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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

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MASTERS OF SCIENCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



**CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AND ZIMBABWE'S POST MUGABE RE-
ENGAGEMENT EFFORTS WITH USA, AGENCY OR OBSTRUCTION?**

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ABSTRACT

Civil society entails the space between the family, the state and business. The concept of civil society which goes as far back as Aristotle, has of late grown in influence and scholarly interest. It is interesting to note that civil society has spread its influence beyond state boundaries, dabbling in international affairs. The purpose of the study was to explore the role of CSOs as non-state actors in Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts with the United States of America in the post-Robert Mugabe era, now popularly referred to as the Second Republic. The objectives of this study were to examine the CSOs-State relations in the post Mugabe Zimbabwe, to analyze the role of CSOs in Zimbabwe's post Mugabe re-engagement efforts with USA and to assess the impact of CSOs roles in Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts with USA. Basing on constructivism and liberalism as a theoretical foundation, the research considered the influence of CSOs in international relations and how they can influence events on a global stage. Using qualitative methods, the population comprised of 13 key informant interviews. The participants for the study were drawn from civil society organizations that specifically deal with the Government of Zimbabwe. Documentary search was also used to review scholarly literature on the subject. The key findings of this research revealed that CSOs are very much involved in various strategies and roles for promoting international re-engagement of Zimbabwe and the global community. These strategies include lobbying, producing various papers and publications on re-engagement, devising alternative policy frameworks for Zimbabwe's economic and political reforms, promoting democratization, promoting co-operation, partnerships, enhancing reconciliation between political parties in Zimbabwe, endorsing national dialogue and exercising preventive diplomacy. The research findings also revealed the evil side of CSOs such as pushing for regime change, how they promote sectorial interests, how they are using the internet to exert their influence on governments. From the study, it was concluded that CSOs are divided into pro-second republic loyalists and pro-west whose funding comes from the west and thus perpetuating the already polarized efforts to facilitate Zimbabwe's re-engagement. The study concluded by recommending that Zimbabwe's path to engaging and re-engaging the West should also include opposition parties, students, think tanks, the Diasporan community and basically all stakeholder communities in Zimbabwe.

Key words: Civil society organization, Re-engagement, Non-Governmental Organizations, Power, Diplomacy, Politics

DECLARATION FORM

I Student No, B1849972 declare that the research project herein is my own and has not been copied or lifted from any source without the acknowledgement of the source.

Signed

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Date

.....

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Mr and Mrs Muraicho for their unwavering support and love. Baba lo mama this piece is dedicated to you for the seed you sow is blossoming.

To my husband, Michael and my two children, Alexander and Lina Pasipamire, you are my pride and my source of living. May you bloom to even greater heights.

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First and foremost, would like to give all the Glory and Honour to the almighty God, the source of my strength and the one who has sustained me thus far.

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Finally, my sincere thanks go to classmates, my family and workmates for being supportive and cooling up the storm when the tide got a bit high.

Above all, I say Ebenezer my God you have brought me this far!!!

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

African Union (AU)

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

Centre for Peace Initiative in Africa (CPIA)

Coalition Against Sanctions (CAS)

European Union (EU)

Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)

Leaders in Africa Network (LAN)

Mass Public Opinion Institute (MPOI)

Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)

National Constitutional Assembly (NCA)

National Youth Development Trust (NYDT)

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

SADC Southern African Community Development (SADC)

South Western Region Gender Network (SWRN)

Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU PF)

Zimbabwe Amalgamated Council of Churches (ZACC)

Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development (ZCDD)

Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU)

Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC)

Zimbabwe Institute of Diplomacy (ZIE)

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the study

The fall of the Berlin wall ushered in a new era in domestic and international politics for almost all states. This single event resulted in enormous change in the way politics is practiced at both domestic and international level that in the thirty years since, the face of local and global politics as become almost unrecognizable. Many changes have occurred that have changed the outlook of politics most notably the dominance of western-led liberalism in politics (Laine, 2014). The other change has been the breakdown of cold war clientelist system that sought to bolster the power of the two blocs to a system of more accountability (Hocking et al, 2012). Along with these changes has been the rise to prominence of civil society in both domestic and international politics. While civil society is a concept that is more than three centuries old, it has taken a new lease of life in the past three decades that it has become almost impossible to discuss politics at domestic or international level without mentioning and factoring in civil society (Laine, 2014). So influential has civil society become that it now commands a stake in the crafting and implementation of a state's policies, has links in the diplomatic space and has a major role to play in the processes on intergovernmental organizations and international relations (Panichi, 2013).

