances of gross human rights violations. In fact, the President Mugabe was given several accolades including an MBE in 1994 from the British monarchy symbolizing a strong friendship between the two states.

A shift in Zimbabwe British relations occurred in 1997 with the election on labour party as the head of government. The new labour government under the leadership of Tony Blair marked a significant change in British foreign policy towards Zimbabwe in contrast to the previous conservative governments (Ndimande & Moyo, 2018). The Tony Blair led government renounced its legal commitments under the Lancaster agreement to fund Zimbabwe's land reform program (Mlambo, 2006). The new British foreign policy towards angered Zimbabwe greatly as the policy was seen as an abdication of a legal responsibility on the part of the U.K government. In this era, several diplomatic incidents occurred between Harare and London which widened the gap between the two nations including an infamous incident in 1999 when British spy equipment was found at Harare international airport. Subsequently, in 2000, Zimbabwe engaged in the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP)

and appropriated white held lands without compensation (Ndakaripa, 2014). The FTLP was spearheaded by the veterans of the Second Chimurenga with state support (Helliker & Murisa, 2020). The war veterans and the state described the land reform exercise as a continuation of the struggle against the British Imperialism. This move by Harare further worsened relations with Whitehall as images of whites being evicted were regularly shown in the British media leading to resentment towards President Mugabe and the ruling party ZANU PF. Through the European Union, the British imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe citing human rights violations of the land reform exercise and breakdown of law and order (Mararika, 2019). The government of Zimbabwe accused the British government of trying to remove the ruling party by using various strategies such as funding the opposition, civil society and the imposition of “illegal sanctions” meant to destroy the economy. This adversarial relationship culminated with Zimbabwe’s withdrawal from the Commonwealth in 2003 citing unfair treatment. This second period witnessed a number of diplomatic spats between the two nations without any compromise between the two states thus leading to a severe breakdown of relations. However, with the removal of President Mugabe in 2017, analysts were optimistic that the British foreign policy towards Zimbabwe would change to become cordial again (Matyszak, 2019). Several domestic observers were of the view that Zimbabwe’s new foreign policy thrust of reconciliation with states that had disengaged from Harare at the beginning of the millennium would also help to reboot the old ties as President Mugabe was seen as a major barrier to constructive bilateral engagement (Southall, 2017). To the contrary, Zimbabwe and British relations have not improved significantly. On its part, the government of Zimbabwe has blamed some civil society groups of sabotaging government efforts to re-establish relations with the British government. They posit that CSOs have deceptively portrayed the government as a brutal regime similar to the Mugabe administrations with the aim of trashing the image of the new dispensation and its set political and economic goals.

It is the aim of this research to understand why and how Zimbabwe's new foreign policy thrust re-engagement has failed to successfully mend relations with its former colonial power from a non-state centric angle. By focusing on the role and influence of civil society groups that are increasingly gaining influence in the realm of public diplomacy, it would be fruitful to examine their impact on the re-engagement program. Understanding the causes of the problem would be helpful to those interested in Zimbabwe's relations with the rest of the world.

1.3 Purpose

The purpose of this research is to understand from a non-state actor's perspective why the efforts by the new dispensation appear to be ineffective in re-booting relations with the United Kingdom since 2017.

1.4 Statement of the problem

In 2017, the new Zimbabwean administration sought to end years international isolation characterised various forms of restrictive measures (Moyo & Ndimande, 2018). These measures ranged from individual travel bans to economic sanctions that restricted the state's relationship with international financial institutions such as the World Bank and IMF (Ndakaripa, 2014). It also meant that Zimbabwe was not of international multilateral forums such as the Commonwealth. Rationally the idea of reconciliation with United Kingdom and other Western organisations would be a rational choice in order to turn around the economy than continuing with previous regime's trajectory (Onslow, 2018). Thus, the re-engagement policy announced by President Emmerson Mnangagwa gave optimism that the country's fortunes would change for the better with good relations with the West.

On the contrary, three years after the announcement of the new policy, the government has apparently failed to thaw relations with the West and its former colonial power Britain (Matyszak, 2019). Relations between Harare and London have worsened and the economic revival that was expected has not materialized (Plaut, 2019). Given this scenario, it is prudent to investigate the reasons why the moves by President Emmerson Mnangagwa to re-establish good relations with the United Kingdom have failed. An important analytical perspective is to explore the role of the civil society organisations in the re-engagement process given the perceptions that CSOs are accused by state actors as agents of regime change.

1.5 Research Objectives

- To examine why Zimbabwe's re-engagement with United Kingdom has remained problematic.
- To analyse the roles of CSOs in Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts with the U.K.
- To assess the impact of the role CSOs in Zimbabwe's re-engagement policy.

1.6 Research questions

- 1 Why is Zimbabwe's re-engagement policy with United Kingdom problematic?
- 2 What has been the role of CSOs in re-engagement the efforts with the U.K?
- 3 What is the impact of CSOs actions in Zimbabwe's re-engagement with the U.K?

1.7 Assumptions

One of the main assumptions of this research is that the pro-Western CSOs have been sabotaging the efforts of the Mnangagwa administration to re-establish relations with the United Kingdom government. The government through various platforms have accused several CSOs of working against the government in order to effect regime change. Furthermore, some of the assumptions of this study are that the re-engagement process has

already failed as there are negligible accomplishments in the Harare and London's bilateral relations.

1.8 Significance of the study

Economic and political fortunes of the Zimbabwe are tied with the process of re-engagement as sound relations with the United Kingdom government are vital given its global financial muscle and its substantial political influence. Secondly, United Kingdom acceptance has implications on re-engagement with other nation's especially Western states such as the United States, the EU and Scandinavian countries that also disengaged from Harare under the rule of President Mugabe. The continuation of the United Kingdom sanctions has deterred trade and investment opportunities in Zimbabwe. Also tied to United Kingdom acceptance is the issue of international financial multilateral partners that are essential in Zimbabwe's quest for a financial bailout and debt relief all linked to the revival of the economy.

Non-state actors are important in foreign policy outcomes and this has a bearing to Zimbabwe's efforts to re-engagement given the decline in state-centric across the globe. Although they are not main drivers of foreign policy, their actions have significant implications in the international arena. Civil society organisations have documented and reported on the Mnangagwa government sincerity to implementing political and economic reforms. It can be argued that these reports generated by the organisations have impacted the Harare and London relationship in the post-Mugabe era. Therefore by focusing on non-state actor's participation in foreign policy goals, this research is trying to show the significance of CSOs as players that must not be taken for granted in international affairs.

1.9 Delimitations

The research study is mainly concerned about Zimbabwe and U.K bilateral relations post November 2017 up to 2020. As the realm of foreign policy is naturally, external, it follows that this research would be transnational. The scope of this research is not bounded to a fixed territory. Nevertheless, the main evidence gathered from this research is obtained from Zimbabwe. Harare and Bindura are the two cities where data from this research would be collected. In the main, participants of this research reside in Harare. These are government officials, civil society leaders and international relations experts. Contact with individuals living outside Zimbabwe is done through internet based communication platforms such as Whatsapp, Zoom and Skype.

1.10 Limitations

A number of limitations have hindered this research study at this juncture. Due to the rise in tensions between the US and the Zimbabwe governments; it would be difficult to get full disclosures from key participants due to the highly charged environment that currently prevailing in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, at the moment the entire world is g.ripped by the global coronavirus epidemic that requires social distancing and limits movement. Every study has limitations and constraints hence it is important to note challenges that hinder the study. One obstacle is that of accessing key informants who are qualified to provide the necessary information for the study including. Also, due to the sensitivity of certain issues and information the researcher may be potentially restricted to access material that would make the study more comprehensive.

1.11 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

In international relations discourse, there is no agreed definition of re-engagement. For this study, it can be defined as a foreign policy process that involves state and non-state actor participation in re-establishing relations at a bilateral or multilateral level. Re-engagement

can be contrasted dis-engagement that involves a break or separation external relations with a state or multinational organisations. An example of re-engagement is that USA and Cuba that re-established diplomatic relations in 2015 after more than five decades of hostility. However, US sanctions imposed on Cuba have remained in despite a thawing of enmity (Leogrande, 2015).

Foreign policy can be described as the actions, strategies and decisions directed at actors outside the borders of a nation-state. It is differentiated from domestic policy that is focused towards the internal structure of a given country. Foreign policy covers a wide range of issues from traditional sectors such as security and economics to areas such as foreign aid and human rights.

Andrew Heywood asserts that “...the national interest refers to foreign policy goals, objectives or policy preferences that benefit a society as a whole (the foreign policy equivalent of the ‘public interest’) (Heywood, 2011:130). The term is shrouded in controversy as some statesmen have abused this concept for various reasons. The contestation of the term surrounds who defines what national interest is and it used by the leadership power. According to traditional realist thinkers national interest is primarily linked to issues of national security. This naturally pertains to sovereignty of the state and territorial integrity. Amongst all the issues, security is the most vital element and it means protection of the state from attack, invasion, conquest, and destruction (Art, 2003:45).

These are private or public organisations that are sometimes autonomous from state control. They can be international or domestic and have different agendas. On the other hand, State actors are entities under public law whose authority is limited to a specific national territory and sometimes referred to as governments (Stengel & Baumann, 2017). Non-state actors include groups such as multinational corporations, liberation movements, and terrorist

organisations to international human rights groups. Organisations such as Coca cola, Greenpeace and Amnesty International fall under this category.

The term CSOs refers to organizations that are voluntary, not-for-profit, and non-state actors, which include nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), international NGOs (INGOs), community-based organizations and voluntary associations (Chikoto-schultz & UzochU.Kwu, 2016). These groups represent a plethora of areas such as social, political, commercial or ecological sectors. The emergence of CSOs in the post-cold war period has been linked to human security needs especially in states when government capacity to provide services is compromised. In some instances, CSOs can be state sponsored to represent the interests of the state.

Public diplomacy is defined as means states, non-state actors and entities influence the attitudes and opinions of other peoples and governments in such a way as to exercise influence on their foreign policy decisions (Ayhan, 2019:3). Government and private groups may employ a number of strategies in public diplomacy such as the use of the media to stress a particular agenda or the use advocacy to communicate ones interests. The goal of public diplomacy is to exert influence towards a government in order to achieve certain foreign policy outcomes.

1.12 Chapter Outline

Chapter one will provide the background to the investigation. It will start by giving a background to the research problem. It will show how the researcher intends to investigate problem at hand by showing the purpose, aims and objectives of the research inquiry. As the research focuses on Zimbabwe and U.K bilateral relations post-2017 and the challenges thereof, pertinent dynamics of this relationship will be discussed.

Chapter two is primarily to focus on the literature review and theoretical framework. This section will look at pre-existing literature that speaks to non-state actor involvement in foreign policy processes. It will focus on nsas activities from multiple settings ranging from North America to southern Africa in the context of their participation in foreign affairs. The other portion of this segment will focus on the main theoretical framework that will be used in this research problem. It will centre on liberal theory of complex interdependence that provides for the immersion civil society groups in foreign policy processes.

Chapter three of this research will look at the research design and methodology that is going to be used to carry out the research question. The justifications of using the selected research design and methodology will be discussed as well as the definitions and limitations of particular research methods. Qualitative Case Study research design will be shown as the research design suitable for this investigation. Its advantages and weakness will also be highlighted. Lastly, ethical issues that are to be expected will also be discussed and the best ways to overcome them will be presented. Chapter four, in this chapter will present the findings of the research. It will show the data that was gathered from different participants ranging from individuals in Zimbabweans Ministry of foreign affairs to representatives of CSOs groups in the governance sector. Evidence that is also collected from primary documents such as press statements and official reports will also be shown in order to understand the underlying problems that have affected Zimbabwe's re-engagement process. Additionally, this chapter will also provide an analysis of the gathered information in order to understand from the various participants the role of CSOs in the problematic nature of Zimbabwe's normalization efforts with the United Kingdom. In the last chapter of the dissertation, final conclusions of the research problem will be presented and discussed. Recommendations of how to tackle the research problem will also be shown. In this ending

segment, areas that can be pursued by other scholars in reference to the findings of this specific research will also be given.

1.13 Summary

In summary, this first chapter presented how this research dissertation is going to be investigated. It showed the background that to research problem and it also discussed the aim, purpose and significance of the study. Limitations and delimitations of the entire study were also presented including the contents of the five chapters that make up the research. The following chapter will delve into the literature review and the theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

In order to tackle this investigation in finer detail, it is important to show theories, debates and influential works that are relevant to this research topic. Theoretically, liberalism and its strand of complex interdependence as espoused by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye 1977 is the main conceptual framework that is going to be the building block of this thesis and it will be discussed below in this section (Keohane & Nye, 1977). Keohane and Nye's theoretical framework argues that besides states other transnational actors such as private citizens and non-state actors independent from the government structures are important participants in the international politics. This undertaking brings to the fore the central point of view of this research question that is how certain non-state actors have been involved in shaping the progression or the regression of the re-engagement policy with the United Kingdom. The focus of this research is primarily on governance-related non-state actors or domestic based civil society organisations CSOs. Consequently literature that is connected to these types of groups will be discussed in the context of foreign policy. Furthermore, a number of scholarly works that have been undertaken that are related non-state actor involvement in foreign policy will also be presented showing some of the major debates and themes that make up this discourse.