Civil society has had an enormous influence on issues like development, democracy, elections, human rights (Congressional Research Services, 2019), among others. So influential has been civil society that in less-economically developed countries, donors have used it as a conduit through which to finance development, circumventing the government (Zigomo, 2011). It has also become a prominent source of information about the goings-on in each country for foreign powers. Amidst all this, states have had a mixed reaction to this almost seismic rise in popularity of civil society (Pomeroy, 2016). Some have embraced civil society as a partner in development and democratization (Ndou, 2016). Others have gone further and attempted to co-opt; with varying degrees of success, into governance structures (Gregory, 2011). This has been done with different objectives, positive and negative in mind. Yet others have chosen the route of confrontation, viewing civil society as a threat to their hegemony over their respective territories. To this end, laws have been crafted to curtail the activities of civil society in given polities (Gutsa and Mandizadza, 2014). Hence, this rise to prominence of civil society has not been without its controversies. Scholarly interest in the concept and its growing influence on local and global affairs has grown also. Scholars have interrogated civil society from its meaning, roles, relation to the

state, position in international relations, limits to its activities among many other issues (Laine, 2014). Zimbabwe has not been spared from the effects of the rise of civil society both positively and negatively. There is need for a study that goes deeper into the concept of civil society in Zimbabwe, especially its relations with the West. This is particularly so taking into cognizance the attempts by the government to reconnect in the international community.

On his 87th birthday, the former president of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe had the following to say about Lovemore Madhuku; leader of the then CSO, the National Constitutional Assembly. “Madhuku gathers two or three people here and says we are demonstrating, when he is beaten by the police, he then goes to his funders and says, you see what they are doing and he receives some money, that’s how Madhuku survives”, (Moyo, 2012). This statement by the then president is illustrative of the relations between the Zimbabwean state and CSOs and the geopolitical influences that affect the relationship. It also points to the ever-increasing influence that CSOs have on international affairs and the constant friction between the state and CSOs.

Indeed, the influence of civil society on local and global politics in the 20th century is unprecedented in history. Indeed, all aspects of governance both at a state and at the international level have found themselves subject to the intervention of civil society for one reason or the other, for example Zimbabwe and the USA. Scholars like Moravcsik (2001) argue that state-civil society relations are at the center of international politics. Spurred by the spread of liberal ideals after the end of the cold war, civil society has become one of the most prominent actors in international politics (Slaughter, 2010). It has penetrated every facet of political life from human rights, democracy promotion, trade, climate change, inter-state and international diplomacy, international development among others. International donors and multilateral lenders seem to trust CSOs more than governments as channels of development financing, perhaps with good reason. In Africa and Eastern Europe, CSOs play a critical role in diplomatic relations between states, being trusted sources of information on different issues that are of interests to the foreign powers. At the same time, CSOs have had their fair share of controversies, some real, some imagined. They like intergovernmental organizations have suffered from a crisis of legitimacy and have been accused of representing the interests of their founders and funders rather than those of the people they purport to represent. In some instances, they have been accused of involvement in partisan politics and being vehicles to siphon money from international agents without any real work on the ground.

Against this backdrop, it is necessary to gain a deeper understanding on how civil society operates and its relations with traditional structures of the international system most notably states and intergovernmental organizations. It is also necessary to find out the extent of its influence on the diplomatic relations between states.

While it is true that many Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have aided the development process of southern African societies in various fields, it is also true that these processes are beginning to slow down in several Southern African countries, in this case Zimbabwe (Chigora & Guzura, 2014). The slow-down is partly due to a melt-down in by a lot of mistrust, (Chandhoke, 2011). For example, in Zimbabwe, relations between government and the state is characterized the by mistrust because the government views CSOs as a threat whilst CSO view the government as constraining their pace (Chigora and Guzura, 2011). For this valid reason the presence of CSO presents a fertile field of study as far as humans remain political animals as perceived by realists like Hobbes regarding them as hunger for power and dominance emerges every time opportunity presence itself. It is essence of this study therefore to assess the role of CSOs in their operational activities in Zimbabwe, especially CSOs re-engagement efforts in the post Mugabe era. This is because continuous struggles for representation by the people for the people over time has given CSOs critical leeway to exercise freedom of expression as well as the right to freedom of association validating views and interests of organizations in Zimbabwe. Moreover, a considerable number of civil society's organizations have become victims of their vision and missions

It is critical to explore on the chosen case study and mention why the researcher chose this country as one of the cases. This is to gain a deeper understanding of the functioning of civil society in Zimbabwe in relation to the state's external affairs. Because of the power of CSOs on the international arena and the trust that they receive from international actors, civil society is a concept that cannot be easily ignored. It is also of interest to explore the effects of the growth of liberalism on relations between the state and civil society. The other issue that needs to be interrogated is that of interests. Politics, whether domestic or global is all about interests. Whose interests does civil society represent? What extent can they reach to further these interests? In the specific case of Zimbabwe, how has this affected the relations between the state and its peers in the international system?

1.1 Purpose of the study

The study sought to analyze the role of CSOs in Zimbabwe's post 2018 re-engagement efforts with USA.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Political dynamics at a local and global level have changed significantly in the three decades since the fall of the Berlin Wall. With the dominance of western style liberal democracy in many parts of the globe, power dynamics have changed from being state centered. Power is now being distributed to other non-state actors in the international system such as intergovernmental organizations and Civil Society Organizations. As a result, non-state actors now have a prominent position in the governance systems of countries (Ndou, 2016). They have been involved in various activities, among them development work, humanitarian work, elections, democracy promotion and environmental affairs. Civil society is also very present at a global level with international NGOs taking the lead in many forums as they seek to democratize the international system and raise awareness and force players in the international system to act on matters such as corruption, human rights, climate change, refugees among others. They have developed sophisticated lobby, diplomatic and advocacy networks and methods leading them to have unprecedented influence on global affairs. This increasingly prominent position that CSOs have taken in international relations has led to debates about their role, functions, legitimacy and boundaries in international affairs (Banks and Hulme, 2015). Despite all these efforts, the relationship between the state and civil society is now exceedingly problematic. Problematic to the extent that the relationship between the state and CSOs is being viewed as conflictual and abrasive. For these reasons, this research sought to understand the role of CSOs on Zimbabwe's Post Mugabe changed political establishment and the USA. It sought to find out the effect that CSOs have on these relations. Most importantly, it sought to find out whether CSOs in Zimbabwe have been an agency or obstruction to Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts with the USA.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study were:

- (i) To examine the CSOs-State relations in the post Mugabe Zimbabwe.
- (ii) To analyze the role of CSOs in Zimbabwe's post Mugabe re-engagement efforts with USA
- (iii) To assess the impact of CSOs roles in Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts with USA.

1.4 Research questions

The researcher was guided by the following research questions:

- (i) How do the CSOs relate with the Government of Zimbabwe?
- (ii) What are the challenges faced by CSOs in Zimbabwe's post Mugabe re-engagement efforts?
- (iii) What opportunities are there for CSOs as a result of Zimbabwe's post Mugabe re-engagement efforts?

1.5 Assumptions of the study

The study assumed that:

- (i) CSOs are either a help or distraction in the Post Mugabe re-engagement efforts.
- (ii) CSOs have the ability to shape narratives and relations in the context of Zimbabwe's re-engagement drive.

1.6 Justifications

This study is important to understand the place of CSOs in the post Mugabe re-engagement efforts considering that they are highly misunderstood in Zimbabwe's polarized environment. It will help to clarify the role of CSOs in the post Mugabe re-engagement efforts.

The study is also meant to serve as a body of knowledge and educational material to other researchers, academics international relations students, international relations experts from Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, Pacific and the South East Asia in order to unearth how CSOs are a key part of society with a fundamental role to play towards an empowered state, economically, socially and politically. In short, how CSOs essentially perform a national service. The researcher intends to unearth facts that both local and international organizations can use when dealing with the issue of CSOs. In addition, the study will be valuable to policy makers in Zimbabwe, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality, Ministry of Home affairs in their re-engagement with the international community. This researcher intends to fulfil this by providing specific information in relation to CSOs-State relations. Finally, the study is also of importance because it adds more information on existing literature on the role of CSOs-State relations. Hence it will be a scholarly piece that can guide other scholars in their researches on CSO

1.7 Delimitations of the study

The prime focus of the study was to understand the role of CSOs in Zimbabwe's re-engagement effort. The area of focus was mainly Zimbabwe and Washington. However, the study also looked at looked at civil society from an international perspective, taking examples from all over the globe. The timeframe stretched from 2017 to 2019. The study is not going to cover all issues to do with CSOs as it is a very broad topic. It did not cover what other regional CSOs are doing as far as Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts are concerned.

1.8 Limitations of the study

Availability of key informants- Meeting key participants this research was difficult because the continuously changed the agreed dates for the interviews. This delayed the completion of this study. The researcher had to reschedule the interview dates.

Definition of key words

- (i) **Politics** - is a method of establishing how power and resources are distributed in a society without violence. It is about who gets what, when and how.
- (ii) **Power**- the ability to get others to do what you want. It allows a state to influence the international system or the other actors.
- (iii) **Civil Society**- is comprised of an assortment of actors made up of all types of alliances who are independent from the state. They all tend to have different ideas, interests and even ideology. They however interact and operate within set laws of the land.
- (iv) **Diplomacy**-these are actions that are taken by a state in its relations with other states. It involves negotiation, threats among other techniques.
- (v) **Re engagement** - to take part in or participate again. It is also defined as the act or an instance of engaging or engaging in or with someone or something again.
- (vi) **Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)**- The World Bank, 2014 defines NGOs as private organizations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development.

1.9 Chapter Outline

The study was presented in five chapters.

Chapter One - Introduction

It consisted of statement of the problem, significance of the study, objectives and ethical considerations. The chapter also gave the background of the study as well the justification of the study. It also provided definitions to the main terms that were used throughout the whole project.

Chapter Two - Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

It provided the rationale of the research project. It was important because it gave reference to previous findings on the area of study. Also included in this chapter was principal theories upon which the study research project was constructed. The chapter also looked at civil society roles in international relations and diplomacy in the Global North and South including the strategies for engagement with state actors and the limitations in these diplomatic engagements.

Chapter Three- Research Design and Methodology

The chapter fully explained the methods used to collect data. It described the basic research plan. The research design and methodology focused on the qualitative research methodology as it provided the research instruments for the study.

Chapter Four - Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion of Findings

Special attention was given to the data collected from the participants. Under discussion was also the findings from interviews and document analysis. The chapter provided the discussion of findings in relation to the study.