2.2 Key terms

Foreign policy is defined broadly as "... attempts by governments to influence or manage events outside the state's borders, usually, but not exclusively, through their relations with foreign governments." (Heywood, 2011: 129). The term non-state actor (NSA) refers to all

individuals or groups that are independent and are not representatives of government and its institutions (Viotti & Kauppi, 2013). This encompasses the civil society, intergovernmental organisations, non-government organisations and among many other formations. Governance oriented civil society may be defined as organisations whose activities are governance related and are independent from the state (Masunungure, 2014). Foreign Policy Analysis, (FPA) is a subfield of International relations that is concerned with “the study of the conduct and practice of relations between different actors, primarily states, in the international system.”(Alden & Aran, 2016: 3)

2.3 Complex interdependence

The theory of complex interdependence was written in the late 70s by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye. It showed from a liberal economic perspective how states especially those that had joined regional economic blocs such as the European Commission, a precursor to the European Union started to depend on each other for their economic well-being and to a certain degree on security needs (Eriksson & Giacomello, 2006; Ikenberry, 2000). In their conceptualization, other economic players other than the state such as Multinational corporations could have the potential to yield power that could affect the interaction of multiple states. The involvement of stakeholders other than the government made it possible for other actors to be involved in inter-state relations (Keohane & Nye, 1977). Complex interdependence also birthed the concept of pluralism that accounts for domestic actors in the sub-field of foreign policy analysis. This approach of pluralism in foreign policy analysis will be discussed in greater detail below.

2.4 Theoretical debates in FPA

The structure agency debate has dominated the field of foreign policy analysis for the last 50 years (Alden & Aran, 2016). Realist thinkers tend to maintain that the structure of the

international system has more leverage in determining the foreign policy of states and this largely influenced by the security desires of the state that resides in an anarchical environment (Donnelly, 2000). On the other hand, contemporary scholars such as those that subscribe to constructivism and pluralism assert that non-state actors now have an important role in global politics notwithstanding the centrality states inter-state engagements (Stengel & Baumann, 2017). Some of the prominent scholars in this debate that back state level analysis include the likes (Kennan, 1985; Kissinger, 1994; Morgenthau, 1948). In this debate realists argue that the global structure or environment is the most important factor determining the foreign policy of states in the international environment. A key element in the structural analysis is the concept of state security. This security desire of states is a result of the harsh anarchical environment in the international system and is associated with notions state survival because of the competitive nature inter-state relations (Alden & Aran, 2016). Realists assert the international environment is anarchical as states especially the powerful states are in a constant struggle for power (Morgenthau, 1948). Alden states that realist view “ the character of the international system, that is, its fundamentally anarchic nature, is the most important guide to interpreting foreign policy.”(Alden & Aran, 2016: 5) This anarchical structure is connected the foundational concept of national interest that is viewed as the most important factor that determines the external relations among states. A contemporary example of how structuralists view foreign policy can be seen through the lens of the US China trade war of 2016 (Darina & Kaiser, 2018). Structuralist will argue that the national interest of the US motivated the Americans to take a hard stance on China by imposing tariffs and other trade restrictions because China’s economic power was seen as a threat to the US (Kim, 2019). However those that subscribe to agency model will look at the individual level analysis as the cause of the trade war. The practitioners of the agency level might look at the character of Presidents the two countries as the main drivers of the policy changes. This is

described as behaviourism in FPA. For example, behaviourist might argue President Trump actions have nothing to do with longstanding America policy towards China but are a result of his own internal biases based on own internal perceptions and experiences (Hung, 2018; Olander, 2019). Behaviourists' focus on the 'minds of men' and are interested in issues related to cognition and psychology in foreign policy decision making (Erişen, 2012).

Pluralism is another approach in foreign policy analysis that accounts for domestic influences on foreign policy besides realist notions of structure and human agency assumptions. Its roots can be traced to the 1970s and is connected to theories of liberalism when scholars such Keohane and others started to question the traditional paradigms that state-centric level analysis was the most important factor in inter-state relations (Smith & Wiest, 2005). Pluralist were also different from behaviourist in that they did not focus their analysis based on the psychology of government official responsible for crafting foreign policies. They argued that domestic forces were also important elements in the formation of foreign policy and this gave eminence to non-state actors in international affairs without discounting the realist argument of the centrality of states (Alden & Aran, 2016; Nasiritousi et al., 2016). Prominent experts in this area include the Robert Keohane, Thomas Risse-Kippen, Bruce Russett and Peter Haas (Cakmak, 2007). These pluralist scholars and others have written on the significance of non-state actor participation in the realm of international relations. Pluralist scholars argued that other non-state actors such as multinational companies (MNCs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and civil society organisations (CSOs) engaged in international politics and this increased the legitimacy of global governance (Nasiritousi et al., 2016). Bodies such as Greenpeace and Amnesty international fall into this category of non-state actors categorised under pluralism and since the end of the cold war their influence has expanded especially in the global south. Their central argument places the importance of domestic and transnational sources that are not linked to the state as crucial elements that are

pivotal in order to understand foreign policy processes. Internal state processes tied to the pluralist discourse centres on issues such as public opinion, human rights, governance and globalisation. As shown by the various theoretical positions above, there are competing and sometimes complementary frameworks that are used by foreign policy researchers. A perusal of the debates shows that states are still essential in any discussion that revolves foreign policy since they have the legitimacy and sovereign right to create and implement external policies. Notwithstanding this established fact, contemporary practice has shown that domestic actors have increased transnational activities and their power to shape or influence in the international arena is no longer taken for granted. This gap locates the research question in understanding the context of non-state actors in Zimbabwe's re-engagement with the United Kingdom.

2.5 NSA's foreign policy

An in depth analysis of non-state literature concerning foreign policy brings to the fore several themes. Issues of globalisation, Public opinion and its progressive role of spreading democratic tents are viewed by a great deal of scholars in this sphere as an important feature of CSOs in international affairs (Bennett, 2012; Habib, 2005; Smith & Wiest, 2005) . An example of this progressive nature of CSOs is shown through their contribution several international treaties that are seen beneficial to mankind. For instance the 1998 Ottawa treaty that banned the use of landmines has been viewed by some foreign policy scholars as a progressive example of CSO impact and influence on states in relation to global policy. The Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict that was approved in 2002 is also another example that showed the power of CSO in the realm of international policy making (Kelley, 2010: 298). Legitimacy of CSOs is also another theme that has been seen in CSO literature. Although CSO are not the main actors in crafting and implementing policies (Nasiritousi et al., 2016) asserts the involvement of CSOs enhances the legitimacy of

certain foreign policy decisions (Dembinski & Joachim, 2014) (Nasiritousi et al., 2016). Theoretically this is based on normative and sociological assumptions the CSOs have the expertise and the resources that allow for the facilitation and implementation of certain foreign policy decisions. The power of legitimacy of CSOs in policy making sphere is also highlighted by numerous scholars in literature. Furthermore alongside expertise and legitimacy, the mastery of CSOs in information technologies (IT) and the media has also been a major theme that has been written by scholars in this area (Kelley, 2010). Researchers in foreign policy have argued that proficiency in ITs especially the internet has enabled CSOs to not only shape foreign policy but also bring new dynamic to diplomacy (Mpofu, 2016) (Surowiec & Long, 2020). According to Mpofu “The Internet is an organising tool and model for new forms of political practice and culture with the potential to impact on democratisation in countries with troubled political and legal frameworks for the public sphere.” (Mpofu, 2016: 28). This is evident in social media platforms such as twitter and Facebook. A case in point is that of the Arab spring that started in early 2011 in the Middle East. During the Arab spring, several Middle East states changed their policies as a result of the wave of democratic energy that spread across the region. This power to spread democracy has also led to another feature of CSO scholarship and this adversarial relationship between CSOs and states. This conflictual relationship is global in nature however; in the global south it is more pronounced and confrontational as states are experiencing different stages of democratic transition in the post-cold war.

2.5 Ethnic lobbies

Scholarship that has tackled domestic influences on foreign policy has been largely centred on Western democracies. In these states, focus has been on the role of interest groups that have tried to convince decision makers to take certain foreign policy positions that are aligned to their own interests. Interests groups are an important starting point when analysing

the influence of the CSOs in the foreign policy making process of governments. According to (Alden & Aran, 2016) interests groups offer various forms of support to decision makers that can be financial or electoral support in order to further their own foreign policy goals . Examples of some of these interest groups include the likes of ethnic interest groups, multinational corporations and think tanks. In the United States of America for instance, ethnic interest groups have had different levels of success in shaping the foreign policies of the US government. Prominent ethnic groups involved in this area include the likes of African Americans, Cuban Americans and Jewish Americans. All of these ethnic groups have tried to influence their government to act in accordance to their own foreign policy positions in regards to their ancestral homelands. (Rubenzer, 2008) shows that the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) for example convinced the Ronald Reagan administration in the 1980s to continue with the sanctions regime on the Cuban government despite the roots of the conflict emanating in early 1960s. CANF's power is widely witnessed during Presidential elections as the Cuban vote in Florida has been decisive in American elections that use the Electoral College system. Alongside CANF, The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is the most dominant ethnic interest group in the US that lobbies for favourable policies for the state of Israel. Founded in 1963, AIPAC also operates similar to CANF in that it supports campaigns of political candidates that care for their foreign policy aims and goals. Influential neorealist thinkers John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt wrote a authoritative book on the lobby called *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, in 2007 (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2007). The American sanctions on Iran and companies that do business with it is one of the many policy positions that have been lobbied by the committee in the American congress (Hunter, 2010). These examples of the ethnic groups influencing the foreign policy of the US government principally on the issue of sanctions demonstrates the power that domestic non-state actor have on foreign policy positions. This impact of

interest groups can also be connected to the CSOs in Zimbabwe that have also lobbied against the re-engagement of policy of the Mnangagwa government with Western states including the U.K.

2.5.1 Think tanks

Besides, ethnic interest groups, think tanks are also non-state actors that are involved in shaping the foreign policy in the US. Think tanks defined as “policy research institutes involved in studying a particular policy area or a broad range of policy issues, actively seeking to advise policymakers or inform public debate.”(Stone, 2001:340). Stone posits that there are three waves in the origin of these groups, first before the Second World Two, during the cold war and after the cold war (Stone, 2001). For instance one of the oldest think tanks that is still in existence is the Council on Foreign Relations that was established in 1921 (Blackwill & Harris, 2016). In addition to Council on Foreign Relations, prominent think tanks in the US include likes of The Heritage Foundation, American Enterprise Institute and the Brookings institute. The impact of these groups in the realm in of US foreign policy has been significant. For instance Vice President Dick Cheney was one of the several influential individuals came from think tanks in of President George W. Bush administration. (Cameron, 2005) is of the view that besides being institutes that formulate in international policy, think tanks are also spaces that allow “ those on “sabbatical” between administrations or spells in Congress, or in retirement after public service.” (Cameron, 2005: 98). This exchange of both personal and ideas places these groups to in position to extremely influential when comes to international affairs.

In addition to think tanks groups organised agriculture lobby groups have also been an important interest group that has influenced the U.S. government to take certain policy position in multilateral regimes. A case in point is that of lobbying in World Trade

Organisation (WTO) over subsidy regulation. The passing of the United States Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002 was seen by many developing countries as a direct deterrent aimed at stalling the negotiations on the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) (Chakravarty & Ashra, 2007). The actions of American farmers with regard to negotiations in the Doha round in the WTO showed the power of certain lobby groups in international affairs. Likewise, EU farmers also lobbied in Brussels to continue with trade-distorted agricultural subsidies and similarly to the U.S. introduced the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) in 2003 that also dashed any hopes to come up with fair agricultural trade policies at the WTO (Prabhakar, 2003). Although these two examples show the impact on non-state actors in the business, some foreign policy scholars are of the view that it is more difficult for sub-state actors to influence fields related to security and intelligence. This is partly due to the fact that these subfields of foreign policy are more secretive than other areas such as business.

2.6 NSA's Methods

Non-state actors employ a variety of methods in the various processes of foreign policy. Foreign policy comes in different forms. It can be in decision-making process, implementation, review or evaluation. (Stengel & Baumann, 2017) are of the view that CSOs involvement might appear in these various stages depending on factors such as regime type, collaboration with state or non-cooperation with a government. All of these spheres are areas that can be cooperative or divergent. An example of collaboration of CSOs in foreign policy can be seen through the quasi-state/NGO in the US called the National Endowment for Democracy (Bush, 2016). This organisation is responsible for funding CSOs around the world with explicit role of spreading the goals and interests of the American government. Methods used by this organisation come in different forms such as funding and training groups in areas such as election monitoring, reproductive health and human rights advocacy (Bush, 2016).