Chapter Five- Summary, Conclusions, Recommendations and Areas for further Research

This chapter concluded the study. It summarized the main findings. It also offered recommendations and areas for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

The remarkable increase in the number CSOs in the international system has led to scholarly interest in examining CSOs' international relations with states. For this reason, this chapter aimed to provide an overview of international relations theories that deal with civil society with a focus on constructivism and liberalism. The focus of the literature review was on the concepts of civil society in general, that is both in the global north and global south, the role of civil society in local and global politics, how it shaped narratives and events and how it uses soft power to influence global governance. It was critical to interrogate the methods of diplomatic maneuvering by civil society on the international stage and how they come to influence relations between actors, whose interests they represent and their impact on different foreign policies. It also reviewed the substantial amount of literature on CSOs in general and Zimbabwe in particular. This was critical as it provided a scholarly foundation for the research and helped ground it in sound theory. This chapter attempted to consider Zimbabwe's unique situation with regards to its external relations over the past two decades of isolation and how civil society has so far fared in as far as re-engagement is concerned. Indeed, having become an international pariah over the final two decades of former president Robert Mugabe's rule, the new Zimbabwean government has embarked on a process of re-engagement with erstwhile enemies particularly western states. But re-engagement and foreign policy itself is not the exclusive ambit of the state, it must include several actors including civil society.

2.1 Conceptualizing Civil Society

A commonly held understanding of civil society is that it occupies the space between the family and the state (Laine, 2014). All organizations and associations that are not part of the state, and whose aim does not include profit as a motive can therefore be classified as civil society.

Civil society encompasses a wide range of actors including nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), trade unions, social movements, grassroots organizations, online networks and communities, and faith groups (Cooper, 2018). Political theorists like John Locke, regarded civil society as when society endeavors to define and develop political legitimacy, where politics represents the order of a good life desired by the people.

2.1.2 Classical Definitions

St Augustine argued “Civil society or commonwealth as “an assemblage of men associated by a common acknowledgement of rights and by a community of interest” (Arora, 2012)

(Pelczynski, 2009) postulates that “Civil Society in this sense is an arena in which modern man justifiably gratifies his self-interest and develops his individuality, but also learns the value of group action, social cohesion and the dependence of his welfare on others, which educate him for citizenship and prepare him for participation in the political arena of the state (Kumar, 1993). Both definitions take rights, interests and assembling for the sake of achieving those public goods as a starting point in defining civil society (Perez-Diaz, 2011).

2.1.3 Modern Definitions

Laine (2014) looks at civil society as an “arena, a public space with blurred borders, where diverse societal values and interests interact.” This brings to the fore that there are contestations regarding the boundaries of civil society, the issues under its ambit, the organizations or entities that are part of it (Ndou, 2016). This characterization is in agreement with Gutsa and Mandizadza (2014) who define civil society as “all public associations, movements, informal groups, and conventions which are open to every actor and in which citizens become involved on a voluntary basis with the major orientation being non-profit making.”

All definitions bring to the fore the liberal or open nature of civil society in that it attracts and accepts a broad coalition of actors from the society. They also show that civil society is essentially voluntary association of people within a society or polity who share common interests and therefore coalesce to further such interests. An interesting train of thought that is common to most definitions is that of civil society seeking to protect citizens from harm of the violation of their rights especially by the state. All definitions, classical or modern show the importance of free association and the protection of individual rights in their conception of the idea.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Behraves (2011) argues that theories help us make sense of the blizzard of material that bombards us daily. Theories are beacons, lenses or filters that direct us to what, according to the theory, is essential for understanding some part of the world (Donnelly, 2005). This research used constructivism and liberalism as a theoretical lens with which to look at the research problem. Liberalism along with realism is one of the two traditional theories of international relations

(Moravcsik, 2001). Constructivism on the other hand is a relatively new paradigm in international relation, having emerged around the end of the cold war, (Behraves, 2011).

2.3. Overview of International Relations Theories

Realism is a tradition of study that stresses the constraints states face in the pursuit of national interest. Realism, whose primary concern is on power politics is the oldest tradition in political theorizing (Donnelly, 2005). The main realist argument is that international relations is dominated by anarchy as a result of the absence of a central authority in the system (Slaughter, 2011). According to Donnelly, state-centrism and rationality are often identified as core realist premises. Realism argues that rules and conventions are meant to bridle selfish human nature and that human beings are intrinsically selfish and are incapable of acting in a non-selfish way without the bridles of institutions (Donnelly, 2005). A rival to realism for a very long time is liberalism which argues that all state-society relations are at the center of international politics in liberalism (Moravcsik, 2001). State behavior, according to liberal theories is therefore a reflection of the relations between the state, its society and other states.

Moravcsik (2010) argues that classical Liberal IR theory emerged from liberal philosophers and publicists, including Immanuel Kant, Giuseppe Mazzini, Richard Cobden, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, John Hobson, Woodrow Wilson, and John Maynard Keynes.