This is an example of how some CSOs can collaborate in the implementation policies of certain states. Other the other side of the scale some CSOs might be obstructive in the different stages of the foreign policy processes (Stengel & Baumann, 2017). These CSOs work in order to put pressure on certain government with hope of getting reactions from other governments. The duty of these organisations is to review and evaluate the actions of certain governments especially with respect to issues of human rights obligations (Dembinski & Joachim, 2014). The Intentional Crisis Group (ICG) can be categorised as an organisation that falls into area (Cakmak, 2007). Its presence on the African continent and other hot spots is said to have an impact on the foreign policy of the many Western government as its reports are used as evidence of compliance to certain international regulations. These evaluations feed into the policy making decision of certain governments. The ramification might be a change in policy in respect to foreign policy from one state to the other. Thus from this perspective CSOs also act as arbiters of state behaviour thus impacting the foreign policy process.

2.6.1 Public opinion

A number of scholars have written extensively on the domestic influences that shape the foreign policy of states. Christopher Hill's seminal work on the power of the public opinion in Britain showed the importance of how the general society's view on certain foreign policy issues had an impact with the U.K government (Hill, 1981). His arguments showed that in advanced democratic states, unlike authoritarian governments, non-state actors have to a certain degree power to influence the government to take certain policy decision in respect to international affairs. Hill work on public opinion speaks to the ideas that have put across by (Holsti, 1992) when he showed from an American perspective the role of non-state actors in public diplomacy. The influence and the power of NSA in foreign affairs in the US was seen in the vocal public engagement that vehemently organised the successfully against the

Vietnam War. Several strategies were used in order to campaign against the war and it can be argued that in the end the US government eventually gave in to the public outcry of the war. To ascertain the importance of public diplomacy from the various anti-war groups as the main reason that led the end of the Vietnam War is not conclusive. However the pressure exerted by the anti-war groups cannot be denied either. Although the Hill's and Holsti's researches appears to have been speaking on Western society's and states that can be classified as democratic in the 1980s and 1990s respectively, the essence or the main arguments that was out across by the authors rings true to the actions that have been occurring in the context of Zimbabwe during the crisis "period". Although in Zimbabwe, the state has been generally classified as competitive authoritarian regime, there are some features that have transcended from a Western context to a Zimbabwean setting over a period time. For instance, in the past two decades, several groups in Zimbabwe started to voice their opinion over foreign policy issues such as the 1998 unilateral government deployment of military in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (Rupiya, 2002). The method and form of protest to this foreign deployment was most through traditional forms of print media. The exact impact of the public campaign against the DRC war has not been fully explored, however, the role of CSOs in amplifying matters that have been traditionally the state's uncontested domain has changed over time. The media is an important area that the public diplomacy or public sentiment can be expressed. Traditional forms of the media have been the mainstay in this space of public media however new disruptive technologies have now increased the capacity of various form NSAs and individuals to set an agenda. For instance, use of social media tools that are widely available have enabled groups that were once restricted to air out their views and set the agenda of government to act or behaviour is a certain kind of orientation. This ring true to many African states that have state controlled media have little to no space for public engagement in certain foreign policy issues. In

addition to trying influence the domestic arena, it has also been observed that CSOs have used the media to try and influence other external government in order to shift their foreign policy positions.

2.7 State and Civil Society Relations in Africa

In order to get a better understanding of the impact and role of CSOs in Zimbabwe's re-engagement since 2017, it is important to understand the broad relations between African governments and civil society groups. According to (Chikoto-schultz & UzochU.Kwu, 2016)the relations between the state and civil society in Africa cannot be described by a single framework. They posit that African states are not heterogeneous and relations are usually based on regime type and unique national history and circumstances. Experience of CSOs in Nigeria, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Uganda might share similarities but there are also significant differences. For example, experiences of the same type of CSOS in Zimbabwe and South Africa might be different as result levels of political tolerances stemming from domestic laws. (Kagoro, 2005) has described the criminalization of certain kinds of CSO activities in Zimbabwe such as gay rights, but in South Africa discussion of gender and sexual issues is legally permissible according to their constitution.

Although there are some differences, important characteristics appear in several states across the continent. Governments across Africa are highly suspicious of foreign funded NGOS. These CSOS are viewed in neorealist paradigms as extensions of Western hegemony in post-colonial Africa. In southern Africa this suspicion is palpable given that most states in the SADC are governed by liberation movements that are steeped in anti-imperialist ideology. ZANU PF, ANC, SWAPO and MPLA have a socialist thrust is guards notions of sovereignty given the military and ideological struggles against Western colonial regimes. Furthermore, African government restraint towards CSOS can be seen through the leans of prohibitive

legislation. Throughout Africa a laws have been created in order to regulate, control and limit the contributions of CSO's especially those that are involved in advocating for political plurality.

2.7.1 CSOs foreign policy in North Africa

African states and their distinct forms of governments have not received considerable attention from international relations scholarship in relation to the role of domestic and non – state actor influence in formulation and implementation of foreign policy. According to(Alden & Aran, 2016) This is partly because the majority of the governments on the continent have been led by non-democratic regimes that have restricted platforms of state and public engagement in policy making. Notwithstanding this feature, some scholars have shown that in certain instances especially in governments that are going through the transition from authoritarian to democratic there exist spaces whereby non-state actor groups such as civil society groups can and have had an impact on foreign policy related issues. A case in point is that of Tunisia that emerged as the only successful country to transition to a democratic state in the post Arab spring. (Lynn Dobbs & Schraeder, 2018) have shown that The Tunisian Human Rights League (LTDH), successfully lobbied the government to ratify a number of international conventions such as UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women CEDAW, Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture, the UN Convention on Enforced Disappearances and the Rome Statute for the International Criminal Court. This North African example of Tunisia highlights some of the rare African instances whereby CSOs have been active in to a certain degree in shaping the foreign policy of certain governments.

2.7.2 CSOs in Foreign Policy in South Africa

Despite limited literature on CSOs involvement directly or indirectly in foreign policy processes, there a number of examples that have emerged from the African continent that highlight the impact and role of NSAs in shaping foreign affairs. This phenomenon has occurred in states that have spaces for public engagement in crafting national policy. (Bridgman, 2002)observed in South Africa’s first administration after apartheid, space for CSO impact in foreign policy was significant. This was mostly as a result of the democratic constitution that was introduced in 1994 that allowed for the participant of non-state actors in policy making processes. Avenues that have allowed CSOs to shape policies have mainly been in parliamentary portfolio committee. Indirect methods that have been used by CSOs in South Africa include publication of views in the media and the protests. A case in point is that of the Mbeki government silent diplomacy over the Zimbabwe crisis (Dashwood, 2002). In his first term President Mbeki received direct and indirect pressure to change his stance on Zimbabwe. CSOs groups such as COSATU the South African Council of Churches advocated for the government to take a hard stance of the Mugabe government considering the political developments in that country. For instance The South African Council of Churches in 2004 wanted President Mbeki to force ZANU PF and MDC in talks that would result end the political conflict (Phimister & Raftopoulos, 2004). Furthermore, the crisis in Zimbabwe had resulted in large number of Zimbabwean migrants and refugees thus putting pressure on the South African government to take a more holistic approach in order to solve the problems of their northern neighbour (Maphaka et al., 2020). In the same way, in 2020 President Ramaphosa has also been exerted pressure from different quarters of the South African body politic including several CSOs to be proactive to Zimbabwe crisis. Following allegations of state sponsored human right abuses, via different form of social media CSOs again have been trying to influence the foreign policy of South Africa over Zimbabwe. Although previous effects of this lobbying have been mixed, the actions of CSOs in South

Africa show that there is indeed a space in Africa wherein non-state actor can influence foreign affairs.

2.8 State and Civil Society Relations in Zimbabwe

In order to understand the role and impact of CSOs in re-engagement it is important to look at the background of state and civil relations in Zimbabwe. There are several topical issues that have emerged in Zimbabwean civil society literature however; the antagonism between CSOs and the state is a key theme in this field of study. According to (Matyszak, 2019) this due to opposing narratives that have dominated the Zimbabwe since the year 2000. On one side of the narrative, there is the pro government side, which alleges that the ruling party is legitimately fighting against foreign forces fronted by the opposition and civil society because of government stance on black economic empowerment. The other opposing argument is of the view that the government is repressive and is a major stumbling block for the country to transition to democracy. However literature that looks at the role and activities of independent civil society organisations appears to more compared to the former. One of the key themes in this narrative is that of democratic deficit in Zimbabwe post 2000. An important feature of this theme that has an international element is that CSOs contend that the hostile relations between Zimbabwe and the West are the result of Harare's rejection of democratic tents such as respects human rights and international law. In effect, this literature posits that the responsibility of sanctions and international isolation is placed on the ruling ZANU PF government because of its authoritarian behaviour.

A key component of this research topography illustrates how civil society has been documenting cases of human rights violations and electoral malpractices across the country. Records of human rights abuses especially during the fast track land reform programme and elections have been cited by the EU and the US in justifying sanctions on Zimbabwe since

2002. For instance, (Mwonzora & Mandikwaza, 2019) research showed examples of how several CSOs documented human rights violations and electoral malpractices during elections in Zimbabwe. Examples of some of the CSOs that documented cases of electoral flaws include Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP), Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN), and Elections Resource Centre (ERC) (Mwonzora & Mandikwaza, 2019). These activities of CSOs especially the recording of human rights abuses and election malpractices were used as evidence to show that Zimbabwe undermines international law and deserves to put under sanctions. However, according to Ndawana, “the government of Zimbabwe viewed the use of economic sanctions as an illegitimate instrument meant to subvert the internal political order of the country, especially the fast-track land reform programme (FTLRP).”(Ndawana, 2018). This divergence on the sanction issue is also a cause of hostility and suspicion between the state and CSOs that also happens to have an international dimension. This narrative of CSOs contesting despotism is one side of scholarship that speaks to state and civil relations in Zimbabwe. Another example of CSO literature of exposing state abuses besides election malpractices and general freedoms can be seen through the mining sector. Scholars on civil society in Zimbabwe have also written about human right violations in Zimbabwe’s diamond mining in Marange. For instance the activities of CSOs documenting alleged human rights abuses by states security agents between 2007 and 2008 in Marange in an operations called Operation Chiorokoza Chapere (An End to Illegal Panning) and (Hakudzokwe – ‘you shall not return’) (Mailey, 2015: 68; Matyszak, 2017: 12).

Furthermore, another feature that has been mentioned by several scholars of CSOs in Zimbabwe is the issue of restrictive laws. As a consequence of the hostility between the government CSOs, numerous laws were enacted by the state to regulate and sometimes stifle their operations. Laws such as Public Order and Security Act (POSA), Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), Non-Governmental Organisations Act (NGOA) have

been cited by various scholars as having an adverse effect on their operating environment (Kagoro, 2005; Makwerere, 2017; Masunungure, 2014) . The international effect of the expose was to call for the ban in the sell Chiadzwa's diamonds under the Kimberly Process Certification Scheme (KPSC) (Ndakaripa, 2014). The argument being Zimbabwe was not compliant to international law. Additionally, the establishment of pro-government CSOs has also been cited by scholarship that looks at independent CSOs as a strategy by government to reinforce their patriotic narrative and counter independent CSOs (Masunungure, 2014) (Sachikonye, 2017). According to Masunungure, the Zimbabwe Federation of Trade Unions (ZFTU) and the Zimbabwe Congress of Students Union (ZICOSU) were created to counter the effectiveness of other CSOs. As shown above, it can be said that a central feature CSO literature communicates issues of exposing deficiencies in democracy in various sectors of the state.

Scholarship that frames CSOs as foreign agents is few and far between in comparison to the abovementioned works. There are few scholars that have examined CSOs in the context of regime change. The reason why a good measure of CSOs scholarship has not highlighted the government perspective remains unknown. According to (Gwekwerere et al., 2019), scholarship that has an emphasis on this dimension is termed 'patriotic narratives'. It is characterised by an Afrocentric approach that conceptualizes and constructs the ZANU PF government as fighting neo-imperialist forces whose desire is to remove a pan-African led government. Forces against ZANU PF described by this literature include white commercial farmers, independent media and civil society. These internal groups are clustered as agents or neo-colonial forces that work hand in hand with former colonial power Britain and her Western allies to effect regime change. Influential scholars that are pro-government and have framed CSOs in this way include the likes of Dr Mahoso, Professor Mararike (Gwekwerere et al., 2019; Mararike, 2019; Ranger, 2004). Terrence Ranger described this form ideological

approach as being communicated via the state media's newspapers The Herald and Chronicle and also via the national broadcaster, Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC). Ranger goes on to show that Dr Mahoso criticised Zimbabwean civil society' calls for respect to international norms of human rights as 'bogus universalism' (Ranger, 2004: 223). The consequence of this scholarship appears to be hegemonic. It appears to defend the actions of the government from criticism of repression in all sectors of the state. The justification being that anti-government neo-liberal forces in the opposition and civil society are working in cahoots with foreign power to implement as nefarious agenda.

Instances of this research on CSOs include demonstrating examples of the direct and indirect collaboration of CSOs with foreign states. For instance (Murasi, 2019) illustrates that the Zimbabwe government under the administration of president Mugabe accused CSOs of being used the US government to further their foreign policy goals. He asserts that in 2007, the US State department the equivalent of the Ministry of foreign affairs admitted publicly to funding CSOs through a medium called the Defenders fund (Murasi, 2019). He goes to state that, these admissions elicited a response from President Mugabe stating that the West was bent on subverting the will of the people through sponsoring local elements at the expense of developmental projects. (Hove & Chenzi, 2017; Ncube, 2013) also capture the views of the state in relation to CSOs interference in domestically. For example, the activities Christian based CSOs were accused by government for causing instability with explicit aim of destroying the country's independence and sovereignty. Examples of groups within the Christian community that prompted state reprisal during President Mugabe's tenure include #This Flag movement, Zimbabwe Divine Destiny (ZDD), Zimbabwe Heads of Christian Denominations (ZHOCD) Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ), Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC), and Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference (ZCBC). In 2016, #This Flag movement led by Pastor Evan Mawarire was arrested and charged with inciting public

violence (Hlatywayo & Mangongera, 2020). He was also accused as acting as an agent of foreign powers to cause an insurrection in Zimbabwe. These examples shown herein highlight some of the examples that are given by several researchers who take the government view on CSOs. In summary they are of the view that CSOs activity in Zimbabwe especially post 2000 is not neutral. In fact, actions of these organisations reflect a foreign hand that desires to reverse state programmes such as land reform and the government of Zimbabwe is justified in handling CSOs as such.

2.9 Summary

In summary, this chapter has tried to locate how CSOs impact on the re-engagement fits in with existing knowledge that examines and the role and place of non-state actors in foreign policy processes. It has shown that theoretically complex interdependency theory of Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane can accurately describe the involvement of non-state actors in different spheres foreign policy. Furthermore this theoretical framework has been to be connected to the concept of pluralism that accounts other domestic actors besides states in international affairs. Methods and tools used by various non-state actors have also been highlighted. The contextual place of CSOs in the re-engagement process has been analysed by looking at various environments that CSOs have engaged in activities that are related to the foreign policy of their countries and beyond. For instance examples have been drawn from South Africa and the United States that show the involvement of CSOs in different roles in shaping foreign policy. Additionally, an examination of how CSOs have interacted with the government of President Mugabe has also been reviewed in order to get a better understanding of the circumstances that have shaped the interaction of the state and civil society groups in the second republic.

CHAPTER 3

3.0: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Research is an organised systematic, disciplined approach to answering questions about our observations and experiences in the world. It is a structured approach to gathering and interpreting information that allows us to understand, theorize or explain experience. (Gay & Airasian, 2000)

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this research was to understand why the re-engagement as a foreign policy has failed from a non-state centric perspective. As such, this investigation will be qualitative as the data gathered and analysed will be descriptive in nature. Since qualitative research design has been chosen, it follows that qualitative data gathering and analytical processes will be observed. In carrying out this study, the researcher will collect data from primarily 3 segments. Firstly, civil society, followed by government officials from the Ministry Of Foreign Affairs and lastly from foreign policy experts that have strong background international relations. Qualitative case study will be the type of research design that will be used in this investigation. Primary data of this research will be gathered from individuals through, in-depth interviews. In terms of secondary data, sound public sources such as reports, official government documents and traditional forms of media such as newspapers will form the other component of this investigation.

3.2 Research Philosophy

Epistemological variations determine the type of qualitative designs that are intended by the researcher (Baškarada, 2014). For example, there is the positivist, existentialism and lastly the constructivist philosophical assumptions that make up a case study research design. This

research design used the social-constructivist paradigm case study as its research design. Social-constructivists believe that knowledge is constructed not discovered (Peck & Mummery, 2018). The key to this philosophical assumption is that social reality is constructed by individuals interacting in their social worlds. The important part for researchers is that people or participants make sense of the world or phenomena through their lived experiences. The benefits of using the constructivist approaches are that the researcher can gather knowledge from multiple participants and that would lead to having a holistic assessment of a situation. However, this brings to the fore the issue of accuracy as constructivism holds the view that there are multiple versions of knowledge. The effect of using this methodology is that it is difficult compared to other research designs to precisely measure or replicate the knowledge being undertaken since there are multiple ‘truths’ as per this method (Finnemore & Sikkink, 2001). Despite this given weakness, the social constructivist approach benefited this research by gathering unique insights from participants who had an in-depth knowledge of the re-engagement process.

3.3 Research Methodology

This research employed qualitative research methodology. Qualitative research can be defined as research that focuses on generating meaning and understanding through human experience of a given phenomenon (Creswell & Miller, 2010). This entails explanatory research that sought to gather and interpret the views of human subjects. Its main concerns are generated through asking questions such as how and why a particular problem has occurred.

This research study on Zimbabwe’s re-engagement with the UK used qualitative research because the nature of the questions was more concerned with understanding the subjective human experience. In most researches, qualitative research is contrasted to quantitative

research (Seale, 1999). Quantitative is primarily focused on getting statistical data is concerned with figures as and is more concerned with measurable data. Since quantitative is more concerned with measurable data it focuses on questions such as how much, how many and how frequently. From a philosophical standpoint, quantitative methodology is based on positivism. Positivism holds the view that physical and social phenomena are independent of the observer, stable over time and can be objectively quantified (Peck & Mummery, 2018). This is in contrast to qualitative research that bases its research on the subjective human experience (Hyett et al., 2014). In this research topic, understanding the reasons why the efforts of the government are not yielding the desired effect in the re-engagement drive is the essence of this research task. This means that the focus of this investigation revolves around the subjective human experience of individual perspectives on the re-engagement policy. Therefore, in order to find out the causes of this dilemma, gathering the opinions from participants that are connected to the re-engagement efforts directly or indirectly will help in understanding in answering the question at hand. Given that foreign policy can be grouped as part of a social paradigm, qualitative methodology appears suitable for answering the questions that are raised by this research problem.

3.4 Research design

This research used the case study research design as methodological guideline in order to investigate the re-engagement policy. According to (Hyett et al., 2014), case study research designs are investigations and analysis of a single or collective case that is intended to understand the complexity of the object of study. The justification of using a case study design was that the investigation intended to comprehensively understand the processes that affected the re-engagement programme over a specific period of time. In the case of this research 2017 up to 2020. Benefits of using the case study approach in this research is that

Unlike other forms of qualitative research designs, such as narratives, ethnography or phenomenological, case studies have a level of flexibility that is not offered by other forms of research approaches (Hyett et al., 2014). This flexibility allowed the researcher to design this study around the research questions that underpin the objectives of the study at hand. According to, (Boblin et al., 2013:2) “Case studies have been described as best suited to research that asks “how” and “why” questions”. This nature of case studies provides the best qualitative framework in order to comprehend the reasons why the foreign policy of the Zimbabwean government appears to face difficulties in rebooting relations with the U.K.

From an overarching viewpoint, a case study research design involves gathering information through the exploration of a bounded system (Creswell, 2014). A case study research design involves numerous research parameters. This includes data collection, analysis, validation and interpretation. The bounded part of the system may be related to issues such as time, context and other related factors that are close to each other. Case study research designs are not the same in qualitative research.

It can be argued that re-engagement policy between Zimbabwe and United Kingdom can be viewed as a bounded system. The bounded system consisted of groups such as governance CSOs, government officials and foreign policy experts as they all were connected with interrelated elements across space and time. Using a case study research design brought a lot of information from entities that were involved in shaping re-engagement directly or otherwise. Knowledge gathered from groups such as civil society and government officials was helpful in understanding from their own perspectives how the policy has remained problematic.

3.5 Target Population

Any given research has a specific population that would be examined in order to get insights on a particular subject matter. It follows naturally that the main subjects of the research would make up the population of the given study (Naderifar et al., 2017). According to (Burrell & Morgan, 1979), reality is viewed from the view point of people involved in a situation.

The general interest of the study consists of individuals and entities that are connected to the foreign policy processes of Zimbabwe since 2017. In this investigation, the groups examined were government officials from the Ministries such as information, foreign affairs, and other entities that such as state run media outlets. Secondly, the other part of the target population were non state actors in the governance civil society sector such as human rights based organisations whose work had direct implications on Zimbabwe's re-engagement programme with the West including the UK. Experts in international affairs were also considered as part of the study population as their insight gave a rich description of Zimbabwe relations with the British government.

Although foreign policy is transnational, and some of the processes that affect it are global, in this case study, the selected population is domestic and involves entirely Zimbabwean based individuals and entities. The different groups of people can be said to be representative of this given study all of them have indirect and direct connections to foreign policy. Although the objective of the study stipulates the given population of the investigation, there are a number of challenges in getting your desired participants. For instance the research was conducted at time of worldwide pandemic of COVID-19. The pandemic made hard to move looking for participants as result of mandatory lockdown measures implemented by the state.

3.6 Data Sampling Techniques

According to (Marshall, 1996) sampling techniques are used to make inferences about a given population. There are various kinds of sampling techniques that can be used in

qualitative research. Nevertheless, the probability and non-probability approach are the two main sampling approaches that have been used commonly in conducting academic research (Kothari, 2004). Probability uses random sampling in order to determine a sample, while non-probability uses non-random processes such as the researcher's judgement or convenience sampling. This study used non-probability and specifically, purposive, convenience and snowballing as sampling methods. There are several reasons why this research used the non-probability sampling methods.

This research used purposive sampling methods as it was exploring for specific subjects that were involved in Zimbabwe's foreign policy making processes. In this purposive method, the researcher looked for participants' imbedded government and civil society structures that were connected re-engagement process. Purposive sampling involves the researcher selecting the most productive sample to answer the research question. Subjects that were chosen using this method in this research were selected because of their connection to the re-engagement efforts of the Zimbabwean government. For instance, the choice of CSOs in this study was not only civil society groups that focus on governance issues but those that have an international outlook. Organisations that worked with the aim advocating the Zimbabwean situation to a global audience were purposively picked. In government, the researcher purposively looked for diplomats who work for the Ministry of foreign affairs. While, CSOs that are prominently known in the human rights sector were chosen for this investigation. The researcher contacted eight individuals from the ministry of foreign affair but only managed to get an interview from one diplomat. Moreover in the CSO sector, the researcher purposively identified and contacted four organisations whose work is associated to foreign policy in order to get answers related to the interview. The organisations were Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum, ZimRights, Zimbabwe Council of Churches and Zimbabwe Peace Project. However, the researcher managed to get an extensive interview from one entity, the

Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum as other groups where uncooperative in engaging in this investigation.

Besides purposive sampling his research used the convenience method of sampling. Convenience sampling involves selecting the most accessible subjects in order to get a representation of the whole research (Kothari, 2004). It is the least costly as it does not require effort to find subjects that are connected directly to the research problem therefore; it depends on availability of participants (Boblin et al., 2013). The researcher used subjects that were accessible in the sense that participants that were willing to share information were the ones that were used to embody the research problem. Using this method, the researcher was capable getting one international relations expert even though the researcher started out by trying to have as many researchers as possible in government departments and civil society sector; the researcher ended up gathering data based accessibility.

The researcher also used the snowballing sampling is a method. Snowballing affects the participants to provide the researcher with other participants(Marshall, 1996). The importance of the sampling method is that it provides the researcher with a wider scope of data research that might add value to entire research collecting process. This type of sampling as it opens up to other participants who might bring valuable information to research problem. The researcher was given valued documentary data through this research technique as one of the participants provided useful secondary data that was pertinent to the research questions of this investigation. Using this technique, the researcher was able to get two beneficial documents that were specifically tied to the research question on re-engagement. This enabled the researcher to gather more data that enriched this research problem.

3.7 Data collection tools

When the researcher is has finished selecting the research methodology and sampling techniques, the following stage of the research involves data collection. In qualitative

research, the researcher is the primary instrument that is used for data collection (Anderson, 2010). Unlike quantitative research which depends on external instruments such as tests, surveys and other tools for measuring data, the researcher brings his/her perspectives on the selection and meaning of data (Baškarada, 2014). This feature of qualitative research makes the researcher a key part of the research outcome as his own viewpoints shape the selection and interpretation of data. In addition to the researcher, this specific research will use the following data collection methods, interviews and document analysis.