According to Moravcski (2010) the liberal theory works from three fundamental assumptions:

1. The fundamental actors in international politics are rational individuals and private groups, who organize and exchange to promote their interests. The demands of individuals and societal groups are what leads to state behavior on the international scene.
2. States represent subgroups of domestic society, whose interests the state pursues through its international relations. In the Liberal notion of domestic politics, the state is not an actor but an institution constantly subject to capture and recapture, even creation and reconstruction, by alliances of social actors. This does not mean though that all individuals and groups have the same influence on state policy or that the organization of state institutions is irrelevant. Every government represents some individuals and groups more fully than others.

3. The configuration of state preferences determines state behavior. The distribution and interaction among the preferences of different states, liberals argue, is the determinate influence on interstate behavior.

It is a widely held view that no state can exist in isolation (Singh, 2013) and that every country needs to be on good terms with other members of the international community (Sphor and da Silva, 2017). Foreign policy is the way by which a country furthers its interests and those of its citizens (Bojang, 2018). It would therefore be in the interests of the people of Zimbabwe if their government was embraced by the generality of actors in international affairs. CSOs as representatives of the people's interests would therefore have an obligation to support whatever policy that furthers those interests and re-engagement is one such policy. Several explanations could be given for this discrepancy in the actions of civil society versus the interests of the people they represent. The first is that civil society is serving foreign interests who for their own interests would like to isolate the Zimbabwean government. The second is that it is self-serving and has other motives besides the welfare of the country.

According to Gold & McGlinche (2017) representative government assumes that the administration must be receptive to a wide range of social actors; the assurance of civil and political rights assures persons and groups the chance to interact in 'civil society' free of undue interference from the state. Once the state is responsive to domestic constituencies, the demands and pressures brought to bear on the state are then manifested in its conduct of international affairs.

Constructivism is a relatively new theory in international relations having emerged around the end of the cold war (Theys, 2017). This means that the theory emerged at around the time that civil society began gaining more currency in international affairs. It is a departure from traditional theories that focus of states as actors in international relations, neglecting individuals and other agents (Theys, 2017; Karacasulu and Uzgören, 2007). The major thrust of the theory is that actors; comprising of leaders and ordinary people continuously shape and reshape norms and practice of international relations through their actions (Karacasulu and Uzgören, 2007). According to constructivists therefore, social reality is a result of the actions of different actors. This is unlike the realist argument which places the state at the center of international relations, acting in self-interest. Constructivism argues that all this is subject to change depending on the actions of different players on the global scene. The rise of civil society in almost all aspects of international

relations from diplomatic relations between and among states, in intergovernmental organizations, development among other areas. These areas used to be largely dominated by the state as realism argues but other actors, notably civil society are claiming a share of influence that is unprecedented for non-state actors in international relations. This makes constructivism a good explanatory theory with regards to civil society in international relations.

The term constructivism in international relations was introduced by Nicholas Onuf in 1989 (Behraves, 2011; Karacasulu and Uzgören (2007). The authors argue that constructivism is not a theory in international relations but rather, a way of understanding the world that is guided by theory, a view that is supported by Slaughter (2011). Slaughter argues that the central concern of constructivism is to understand the motivation behind human agency in international relations.

According to constructivists, reality, including in international relations is a social construct (Behraves, 2011; Slaughter, 2011). This is to say, the meaning given to actions is more important than the material structure of things. Ideas are therefore more important than materials in constructivism. Aspects of international relations like military power, institutions and domestic preferences are only important because of the social significance attached to them (Slaughter, 2011). The social context of actions, therefore, becomes more important than the actions themselves according to constructivists (Theys, 2017). For constructivists, reality is always under construction and is subject to change at any given time depending on the actors at any given time. This makes constructivism a change theory, change being dependent on understanding of issues in international relations by actors. The ideals and beliefs of actors are critical in their actions and therefore what becomes the social reality.

According to Theys (2017), agency and structure are mutually constituted meaning that they influence each other in the construction of a social reality. This means that the structure of the international system influences the actions of actors and the actors themselves have an influence on the international system. Agents are individuals or organizations with the ability to act on the international scene while structure consists of the ideas and materials in international relations (Theys, 2017). In short, constructivism argues that the international system is what actors make of it. In the same vein, relations between individual states are dependent on how both sides understand the relationship. Actors therefore can reinforce the existing structure or to change it depending on their understanding of the reality. An illustration of this is how western powers were opposed to

the liberation parties in Zimbabwe but embraced them after independence and later disengaged with the same based on specific events and actions.

Theys (2017) argues that interests and identities also play a major role in constructivism. This is supported by Slaughter (2011) who is of the opinion that identity is important to constructivist understanding of the world. A state can have different identities that are constructed depending on who they are dealing with. These identities stem from an actor's own understanding of who they are and are translated into interests that in turn affect how they act on the international scene.