3.8 Interviews

In qualitative research interviews can be described as a site or an event between the interviewer and interviewee in which they engage in the joint production of knowledge (Aarsand & Aarsand, 2019:636). Interviews can come in different forms. They can be in-depth interviews, structured, semi-structured or unstructured. It is also important to note that in the interview process, the interviewer and interviewee are both participants in the construction of knowledge. In qualitative interviews, participants are selected on the basis of relevant categories with respect to the research information sought (Roulston, 2018).

This research carried in-depth interviews as a type of interview procedure. “In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation.” (Boyce & Neale, 2006:2). This interview technique is important in for situations in which you want to ask open-ended questions from a small group of individuals.

In this research, categories of subjects that are sought include individuals who are government officials and representatives of different governance based CSOs in Zimbabwe. The researcher managed to have an in-depth interview with one Zimbabwean diplomat. The

interview was conducted in two parts. Firstly the diplomat responded to structured questions that directly speak to Zimbabwe UK relations in the context of re-engagement. The other part of the interview was unstructured as the diplomat answered open ended questions that were directly connected Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts.

The second interview involved a representative of Zimbabwe Humans Rights Forum. This involved an in-depth interview from that had semi structured questions. The last interview involved an international relations expert. This was an open ended discussion that was semi structured that focused on CSOs and their relationship with the state in the context re-engagement. In total 3 interviews were conducted for the purpose of this research.

3.9 Focus group discussions

Focus group discussions are qualitative research methodologies that involve two or more participants interviewed to get in-depth understanding of social issues (Parker & Tritter, 2006). An important factor that motivated this research to use the focus group method is the trigger effect that benefits the researcher as result of participants exchange ideas and responses that they did not consider before if they were interviewed alone (O.Nyumba et al., 2018). Importantly this research gains massively from focus group discussions since the group that is interviewed is purposefully selected from participants that have an association the re-engagement processes in Zimbabwe.

The researcher tried to be unsuccessfully to get focus group discussions with groups that were connected to research question. Groups that were targeted for this research were CSOs. The unsuccessful response might have based on the covid-19 based enforced locked down that occurred was during the study that limited the number of people to travel and congregate. On the other hand, the political sensitivity of the case might have spooked some CSOs as the political climate in 2020 was discomforting as result of fears of insurrections and public

violence. It can be argued that all of these factors contributed in hindering focus group discussions.

3.10 Documentary data

Documentary data was also used in this research in order to get official information from the relevant parties involved in the research problem. According to Creswell, documentary data that comes in the form of documents, reports, audio visual and images are sources data in qualitative research (Creswell, 2014). Official government documents were used as part of the research data as this primary evidence showed the government policy positions in regards to its foreign policy. As with the difficulty of accessing external information with regards to the British government, official documents released with regards to re-engagement policy with Zimbabwe was used. From the side of the civil society organisations, documents produced by these organisations were also used as part of this data to have a comprehensive understanding of the research question. Besides official documents produced by some of the actors, involved in the re-engagement process, a number of secondary data was also used. Information gathered from traditional forms of media was also used to have a deeper understanding to the progression and dynamics that have affected the foreign policy shift of the Mnangagwa government. Examples of documentary data used in this study includes, the official inauguration speech of the President when he pronounced his detailed plans for re-engagement with the U.K such as re-joining the commonwealth. On the CSOs, a number of reports that have impacted Zimbabwe's efforts to re-establish sounds include reports on human rights, constitutional reforms and electoral reports on fairness and transparency. All of these documents are essential in examining the nature of the difficulties that have impeded the success of re-engagement.

The total number of documents from the government side that were used amounted to fifteen documents. Five were press statements that were produced by several ministries and these include the ministry of Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Ministry of information and ministry of State security. The research five newspaper articles from the state run media and these were from the Herald, Chronicle and Sunday Mail.

Civil society documents that were used for this study were from the Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum, ZPP, ZimRights and Zimbabwe council of churches. The total numbers of these documents were five documents and these included monthly reports.

In total twenty five documents in total were used for both government and CSOs that speak to the issue of re-engagement efforts and complications that have occurred between Zimbabwe and the U.K.

3.11 Data presentation and analysis

An important stage that follows up the collection of data is the data presentation and analysis stage. At this phase, specific methods are applied to show the essential findings of the evidence gathered. In reference to this research, coding and thematic forms of presentation and analysis were utilized. Data generated from interviews and documentary evidence was firstly codified into several key words and phrases. Secondly, from the coding stage, the researcher generated a number of themes that emerged from the main research objectives of the investigation.

Before an overview of how the data was analysed and presented in this investigation, it is important to specify the key meanings of the methods employed in this stage. Coding is defined as sorting and tagging field data into codes or labels (Green et al., 2007). In qualitative research coding this is usually in words or phrases when working with interviews

(Creswell, 2014). It can also involve assigning numerals when dealing with other forms of research methodologies. Other scholars such define coding as a process of assigning symbols so that information can be put into categories (Kothari, 2004). This involves moving back and forth from gathered evidence and the main research questions. Theme analysis on the other hand involves the identification of key ideas or issues from filtered data into descriptive segments (Peck & Mummery, 2018). These themes provide detailed points that are divided into separate parts.

This research proceeded by following four steps in its presentation of its findings. These steps were immersion, coding, creating categories and identifying themes. In immersion, data was winnowed and important information was kept. Thereafter, codes were created by assigning key words and phrases to the essential data that was collected from the interviews that ranged from the diplomat, CSO and foreign affairs expert. Furthermore, coding was also done from official government press states and from information gathered from state controlled media. Additionally, the same process was also applied to reports and documents generated from CSOs. In the last part, categories were eventually generated into themes as that signified particular points that came from the coding process. Five themes were generated in as a result in the data presentation stage.

3.12 Validity and Reliability

The concepts of validity and reliability are key cornerstones to research. It can be argued that these concepts are better suited to quantitative research in comparison to qualitative studies. This position is informed since issues of reliability are mostly associated with testing and evaluating quantitative data (Golafshani, 2003). Notwithstanding these dynamics, the ideas of validity and reliability have remained topical and essential to qualitative researchers. In order to get a better understanding of reliability and validity, it is necessary to show the definitions

of these terms. According to (Baškarada, 2014), reliability is mainly concerned with demonstration of repeatability of data collection procedure so that other investigators should be able to arrive at the same conclusion. (Golafshani, 2003) argues that this repeatability is hard since qualitative research is based on understanding the meanings that people get from their experiences. Trying to fully understand and test these meanings from human subjects makes it extremely difficult. (Golafshani, 2003) quotes, Patton 2001, as having said that what is more important in qualitative research is the issue of quality. (Gammelgaard, 2017) also agrees with Golafshani that in qualitative case studies the idea of reliability is not possible in the original sense since methods that are employed interviews are difficult replicate.

However, what most researchers agree on is the notion of quality research process. The criteria of quality research process are an important tool in terms of reliability. (Golafshani, 2003) is of the view that validity and reliability of research design can be tested by analysing the results of the investigation and by judging the quality of the study. One of the ways that this can be done is by using triangulation. This is defined as a method of testing the research processes and finds by using various strategies. For example, methods such as observations, interviews or recordings can lead to a more valid and dependable construction of entire research process. Furthermore, the use of peer researchers to interpret your research findings can provide a form of trustworthiness that can make the investigation more valid (Harley & Cornelissen, 2020). Therefore, the idea of review and the quality of the entire research processes from aim of the study, protocols used and openness to other investigators has a bearing on issues of reliability and validity when it comes to qualitative research.

In reference to this research, this research employed a number of protocols in order to enhance the quality of the data. Methods that were used came from the 3 strategies suggested by (Yin, 2001) as methods to improve data construction (Gammelgaard, 2017). These

strategies include, using multiple sources of evidence. This investigation used several participants that are key players in the foreign policy of the country. From the official decision makers such as diplomats; it also used several non-state actors in the civic space that are said to have bearing on the country's efforts to re-engage with the British government. Secondly, the research also used other key participants to review the study. This strategy was used in order maintain a trustworthiness with participants in order to ensure a review process of the procedures. Lastly, maintaining the chain of evidence, the research tried to keep a methodological approach from the initial questions to conclusions. This methodological approach can be checked by other investigators make sure that quality protocol where adhered to.

3.13 Ethical Considerations

This research anticipates number of ethical issues. Firstly, as this research is qualitative in nature getting consent from participants would be the biggest challenge (Vermeulen & Clark, 2017). This is primary due to the fact that issues that are appear political in nature tend to require subtlety and masking for identities of the participants both from CSOs to government officials. As a result I intend to hide the identities or my participant and seek consent if the participants are open to revealing their identities (Athanasoulis & Wilson, 2009). As the aim of the study has implications to controversial topics such as democratization and regime change, I would seek individual rights before use their data. Furthermore, I would be cognisant to the interests of sensitive to groups that may get the impression that the research exposes them. As a consequence I would be guided by privacy and confidentially throughout my research process. Social distancing guidelines laid down by the government would be followed in since the research is being conducted in the middle of the coronavirus pandemic.

3.14 Summary Chapter

This research methods sections has tried to lay down the guiding framework and principles that are going to be the mainstay of this study. The type of research design has been shown and this is grounded in qualitative research design. Qualitative case study is the specific scientific research method that has been used to undertake this investigation since it more flexible and suits the objectives and aims of the research problem at hand. The nature of this research methodology is explanatory as the main inquiries be examined can be classified as how and why questions. Consequently, processes of data gathering and processing will follow the conventions of qualitative data analysis in social science research. In the presenting the research findings, narrative form will be used. The research will also follow the laid down guidelines of the university to carry out the research in a responsible and ethical manner that does not bring harm or loss to the researcher, participants and the university.

Chapter 4

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will present findings on several issues affecting the re-engagement process. Themes that have been extrapolated from interviews and documentary data will be presented and analysed in order to provide meaning and implications of the research problem. In this chapter, research objectives moulded how themes were presented and analysed. Some of the themes discussed in this chapter range from human rights abuses to the role of social media in modern diplomacy. All of these findings were presented discussed with an emphasis on role and impact of CSOs in Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts the United Kingdom.

There were several reasons that were given by the participants and documentary evidence that complicated Zimbabwe re-engagement with the international community. Among these main reasons given were human rights abuses, the impact of social media and failure of implement reforms. Other longstanding issues such sanctions and land reforms were also shown to have negatively impacted Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts with international community.

4.2 Human rights abuses

According to information gathered from an interview with a Zimbabwean diplomat who works for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, human rights violations committed by the GOZ adversely impacted Zimbabwe's re-engagement drive. The broadcasting of police beating up protestors on international news channels, main stream newspapers have deleteriously harmed the appearance of the new dispensation in the eyes of Western observers. Furthermore, according to the diplomat Western embassies in Zimbabwe generate reports about the situation on the ground. In his opinion these reports have been

portrayed the post-Mugabe administration as corrupt and authoritarian making it extremely difficult for states such as Britain and others to genuinely believe that the government of Zimbabwe is truly committed to political reforms.

According to a representative from the Zimbabwe human rights NGO Forum who specializes on foreign policy related matters, the issue human rights violations by the state made re-engagement efforts challenging. Images of police brutality when dealing with protestors have been shown on international media especially in the U.K. The consequence of these images in the eyes of the Western public and government officials is that Zimbabwe has not changed from the days of Robert Mugabe. Reports from Zimbabwe Human Rights Association (ZimRights) also showed that the Zimbabwean government was involved human rights abuses. On the 19th of January 2019, ZimRights released a statement that addressed the January 2019 fuel protests. The ZimRights statement accused the government of Zimbabwe of using disproportionate force such as using live ammunition and beatings on unarmed civilians.

It can be seen from the evidence presented above that human rights concerns stalled re-engagement programme. The arguments provided appear to be strong as human security needs are now being emphasized to by Western states especially when dealing with sub-Saharan Africa. The British and the American government have been on the forefront of exporting their values democratic when engaging with small states like Zimbabwe . With this in mind, one can argue that the perception that the Zimbabwean government aggressively suppresses dissent has led to a stall international re-engagement.

4.3 Reforms

Another issue that was voiced by the participants was the issue of failure of implement genuine reforms. According to the representative from the Zimbabwe human rights NGO Forum re-engagement has failed because government was not sincere about implementing reforms. The interviewee cites the example of the non-implementation of the recommendations of the Motlanthe report that stated that individuals that were responsible for the deaths and injuries of protestors on 1 August 2018 should be held to account. The diplomat was also in agreement on the issues failure to implement reforms. However his view was on the economic side of things. Corruption and mismanagement economic mismanagement has also been a contentious subject matter that has caused major disagreements. According to the diplomat, major investors are sceptical to come to a country that is not tough on corrupt activities. Issues that have been highlighted that have scared away investors in the market economy are currency distortions and reports of high level corruption. This economic disarray that is characterised by bouts of fuel and foreign currency shortages have been said to huge bulwarks to re-engagement. In his own view, the state of affairs appears to be a continuation of challenges from Mugabe-era thereby demoralizing any meaningful prospects for foreign direct investment. In the words of the diplomat *No investor will come to invest without dividends. Zimbabwe is not the only investment destination as other countries in the region offer better investment climate.* These economic challenges that persisted from the Mugabe-era in his opinion have continued to the Mnangagwa administration and have made it problematic for successful restoration of relations with the United Kingdom.

There seems to be a conflict between the government and CSOs when it comes to the issues of reforms. In the view of CSOs the state is not sincere since the government failed to implement significant and impactful reforms the show break from the old regime. Although

there state has touted that is has changed its conduct, as aptly demonstrated by the Foreign Minister SB Moyo when he said, “ the state has repealed laws such as AIPPA and POSA,”. It seems Western governments have not accepted this position reports of media restrictions have been shown to the outside world. Given this reportage it is understandable why CSOs have asserted that normalization with the Western world is difficult under these circumstances.

4.4 Influence of CSOs

In these official government statements the issue of groups that have been active in trying to sabotage the actions to by government feature immensely with civil society groups being cited as one of the parties responsible for destabilisation activities. For instance, the appearance of Nelson Chamisa, Tendai Biti, Peter Godwin and Dewa Mavhinga from the Human Rights Watch on the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations was viewed by government as treasonous they lobbied against the New dispensation efforts to engage the international community. According to the government’s view at the time, *There is a lot of goodwill for the new government* and it did not make rational sense for this group of Zimbabweans to lobby for the maintenance of sanctions despite the removal of the Mugabe government. In the eyes of the state, the country wanted to chart a new pathway based on reconciliation with all countries that had an adversarial relationship with the past government. Furthermore, sanctions were no longer justified as president Mugabe had left office and their continuation was detrimental to livelihoods of ordinary Zimbabweans.

In the opinion of an international relations expert, the role and activities of CSOs in Zimbabwe’s normalization efforts were having negative impact on re-engagement. He said they were involved in creating a global outcry on social media platforms such as the 2020 #zimbabwelivesmatter campaign sought to portray government as evil and engaging on a war

on it citizens. The expert explained that CSOs were involved in sharing sensitive information including parliamentary documents and publishing official state secrets on social media. He expert argued that in comparison to other jurisdictions such the US, publishing private data from the American congress would be a criminal offense. In his view of all of the actions are meant to embarrass the government in the eyes of the international community.

In another press statement released by Minister of State Security Owen Ncube on the 24th of September 2020, CSOs and opposition groups were accused of trying to cause regime change in Zimbabwe by calling for demonstrations aimed at diverting government's vision. The minister in his statement accused CSOs and other opposition groups of attempting to cause Western nations, SADC and churches to turn against the government by making false allegations of human rights abuses. According to the diplomat, CSOs have played a negative role in re-engagement efforts by the government although their role cannot be highlighted as the most important impediment to normalisation with the U.K. From his perspective NGOs are the main drivers of negative publicity that portrays the government as authoritarian. He also said that CSOs are also funded by Western countries and do not have anything good to say about the new government. In spite of efforts by the new administration to implement some reforms the civil society groups do not see positive steps that have been taken by the government since 2017 to steer the country in a new direction. According to the diplomat one of the reasons why CSOs have behaved in such as way is because of foreign funding. He added that "*who plays the piper plays the tune*" meaning that, CSOs were following instructions from their pay masters.

It is hard to ignore the power of non-state actors when it comes to their role in shaping Zimbabwe's re-engagement albeit indirectly. As (Josselin & Wallace, 2001) stated in their seminal work on the role of non-state actors in international affairs, CSOs now have power to challenge governments in global politics. Although states carry the mantle the chief executer

of foreign policy outside their border, the case of Zimbabwe's re-engagement has shown that the government has some weakness in projecting its image externally especially in western countries as CSOs have the power to expose and even sometimes generate falsehoods that might harm the national interests of states. Given the strength of CSOs in their endeavour to expose the human rights conditions in Zimbabwe it is undeniable that some CSOs in the governance sectors have managed to hinder the state's re-engagement efforts.

4.5 Image making

Evidence gathered from the participants and documentary data showed to in the context of Zimbabwe's bilateral relations with UK since 2017 showed that certain CSOs were influential influencing the state's re-engagement programme. According to a Zimbabwean diplomat, NGOs gave the state a hard time especially when it comes to its image abroad. As a result of dominance of voices from the opposition and civil society sector, the government failed to counter the negative narrative that portrayed the new government as dictatorial as equalled to the Mugabe regime. . In his opinion these reports have been portrayed the post-Mugabe administration as corrupt and authoritarian making it extremely difficult for states such as Britain and others to genuinely believe that the government of Zimbabwe is truly committed to political reforms. Tied with this issue of presentation of the Zimbabwean government in broadcasting is the issue of social media. The diplomat was of the view that the country was having a hard time with issues to do attacks on social media. Most of the content that speaks to the country's image has been pessimistic. This has generated an impression sometimes false that the country is in crisis. In his understanding some of the images shown are old and manipulated. An example that he cited was that of #zimbabwelivesmatter that depicted the government as an evil regime that suppressed the fundamental rights of the citizenry.

A report in the Herald of 13 July 2019 stated that the opposition and civil society groups tried to derail Zimbabwe's re-engagement programme with the United Kingdom when the Foreign Minister was on a four day re-engagement trip to Britain. A delegation comprising of the Zimbabwe's foreign minister and some senior government staff were harassed in streets of London on their way to Chatham House. According to the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on foreign affairs and international trade Mr Kindness Paradza, it was shame the anti-government protestors in the U.K were allowed to scuttle the re-engagement programme between Harare and London. In the eyes of the government, the opposition in cahoots with some elements of the civil society were eager to see ZANU PF fail in its efforts to mend relations with U.K.

The representative of the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum asserted that their work was having a power impact of the Mnangagwa government's desire to foster relations with the British government. According to the interviewee, the actions of the Zimbabwe human rights NGO Forum such as writing reports on the human rights situation in Zimbabwe has also impacted the way Western countries have interacted Zimbabwe. An example cited during the interviewee were two reports written by the organisations that argued against diplomatic and economic engagements with Zimbabwe when there was non-implementation of reforms and serious human rights abuses. These reports are "The new deception what has changed" and "Business without conscience". According the interviewee, these reports have also contributed to the overall slowing down of re-engagement processes as the Western country take into account the opinions of Zimbabwean civil society in their decisions.

The views of the international relations expert were that CSOs were involved in "selling the gospel of anti-government propaganda". The expert said that *every government in the world makes mistakes*. However, CSOs in Zimbabwe are eager to gather and generate negative narratives that tarnish the image of the country abroad. In his view, indeed the CSO actions

were had an consequence in Zimbabwe and UK bilateral relations post December 2017. He highlighted the issue of the #zimbabwelivesmatter in July 2020 as an example that affected the relationship of the two countries. He gave an example how the trending topic was discussed in the UK parliament and necessitated the UK government to issue a statement condemning the actions of the Zimbabwean government in stifling freedom and democracy.

In terms of image construction, there is doubt that CSOs have had an overwhelming impact on the negative portrayal of the state. Organisations such as ZimRights and Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum have documented and presented the state of democracy in Zimbabwe. This portray of the new administration as an corrupt and authoritarian has in fact deeply affected chances of Zimbabwe mending its ties with UK. Consequently, it appears that relations have worsened with Britain given the UK's condemnation of country especially during the #zimbabwelivesmatter campaign in July 2020.

4.6 Digital diplomacy

Observations from the data showed that social media had become an important tool in the conduct of diplomacy. It showed that government was of the view that this new medium of communication had complicated its relationship with other countries as non-state actors had the free reign to engage with other representative of countries. This was especially true in terms of the portrayal of image of the country to an international audience. In September 2020, the government released a press statement saying that dark forces were stage managing abductions and propagating lies on social media. The government through these press statements accused CSOs of black propaganda by making up stories of torture. The state described these action by non-state actors on social media as cyber-attacks. For example, on the 6th August 2020, government released a press statement denying that there were abductions or war on its citizens. In the state government said that there were no human right

abuses in the country by state agents but government was enforcing covid-19 regulations to protect lives. The statement went on further to state that allegations of human right abuses were peddled by “...political activists, misinformed individuals and global actors.” In governments view these were smear campaigns that were meant to paint a picture of a *burning Zimbabwe*. The statement came about after the #zimbabwelivesmatter campaign had spread via social media blaming the government of being repressive and authoritarian.

It can be argued that the most critical finding from this research study is that social media has been a game changer in the conduct of international affairs. In context of Zimbabwe’s re-engagement it has been seen that the use of social media has been a powerful tool used interfere in the country’s foreign policy process. Given the reactions of the Zimbabwean government especially the press statements that allege to CSOs are harming the nation’s relations with the international community it is important to acknowledge that social media in the hands of non-state actors can shape the outcome of external relations. In Zimbabwe’s re-engagement efforts, this research has observed that the power of social media has been impactful in reaching influential decision maker in Britain. To the detriment of the government of Zimbabwe, social media which has been utilised by CSOs and private citizens has painted a destructive picture of the new dispensation by mostly showing the bad side government. This negative portrayal government has had the unfortunate effect of hindering the government’s agenda of reconciliation with the British state.

4.7 Summary

In conclusion, this chapter presented collected data from various stakeholders involved in the re-engagement process. It also analysed the reasons why efforts by the Zimbabwe have faced challenges in its endeavour to court its erstwhile adversary. Although the data showed a divergence of views on the reasons why re-engagement has been lacklustre, it also pointed to

some common aspects that the participants agreed as hindering normalization. Evidence from the research showed that non-state actors specially, civil society groups in the governance sector have also played a harmful role part through their works such publish damaging information to Western audiences on social media and other platforms. This has been through the use of social media platforms. To Britain and the Western bloc, the effect of this bad publicity indicates that the new government has not changed its undemocratic conduct. Data from all the participants revealed this factor of public opinion was influential in shaping the British policy towards Zimbabwe's new administration. Furthermore, it was also seen that structural problems such as land reform have been an underlying element that has also slowed down the pace of re-engagement. This has been infused with calls for implementing reform that are of a democratic nature. However, topping the priority list in these reforms remains the contentious issue of compensation of former white commercial farmers that lost their land and property during the land redistribution exercise. These issues where the main features that where gathered from this research study.

Chapter five

5.0 Summary, Recommendations and Areas for further research

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will be a summary of the research findings. This section will also show the conclusions gathered from research problem and will assess whether the gathered data answers the existing research objectives. Furthermore, this section will also provide some recommendations that might be pertinent to this area of study that might be helpful in bringing more understanding and knowledge in the field of non-state actor involvement in foreign policy processes.

5.2 Summary

This research started with three broad objectives that were important to Zimbabwe's foreign policy post-2017. The first objective was centred on the concern why the country's re-engagement foreign policy had failed to gain headway with the Western countries. Through this research, evidence showed that several factors had stalled Zimbabwe's normalization process with the international community. Among the many reasons found, it was understood that the issue of human rights violations by state had the most impact in obstructing re-engagement efforts. Several high profile incidents occurred between August 2018 and August 2020 that negatively affected re-engagement. These incidents involved disproportionate use of force on civilians that resulted in harm and death, were identified as having a hand in delaying the full restoration of ties between Harare and the Western world. Prominent examples that were given this research include the 1 August 2018 post-election violence and the 14 January 2019 fuel protests. These episodes of state violence were cited by most of the participants as having a detrimental effect on the re-engagement programme.

The second objective of the study focused on the role of civil society groups in Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts with the British government. From the evidence obtained from the research, it was observed that CSOs were actively involved in Zimbabwe's foreign policy with UK. Nonetheless, the involvement of CSOs was seen as unhelpful in government's efforts in rebooting relations with its former colonial power. Evidence showed that most of the CSOs in the governance sector were actively lobbying the UK government to discontinue re-engagement talks with the new dispensation. This was done through campaigns that showed the deficiencies of the new administration especially when it comes to governance matters such as human rights, implementation of reforms and holding individuals and entities to account in terms of corruption. From the second objective of the study, it was seen that the role of CSOs was negative in relations to the government of Zimbabwe's efforts to re-engagement the UK.