Social norms also play in major part in the constructivist argument (Slaughter, 2011; Theys, 2017). Norms are acceptable behaviors for actors within a given identity. While this mainly refers to states, it also applies to non-state actors like civil society, intergovernmental organizations among others. Civil society for example, is expected to act in specific ways that are consistent with its identity. However, within civil society, there are different identities ranging from the environmental, political, developmental among others who are expected to behave in certain ways that are consistent with their identities. As will be argued later, there are different kinds of civil society organizations in Zimbabwe who behave in different ways that fit their identity. There has also been a progression in the identities of CSOs in Zimbabwe, depending on the obtaining political situation both internally and externally.

Because of its emphasis on beliefs and ideas, constructivism gives more room to non-state actors than other theories in international relations (Slaughter (2011); Behraves, (2011)). This makes constructivism a good theory with which to look at non-state actors in international relations like civil society. She argues that transnational actors like CSOs have played a major role in altering state preferences and beliefs. This holds true if one is to look at the influence of CSOs on global affairs. The soft power of civil society has placed it at the center of international relations along with the state.

Constructivist argue that norms go through a life cycle and a norm only becomes acceptable when a critical mass of actors adopt it and accept it in their own actions (Havercroft, 2008). This might help to explain the rise of civil society in global governance and international relations (Karacasulu and Uzgoren, 2012). While civil society used to be largely restricted to the national level, constructivists would argue that the stage has come where many actors in international relations have accepted the role of civil society in global governance (Havercroft, 2008). States have

accepted that civil society is a partner in development locally, internalized the norm and through that CSOs find the opening to influence global affairs as a new norm is established.

Guided by constructivism, this research sought to find out the extent to which civil society actors in Zimbabwe have the power to influence the state in its relations with other states. It also sought to find out what role CSOs have in crafting and supporting or otherwise the implementation of government policy in general and foreign policy. Further, the research sought to test the constructivist notion that social realities in international relations are shaped by the actions and ideas of actors including individuals and groups. The point of departure for the research is the assumption that Zimbabwe's relations with other states in international relations are not static. They are shaped by the ideas of the Zimbabwean government, foreign governments, civil society among others as is the constructivist argument (Behraves, 2011). The focus was particularly on civil society's understanding of the relations and its role in shaping the status quo as an international relations actor.

2.4 CSOs in International Relations

As a collective, civil society has a critical role to play in international relations. Hocking, et al (2012) argue that there has been an expansion of the number of actors in international relations. They also argue that diplomats now share the stage with a plethora of other actors among them civil society. They however note that the state remains the most important actor in international relations. Civil society has been known to influence bodies like the UN on issues such as climate change, human rights and corruption (Hocking, et al (2012). Global CSOs are often given the floor at international forums to discuss specific issues and suggest resolutions on such.

Notwithstanding its focus on internal issues, local civil society has a role to play in global politics. This is usually achieved and pursued through attempts to influence the foreign policy of a government (Moravcsik, 2010), lobbying international actors in cases where a government does not give heed to the demands of civil society among other ways and means. While local CSOs do not enjoy the privileges of their internationally oriented counterparts at global forums, it is not uncommon to see them active at such forums at times taking to the podium to discuss issues of concern in their home country.

Hocking, et al (2012) posit that there is a continued fragmentation of international norms largely as a result of the rise on new actors in international relations. This view fits into the constructivist

narrative that puts norms as one of the most important aspects of international relations. Constructivism also states that norms are a result of the repeated actions of certain actors until such actions are accepted by the generality of the international community. They argue for what they call integrative diplomacy which entails teamwork between professional diplomats and those who represent different actors in the international system.

Panichi (2013) argues that civil society has succeeded in exploiting the new opportunities opened by interregional interchanges in order to express its concerns and interests. In this way, globalization and regionalism has opened opportunities for civil society to engage in diplomatic relations that were once the preserve of states an argument that is supported by Hocking, et al (2012). This space that civil society has in international diplomatic forums makes it an increasingly important and influential player in world affairs. Local civil society then is no longer constrained to the borders of the state but now has influence beyond such borders through diplomatic processes. Panichi (2013) continues to argue that by allowing civil society leeway to go into the interregional dialogue, global and interregional systems of governance can acquire acceptability and democracy. This serves to illustrate the importance that civil society has on international relations to an extent where inter-state bodies are gaining more legitimacy from the involvement of civil society views in their discussions.

Civil society is powerful in as far as relations between states is concerned (Pallas and Uhlin, 2014). This usually happens through idea generation and agenda setting (Pollard and Court, 2005; Ashkan, 2010). As discussed earlier, the perceptions by different actors of concrete facts influence and are in turn influenced by ideas held by the actors thereby constructing new social realities. One of the voices that helps to shape perceptions is that of civil society (Ashkan, 2010). It follows then that civil society has a major role to play in determining who their respective governments associate with. Following this logic, civil society in countries that have had soured relations with Zimbabwe have influence over the decision to engage or isolate based on their ideas and understanding of relations and other concrete facts. With human rights and democracy being touted as the major reasons for western powers disengaging with Zimbabwe (Reeler, 2016), and the well documented concern of civil society organizations with such issues, it is within the bounds of the possible that civil society had a big role to play in the decisions to isolate Zimbabwe. It is also very likely that they have as much of a role in any decision to re-engage. Added to this

is the presence of local politically oriented organizations that have networks with these foreign and international civil society organizations. This axis of CSOs possesses enough clout to influence the fate of Zimbabwe's relations with other states and with intergovernmental organizations. Indeed, civil society has been known to campaign at forums like the United Nations for or against engaging Zimbabwe.