The third objective of this study looked at the impact of CSOs on Zimbabwe's re-engagement policy with the UK. Information that was gathered and analysed showed the undeniable impact of non-state groups in Zimbabwe's foreign policy. This impact was clearly visible by how the now the government was portrayed internationally. Efforts by the state to rebrand its image were severely harmed by persistent negative stories that were pushed in the international press and especially on social media. A narrative of an authoritarian government malicious more than the Mugabe regime in terms of was successfully communicated by CSOs to Western audiences. In this research, it was seen that CSOs tarnished the image of the Mnangagwa government principally via internet based communication platforms especially of social media. The implication of this authoritarian narrative on the new government's re-engagement efforts was that decision makers in the UK became sceptical of the sincerity of Harare's reform agenda. What can be deduced from the data has connections to what has been written by scholars of pluralism that assert the increasing power of non-state actors in

world politics. The post-2017 period has clearly shown that non state groups such as ZimRights and Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum have invariably grown their influence and power and are now major players Zimbabwe's foreign relations albeit in an unsupportive way. In the case of its re-engagement agenda with the UK, CSOs have undeniably proven that their actions especially digital diplomacy have managed to hinder Zimbabwe's normalization efforts with British government and other influential members of the international community.

5.3 Conclusions

5.3.1 Democratic constitutionalism

This research has seen that the state behaviour has a bearing on international engagement. Government's commitment to constitutionalism can improve its chances of success at the international stage. From a theoretical perspective, the adoption of liberal values can play a key role in softening the British policy towards Zimbabwe. It can be argued that an acceptance of these values by the Zimbabwean government can go a long way in changing the British sentiments toward Harare since the British have infused an ethical dimension in their foreign policy. Unlike China, the UK government cannot ignore violations of constitution in the name of non-interference a country's internal affairs. Therefore, the government of Zimbabwe can choose to enact democratic reforms that will persuade not only the British but the Western institutions. These constitutional reforms might support efforts to mend bilateral and multilateral relations that could end sanctions and attract foreign direct investments.

In order to fulfil this endeavour, reforms that have outlined by CSOs and the state itself such as, electoral and recommendations of the Motlanthe Commission can help in the reconstruction of image of the government in the eyes of the Western world. These reforms

especially on human rights can open avenues for economic cooperation that is desperately needed to reboot the economy that has endured and is still under the siege of economic sanctions. Although the Zimbabwean government disputes this assessment, evidence from the South Africa shows the impact of democratic constitutionalism on the fate of a state's relationship with other countries. The ushering of democratic state in 1994 changed the international fortunes of South Africa that had been politically isolated and was under economic sanctions (Habib, 2005). Furthermore, the anti-apartheid movement was also instrumental in the disengagement of South Africa in the West. Given these similarities, the Zimbabwean government should commit itself to democratic reforms in order to see its re-engagement policy succeed. Just as South Africa before 1994, a confrontational approach with CSOs presents an unhelpful strategy in re-establishing relations with the international community. In the long-term, commitment to democratic reforms could help rebranding Zimbabwean government image since the current posture has failed to yield the desired results.

5.3.2 Recognition of CSOs

When it comes to the role of CSOs in Zimbabwe's foreign relations it has been seen that for the most part relations between non state groups and government have been strenuous. This conflict has undermined Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts with the United Kingdom. A number of observers are of the view that a confrontational relationship between the state and civil society is unhelpful to the government's foreign policy objectives. In this respect new approaches to state and civil society relations must be developed as other jurisdictions around the world have shown that non state groups are gaining influence foreign relations and working with them or accommodating them might improve the government image abroad. The combative relationship between the state and civil organisations that increased around August 2018 has been unhelpful to Zimbabwe's and UK bilateral relations. As a result, policy

makers in the new administration must find solutions to engage local CSOs since this research has shown that they have power to influence western public opinion and this has significant implications on Zimbabwe's normalization efforts.

5.3.3 Digital diplomacy

Lastly tied to the role of CSOs in foreign policy is the issue of new digital diplomacy. This research has shown the foreign making processes are no longer the preserve of the state. Evidence from the research has shown CSOs have gained power and now yield substantial influence that can shape the outcomes of foreign policy decisions. From the state's perspective, this new digital diplomacy poses a challenge to government in its foreign policy objectives.

Although the internet has open up doors for the state to communicate with other states as exemplified through digital meetings as result of COVID-19 restrictions, this research has also shown that the Zimbabwean state has strong reservations of this new form of digital diplomacy. For the Zimbabwean government the actions of the CSOs in online campaigns such as the #zimbabwelivesmatter prove how social media diplomacy can be manipulated to the detriment of a country's foreign policy. Not only Zimbabwe is has strong reservations but several African governments are highly suspicious of Western funded CSOs given their past experiences such from colonial times. In this research, the land question was attributed the main issue that created hostility between Harare and London. Given complicated history the present ZANU PF government views the use of digital diplomacy by CSOs are extensions of their longstanding dispute. Although CSOs involvement in foreign policy processes via mediums such as social media can be disruptive for states, the Zimbabwean government must be tactical in preserving its national security interests and its image abroad. This essential if the country desires to normalize its relation with the West. In concluding, it can be argued

that a form of balance is needed to accommodate state and non-state groups in foreign policy processes since an antagonistic approach might significantly deter the state's national interest in terms of political and economic stability.

5.4 Recommendations

Moreover, the researcher is of the view that the issue of human rights must be solved. The state must improve its human rights record at home in order to improve its image abroad. This issue of human rights affects public opinion of especially in Britain where there is a constituency that harbours resentment over the fast track land redistribution exercise. Resolving this issue of human rights now will go a long way in creating a conducive environment that will enable re-engagement between the two countries. Furthermore working with non-state groups in the civil sector might also help normalization efforts with the Western community, as research has shown that their opinion matters in Western capitals.

Even though Africa and Zimbabwe in particular is not a Western state in terms of its governance architecture, it is important that the central government must adopt other strategies that are accommodative other non-state actors in the formulation and implementation of its foreign policy. It is not a secret that CSOs in the governance sector are highly skilled in internet based communications and this power has been used detrimentally to the wishes of the second republic. In order for the government efforts to succeed, the state to a certain degree needs to find a way of working with CSO society groups in order to shape foreign perceptions of the country. A confrontational approach appears to be problematic for the country and in the last three years therefore, it can be recommended that a state and non-state diplomatic collaboration might help to produce the desired outcome normalization with the Western bloc.

The Zimbabwean government must strategically handle internet based communication platforms if it wishes to restore relations with Western government and the UK in particular. As this research has shown, the post 2017 administration is highly suspicious of digital diplomacy as most of the information has negatively portrayed government. Therefore the state must try to dominate the digital space by not only implementing genuine reforms that halt of past transgression but it must also find avenue for cooperation with CSOSs in order to improve the image of the country to international community. These approaches might be helpful in the state's endeavour to improve its prospects for re-engagement.

5.5 Areas for further research

Avenues that can be pursued by other scholars include how the Zimbabwean government might collaborate with civil society groups in helping each other in lobbying and influencing other states to achieve their foreign policy goals. Related to this subject matter, researcher might want to analyse the role and impact digital platforms in the conduct of foreign policy. These new disruptive technologies in diplomacy can also be a research area that might interest scholars that are interested in the involvement of non-state actors in international relations. This research area of digital diplomacy between African states and Western states might offer insights in how diplomacy is going to develop in 21st century.

5.6 Summary

In conclusion, this chapter has presented the summary of the key findings and main conclusions of the entire research problem. This summation was done in relation to the central objectives and research questions of the study. Furthermore, this chapter also gave some recommendations for policy makers. It also provided potential study areas that can be researched by scholars interested in non-state actors involvement in the domain of foreign policy.

References list

- Aarsand, L., & Aarsand, P. (2019). Framing and switches at the outset of qualitative research interviews. *Qualitative Research, 19*(6), 635–652.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794118816623>
- Alden, C., & Aran, A. (2016). Foreign Policy Analysis. In *Foreign Policy Analysis New Approaches* (2nd ed.). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315442488>
- Anderson, C. (2010). Presenting and evaluating qualitative research. *American Journal of Pharmaceutical Education, 74*(8). <https://doi.org/10.5688/aj7408141>
- Art, R. J. (2003). A Grand Strategy for America. In *Cornell University Press* (Vol. 151).
<https://doi.org/10.1145/3132847.3132886>
- Athanassoulis, N., & Wilson, J. (2009). When is deception in research ethical? *Clinical Ethics, 4*(1), 44–49. <https://doi.org/10.1258/ce.2008.008047>
- Ayhan, K. J. (2019). The boundaries of public diplomacy and nonstate actors: A taxonomy of perspectives. In *International Studies Perspectives* (Vol. 20, Issue 1, pp. 63–83).
<https://doi.org/10.1093/isp/eky010>
- Başkarada, S. (2014). Qualitative Case Study Guidelines. *The Qualitative Report, 19*(40), 1–18. <http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol19/iss40/3>
- Bennett, E. A. (2012). Global Social Movements in Global Governance. *Globalizations, 9*(6), 799–813. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2012.739343>
- Blackwill, R. D., & Harris, J. M. (2016). *War by Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft*.

Harvard university press.

- Boblin, S. L., Ireland, S., Kirkpatrick, H., & Robertson, K. (2013). Using stake's qualitative case study approach to explore implementation of evidence-based practice. *Qualitative Health Research*, 23(9), 1267–1275. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732313502128>
- Boyce, C., & Neale, P. (2006). Conducting in-depth interviews: A guide for designing and conducting in-depth interviews for evaluation input. *Evaluation*, 2(May), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616730210154225>
- Bridgman, M. (2002). Parliament, foreign policy and civil society in South Africa. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 9(1), 69–74. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10220460209545378>
- Burrell, G., & Morgan, G. (1979). *Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis*. I-
Ieinemann.
- Bush, S. S. (2016). When and why is civil society support “made-in-America”? Delegation to non-state actors in American democracy promotion. *Review of International Organizations*, 11(3), 361–385. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-015-9234-8>
- Cakmak, C. (2007). Civil Society Actors in International Law and World Politics. *Croatian International Relations Review*, 13(48/49), 93–107.
- Cameron, F. (2005). US foreign policy after the Cold War: Global Hegemon or reluctant sheriff?: 2nd edition. In *US Foreign Policy After the Cold War: Global Hegemon or Reluctant Sheriff?: 2nd Edition*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203006573>
- Chakravarty, M., & Ashra, S. (2007). Case of Subsidies to Fertiliser. *The Journal of Business Perspective*, 11(3).

- Chan, S., & Patel, H. (2006). Zimbabwe's foreign policy: A conversation. *Round Table*, 95(384), 175–190. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00358530600585693>
- Chikohomero, R. (2019). Open for business ? Appraisal of FDI in Zimbabwe. *Institute for Security Studies, December*, 1–2.
- Chikoto-schultz, G., & Uzochukwu, K. (2016). *Governing Civil Society in Nigeria and Zimbabwe : A Question of Policy Process and Non-State Actors ' Involvement*. 7(2), 137–170. <https://doi.org/10.1515/npf-2015-0051>
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications Inc. <https://doi.org/10.21225/d54s3d>
- Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2010). *in Qualitative Inquiry*. 5841(2000). <https://doi.org/10.1207/s15430421tip3903>
- Darina, R., & Kaiser, K. Z. R. M. A. (2018). Trump and the Ascension of Western Realism: A Critical Discussion on the Western Realists' and Western Liberalists' Evaluation of Globalisation. *India Quarterly*, 74(3), 257–271. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0974928418785433>
- Dashwood, H. (2002). Mugabe, Zimbabwe, and Southern Africa. *International Journal: Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis*, 57(1), 78–100. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002070200205700105>
- Dembinski, M., & Joachim, J. (2014). Civil society and the European common security and defence policy. *European Security*, 23(4), 449–465. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2014.890594>
- Donnelly, J. (2000). The realist tradition. *Realism and International Relations*, 1–25.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511612510>

Dowden, R. (2006). Engaging with Mugabe. *The Round Table*, 95(384), 283–286.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/00358530600595114>

Eriksson, J., & Giacomello, G. (2006). The information revolution, security, and international relations: (IR)relevant theory? *International Political Science Review*, 27(3), 221–244.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512106064462>

Erişen, E. (2012). *An Introduction to Political Psychology for International Relations Scholars What is Political*. XVII(3), 9–28.

Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (2001). TAKING STOCK: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics. *Annualreviews.Org*, 4, 391–416. <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.polisci.4.1.391>

Gammelgaard, B. (2017). Editorial: The qualitative case study. *International Journal of Logistics Management*, 28(4), 910–913. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJLM-09-2017-0231>

Gay, L., & Airasian, P. (2000). *Educational research (6th edn)*(Upper Saddle River, NJ, Merrill).

Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. *The Qualitative Report*, 8(4), 597–607.

<https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.62.3.8323320856251826>

Green, J., Willis, K., Hughes, E., Small, R., Welch, N., Gibbs, L., & Daly, J. (2007).

Generating best evidence from qualitative research: The role of data analysis. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, 31(6), 545–550.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1753-6405.2007.00141.x>

- Gwekwerere, T., Mutasa, D. E., Mpondi, D., & Mubonderi, B. (2019). Patriotic narratives on national leadership in Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) song texts, ca 2000–2017. *South African Journal of African Languages*, 39(1), 56–66.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02572117.2019.1572323>
- Habib, A. (2005). State-civil society relations in post-apartheid South Africa. In *Social Research* (Vol. 72, Issue 3, pp. 671–692). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40971786>
- Harley, B., & Cornelissen, J. (2020). Rigor With or Without Templates? The Pursuit of Methodological Rigor in Qualitative Research. *Organizational Research Methods*, 1–23.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428120937786>
- Helliker, K., & Murisa, T. (2020). Zimbabwe: continuities and changes. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 38(1), 5–17.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2020.1746756>
- Heywood, A. (2011). *Global Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Hill, C. (1981). Public Opinion and British Foreign Policy Since 1945: Research in Progress? *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, 10(1), 53–62.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298810100010601>
- Hlatywayo, G. K., & Mangongera, C. (2020). *The Challenges for Social Movements in Post-Mugabe Zimbabwe* (Vol. 460, Issue January).
- Hodgkinson, D. (2019). The Mnangagwa Era ? Periodisation and Politics in Zimbabwe The Mnangagwa Era ? Periodisation and Politics in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 0(0), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2019.1660572>

- Holsti, O. R. (1992). Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippmann Consensus. *International Studies Quarterly*, 36(4), 439. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600734>
- Hove, M., & Chenzi, V. (2017). 'Prophets of Doom': The Zimbabwean Christian Community and Contemporary Politics. *Insight on Africa*, 9(2), 173–195. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0975087817710054>
- Hung, H.-F. (2018). Global Capitalism in the Age of Trump. *Contexts*, 17(3), 40–45. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1536504218792525>
- Hunter, S. T. (2010). *Iran's Foreign Policy in the Post-Soviet Era, Resisting the New International Order*. Praeger.
- Hyett, N., Kenny, A., & Dickson-Swift, V. (2014). Methodology or method a critical review of qualitative case study reports. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-Being*, 9(1). <https://doi.org/10.3402/qhw.v9.23606>
- Ikenberry, G. J. (2000). Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements. In *Foreign Affairs* (Issue October 2000). CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20049902>
- Josselin, D., & Wallace, W. (Eds.). (2001). *Non-state Actors in World Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan UK. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>
- Kagoro, B. (2005). THE PRISONERS OF HOPE: CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE OPPOSITION IN ZIMBABWE. *African Security Review*, 14(3), 19–29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2005.9627367>
- Kelley, J. R. (2010). The new diplomacy: Evolution of a revolution. *Diplomacy and*

Statecraft, 21(2), 286–305. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592296.2010.482474>

Kennan, G. F. (1985). Morality and Foreign Policy. In *Source: Foreign Affairs* (Vol. 64, Issue 2). Winter.

Keohane, R., & Nye, J. (1977). *Power and Interdependence*. Scott, Foresman.

Kim, M. (2019). A real driver of US–China trade conflict. *International Trade, Politics and Development*, 3(1), 30–40. <https://doi.org/10.1108/ITPD-02-2019-003>

Kissinger, H. (1994). *Diplomacy*.

<https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=VPHQMG3Ue1wC&oi=fnd&pg=PA17&dq=kissinger+diplomacy&ots=PQ43ZeSFFh&sig=eo7pQdXvIMVC5x7cthqn1vQ5dP8>

Kothari, C. . (2004). *Research Methodology : Methods and Techniques*. New Age International (P) Ltd., Publishers.

Leogrande, W. M. (2015). Normalizing US-Cuba relations: Escaping the shackles of the past. *International Affairs*, 91(3), 473–488. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12282>

Lynn Dobbs, K., & Schraeder, P. J. (2018). Evolving role of North African civil society actors in the foreign policymaking process: youth, women’s, labour and human rights organisations. *Journal of North African Studies*, 9387. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2018.1525011>

Mailey, J. . (2015). The Anatomy of the Resource Curse: Predatory Investment in Africa’s Extractive Industries. *ACSS Special Report*, May.

Makwerere, D. (2017). *Developing peacebuilding skills among civil society organisations in Zimbabwe Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of*

*Philosophy : Management Sciences-Peace Studies in the Faculty of Public Management
Durban University of Te* (Issue February).

Maphaka, D., Rapanyane, M. B., & Maphoto, T. E. (2020). An Afro-centric analysis of South Africa's foreign policy on the Southern African Development Community (SADC) : case of Zimbabwe, 1999-2018. *Journal of African Union Studies*, 59(1), 123–138. <https://doi.org/10.31920/2050-4306/2020/s9n1a7>

Mararike, M. (2019). Zimbabwe Economic Sanctions and Post-Colonial Hangover : A Critique of Zimbabwe Democracy Economic Recovery Act (ZDERA) –. *International Journal of Social Science Studies*, 7(1), 28–39. <https://doi.org/10.11114/ijsss.v7i1.3895>

Marshall, M. N. (1996). *Sampling for qualitative research*. 13(6), 522–525.

Mashingaidze, T. M. (2016). Unmasking silence and impunity: The Zimbabwe peace project's e-activism in a polarised political dispensation. *African Security Review*, 25(4), 378–392. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2016.1225583>

Masunungure, E. V. (2014). *The changing role of civil society in Zimbabwe's democratic processes: 2014 and beyond*.

Matyszak, D. (2017). Back to the Future Legitimising Zimbabwe's 2018 elections. In *Institute for Security Studies* (pp. 1–24).

Matyszak, D. (2019a). Emmerson Mnangagwa exposed. *Institute for Security Studies*, 1–6.

Matyszak, D. (2019b). How to play a role in Zimbabwe. *Institute for Security Studies*, December.

Matyszak, D. (2019c). Zimbabwe's slither towards increased authoritarianism. *Institute for Security Studies*, 1–6.

- Mearsheimer, J., & Walt, S. (2007). *The Israel lobby and US foreign policy*.
- Mlambo, A. S. (2006). The Zimbabwean Crisis. *Journal of Contemporary History*, February.
<https://doi.org/10.3726/b13512>
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1948). *Hans J. Morgenthau-Politics among nations_ the struggle for power and peace -A. A. Knopf (1948).pdf*.
- Moyo, K. G., & Ndimande, J. (2018). ‘ZIMBABWE IS OPEN FOR BUSINESS’: ZIMBABWE’S FOREIGN POLICY TRAJECTORY UNDER EMMERSON MNANGAGWA. *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, May.
- Mpofu, M. (2016). Internet Public Spheres, Civil Society Organisations and the State in the Zimbabwean Crisis: A Case Study of Kubatana.net’s e-newsletters. *African Journalism Studies*, 37(4), 25–44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23743670.2016.1256057>
- Murasi, C. P. (2019). *AN APPRAISAL OF MUGABEISM IN ZIMBABWE ’ S FOREIGN POLICY : ZIMBABWE ’ S RELATIONS WITH THE WESTERN BLOC (2000-2017) A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE AN APPRAISAL OF MUGABEISM IN ZIMBABWE ’ S FOREIGN POLICY : ZIMBABWE ’ S RELATIONS* (Issue September). <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.28455.50089>
- Mwonzora, G., & Mandikwaza, E. (2019). The Menu of Electoral Manipulation in Zimbabwe: Food Handouts, Violence, Memory, and Fear – Case of Mwenezi East and Bikita West 2017 by-elections. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 54(8), 1128–1144.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909619862595>
- Naderifar, M., Goli, H., & Ghaljaei, F. (2017). *Snowball Sampling : A Purposeful Method of Sampling in Qualitative Research* *Snowball Sampling : A Purposeful Method of Sampling in Qualitative*. September. <https://doi.org/10.5812/sdme.67670>

- Nasiritousi, N., Hjerpe, M., & Bäckstrand, K. (2016). Normative arguments for non-state actor participation in international policymaking processes: Functionalism, neocorporatism or democratic pluralism? *European Journal of International Relations*, 22(4), 920–943. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066115608926>
- Ncube, C. (2013). *Africa Spectrum The 2013 Elections in Zimbabwe : End of*. 99–110.
- Ndakaripa, M. (2014). United States / European Union “Sanctions” and the Contestation for Political Space in Zimbabwe, 2000 to 2012*. *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, 4(4), 135–149.
http://www.aijcrnet.com/journals/Vol_4_No_4_April_2014/18.pdf
- Ndawana, E. (2018). *Foreign Policy and the Granting of Asylum : The Case of Zimbabwean Asylum Seekers in the United States (2000 – 2016)*.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0973598418770950>
- Ndimande, J. (2019). EMANCIPATORY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND ZIMBABWE ’ S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER ROBERT MUGABE 1980-C2017 : A REASSESSMENT. *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, April.
- Ndimande, J., & Moyo, K. G. M. (2018). EMANCIPATORY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND ZIMBABWE ’ S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER ROBERT MUGABE 1980-C2017 : A REASSESSMENT. *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(3), 2229 – 5313.
- O.Nyumba, T., Wilson, K., Derrick, C. J., & Mukherjee, N. (2018). The use of focus group discussion methodology: Insights from two decades of application in conservation. *Methods in Ecology and Evolution*, 9(1), 20–32. <https://doi.org/10.1111/2041-210X.12860>

- Ojakorotu, V., & Kamidza, R. (2018). Look East Policy : T he Case of Zimbabwe – China Political and Economic Relations Since 2000. *India Quarterly*, 74(1), 17–41.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0974928417749642>
- Olander, L. S. and E. (2019). Can Trump’s Prosper Africa make America greater than China and other partners in Africa? *Brookings*, 1–6. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2019/06/26/can-trumps-prosper-africa-make-america-greater-than-china-and-other-partners-in-africa/>
- Onslow, S. (2018). *Why rejoining the Commonwealth is such an enticing prospect for Zimbabwe ’ s new regime.*
- Parker, A., & Tritter, J. (2006). Focus group method and methodology: Current practice and recent debate. In *International Journal of Research and Method in Education* (Vol. 29, Issue 1, pp. 23–37). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01406720500537304>
- Peck, B., & Mummery, J. (2018). *Hermeneutic Constructivism : An Ontology for Qualitative Research.* <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732317706931>
- Phimister, I., & Raftopoulos, B. (2004). Mugabe, Mbeki and the politics of anti-imperialism. *Review of African Political Economy.* <https://doi.org/10.1080/0305624042000295503>
- Plaut, M. (2019, January 22). Amid protest and unrest, Zimbabwe’s president Emmerson Mnangagwa resorts to old tactics. *New Statesman.*
- Prabhakar, A. C. (2003). Agriculture Subsidy , WTO and the South. *Centre of Wesf Asim and Aficnn Studies*, 57–72.
- Ranger, T. (2004). Nationalist historiography, patriotic history and the history of the nation: The struggle over the past in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30(2),

215–234. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0305707042000215338>

Roulston, K. (2018). Qualitative interviewing and epistemics. *Qualitative Research*, 18(3), 322–341. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794117721738>

Rubenzer, T. (2008). Ethnic Minority Interest Group Attributes and U.S. Foreign Policy Influence: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 4(2), 169–185. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2007.00063.x>

Rupiya, M. R. (2002). *Civil-military relations in Zimbabwe : Is there a threat ?*

Sachikonye, L. (2017). The Protracted Democratic Transition in Zimbabwe. *117 Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 13(1), 117–136. <http://www.tfd.org.tw/export/sites/tfd/files/publication/journal/117-136-The-Protracted-Democratic-Transition-in-Zimbabwe.pdf>

Seale, C. (1999). Quality in kwalitativeve research. *Journals.Sagepub.Com*, 5(4), 465–478. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/107780049900500402>

Smith, J., & Wiest, D. R. (2005). The Uneven Geography of Global Civil Society: National and Global Influences on Transnational Association. *Social Forces* 84(2):621-652., 84(2), 621–652. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>

Southall, R. (2017). Africa Spectrum Bob ’ s Out , the Croc Is In : Continuity or. *Africa Spectrum*, 52(3), 81–94.

Stengel, F. A., & Baumann, R. (2017). Non-State Actors and Foreign Policy. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* (Issue September). <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.456>

Stone, D. (2001a). *International Diffusion of Policy Ideas ”*. 69.

Stone, D. (2001b). Think Tanks, Global Lesson-Drawing and Networking Social Policy Ideas. *Global Social Policy Copyright*, 1(3), 338–360.

Surowiec, P., & Long, P. (2020). Hybridity and Soft Power Statecraft: The ‘GREAT’ Campaign. *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 31(1), 168–195.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09592296.2020.1721092>

Tendi, B. M. (2016). State intelligence and the politics of Zimbabwe’s presidential succession. *African Affairs*, 115(459), 203–224. <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adv074>

Vermeulen, S., & Clark, G. (2017). An alternative ethics for research : Levinas and the unheard voices and unseen faces. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 5579, 0. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2016.1220117>

Viotti, P. ., & Kauppi, M. . (2013). *International Relations and World Politics* (5th ed.). Pearsom. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716297549001014>