The global influence that CSOs seek is being granted. According to Marchetti (2010) after the end of the Cold War, the existence of CSOs in international matters has become progressively relevant. Their role has been in program setting, governance and international law-making, worldwide diplomacy, and the execution and monitoring of some crucial global subjects. Some of the issues that CSOs have been involved in include trade, development and poverty eradication, representative governance, human rights, peace and environmental affairs. CSOs have been international players of note as promoters for policy solutions, service providers, or overseers of state and interstate actions. Marchetti (2010) continues, the UN has vigorously encouraged collaboration with CSOs in global governance, particularly in relation to world summits which have given a forum for global civil meetings to occur. This illustrates the growing influence and importance that CSOs are gaining on a global stage.

Steffek, Hahn, Rodekamp & Piewitt (2009) opine that CSOs can lessen the 'democratic deficit' of international organizations. This agrees with Marchetti (2010) who argues the increased manifestation of civil society in global affairs can be understood within the wider liberal model. CSOs have played a key role in democracy advancement through the assertion of human rights. In line with the liberal postulation according to which a truly democratic system can only come about through the participation of an operative and lively public opinion, civil society actors have given a bottom-up influence on the acceptability of the international system. Second, civil society organizations have also contributed service delivery thus they have become important actors in global development and subsequently, global politics. This serves to confirm that the major difference between local and global CSOs is size and reach, but the issues they deal with are almost the same. Global CSOs have influenced the governance of global institutions, pushing rules and procedures towards better defense of for example human rights. This global exchange has not been limited to the global stage, but it has also influenced local level politics (Steffek, et al, 2009).

Marchetti (2010) argues that one of the reasons that have led to the rally by CSOs on a global stage is the failure by established intergovernmental institutions to provide effective responses to global problems such as: climate change, disease, financial instability, intercultural violence, arbitrary inequalities among others. CSOs have therefore stepped up to take leadership over these issues. It should be noted that just like with their local counterparts, they do not seek to take over the powers of intergovernmental organizations but seek to influence the decisions made by such organizations on issues of concern. They are also focused on the reform of intergovernmental organizations so that there is more accountability and democratic checks and balances (Steffek, et al, 2009). This tallies with the traditional role of locally oriented CSOs of providing checks and balances to the governance structures and protecting the vulnerable against defective policies.

The actions of international NGOs and those of their local counterparts are similar. The major difference between the two is the level of engagement. One predominantly engages with national governments while the other predominantly engages with intergovernmental organizations. This study had a bias towards local CSOs and how they affect the relations between Zimbabwe and other countries in the international community. The influence of CSOs on international relations is enhanced by their growing clout and soft power (Whall and Pytlak, 2014) in the diplomatic space as will be discussed in the next section.

2.5 CSOs and Diplomatic relations

Diplomacy is the vehicle through which states relate to each other (Singh, 2013). In other words, diplomacy is the primary tool through which foreign policy is practiced. While this is the classic definition of diplomacy, the practice of diplomacy itself has changed over time and has ceased to be the sole prerogative of states (Whall and Pytlak, 2014) but it now also involves other actors (Spohr and da Silva, 2017) such as CSOs. NGOs now go beyond attempting to influence the foreign policy of a state as the liberal theory states. They now involve themselves in the actual diplomatic relations with other states (Ahmed and Potter, 2006), providing foreign missions with information on human rights, the economy, political developments (Reeler, 2016) among others.

Joseph Nye defines soft power as “co-optive power” or indirect power which can help in “getting others to want what you want” and it shapes preferences of others by attraction of intangible resources such as universalistic popular culture or political cohesion” (Yukaruc, 2017). According to Yukaruc, the understanding of power is moving away from fungible forms like military

hardware to more intangible forms like ideas and cultures. While hard power rests in the tangible and known aspects like economic size, soft power largely resides in the ability to influence and shape the preferences of other actors in the international system. Yukaruc argues that the exercise of power requires a combination of both coercion and persuasion. Governments therefore have to use a number of strategies and actors including civil society to justify their dominance. Governments are said to be increasingly seeking global engagement through informal associations with CSOs (Gregory, 2011). This is diplomacy on a lower level where governments engage CSOs differently from state actors. This however does not diminish the power of CSOs in influencing global relations, if anything, it's a demonstration of the soft power that civil society has. With a shift towards public diplomacy during the Obama administration (Gregory, 2011) the power of CSOs in international relations can only be amplified. Following the constructivist argument, soft power is an act of shaping narratives and norms using intangible assets like an actor's culture and values.

Hocking, et al, (2011) argue that diplomats are increasingly becoming aware of the importance of public diplomacy. It is worth noting that CSOs play a major role in public diplomacy therefore giving such organizations more power than before in influencing world events. Hocking *et al* (2011) postulate that diplomats will become facilitators of interactions between foreign and local CSOs in global policy frameworks. According to Gregory (2011), an interesting development in diplomacy is the rise of citizen diplomacy which is a concept where individuals have the right to shape foreign policy. Gregory argues that citizen diplomacy is growing in power in relation to the state since citizen diplomats are using network strategies and technology to great impact.

However, Nouredine and Ismail (2017), argue that when it comes to foreign policy, the space for civil society involvement shrinks. This is a departure from the Liberal theory which states that civil society plays a critical role in the formulation of a country's foreign policy as it represents interests that seek to influence the state's interactions with other countries. If indeed, the space for civil society shrinks in foreign policy as postulated by Nouredine and Ismail, what recourse does civil society have to influence the state's foreign policy? How possible is it that civil society, if the space is closed, would turn to sabotaging and distracting the state's foreign policy? With a generally restricted space (Maseng, 2010) even to influence domestic policy, would civil society organizations turn to the same tactics in order to arm-twist the state into listening to them?

Mapuva (2007) quotes Mamdani (1995:8) who posits that there exists a relationship between State and civil society, but these two try to manipulate each other to further their different interests.

Zimbabwe needs diplomacy if the re-engagement effort is to bear fruit. Gregory (2011) argues that CSOs are growing in strength and numbers in the diplomatic space. The country needs its CSOs to play a role in influencing the outcome of re-engagement. This role is likely to be in shaping narratives of the country, essentially using soft power to convince actors to adopt certain stances. This role is not limited to influencing foreign governments but also assisting the Zimbabwean government to act in a way that is acceptable to the rest of the international community and therefore aid its re-admittance to the international community of states. It is the central focus of this study to find out the role that Zimbabwean CSOs have played in the re-engagement efforts, whether positive or negative. It is also worth noting that Zimbabwean CSOs are a product of their time (Masunungure, 2014). They are also prone to acting in accordance with the wishes of their funders (Zigomo, 2011); usually western states. Finally, it is interesting, considering all these factors to speculate on the role that they played in the isolation of Zimbabwe in the first place. Some of the major issues that led to Zimbabwe's isolation include alleged human rights abuses and electoral fraud. According to Reeler (2016) in the absence of a strong independent media, the onus fell on CSOs to document such issues. CSOs did not just document the issues but actively engaged the diplomatic community on the issues (Zigomo, 2011). It is therefore plausible to argue that local CSOs used their influence and connections to contribute to the isolation of the country.

According to Pomeroy (2016), the understanding of foreign policy is gradually moving away from the Pragmatist readings of State Policy and closer to the field of public policies, whose decision-making process should be subjected to democratic controls. Ndou (2016) supports this postulation when he argues that civil society engagement with the state and other constituencies create avenues for a people centered and responsive governance than just government. Civil society then becomes a major player in monitoring such policies in any democratic society.

Panichi (2013) is of the opinion that the way diplomacy has evolved so much that the idea of track-two diplomacy is used to describe "a set of non-governmental, unofficial contacts and activities between private citizens, groups of interest, think tanks' experts, diplomats, politicians and military officers" (Gregory, 2011). The use of the term "track-two diplomacy" shows that

the state no longer has the exclusive right to diplomatic engagement. This has provided space for other players like civil society to exploit and influence international affairs. Track-two diplomacy has become a way of conveying ideas and dispersing standards: equated to the traditional diplomacy, players are much more disposed and able to alter their positions, notions and opinions. This argument is supported by Saner (2003) who postulates that non-state actors such as national or international non-governmental organizations are contributing their voices to international development debates by assembling, agitation and lobbying across state boundaries to have a greater impact on international development policymaking. The influence of CSOs on international relations is not limited to diplomatic relations but runs much deeper to an extent where foreign states and donor agencies have come to trust CSOs more than state actors.

Because of frustrations with and mistrust for governments, NGOs have been seen to be a conduit through which funds for different governance-focused programs by foreign powers can be injected into the country (Hulme and Edwards, 1997). This serves to illustrate that foreign policy in general and diplomacy have ceased to be the preserve of the state. The fact of foreign powers engaging with CSOs and funding them to further specific foreign policy agendas shows that CSOs are a major player in the practice of diplomatic relations. This brings to the fore the issue of agenda-setting with regards to CSOs. As Zigomo (2011) argues, much civil society activity is donor driven because of funding dynamics a view that is supported by Viterna, Clough and Clarke (2015), Masunungure (2014). It is therefore not surprising that CSOs in Zimbabwe have tended to have an agenda like that of major donor-states especially NGOs in Masunungure's third generation. The classification of generations of CSOs may also tally with changing interests and strategies by foreign powers in the country.

So influential is civil society in diplomatic relations that organizations like the European Union have roadmaps for engaging with civil society in every country that they have relations with (European Union, 2014). They consult with civil society to get a more balanced view of the state of the country. This shows that civil society has a share of what used to be the exclusive domain of the state; diplomacy. Intergovernmental organizations like the United Nations even have strategies on engaging with civil society illustrating the power of the latter in global affairs.

2.6 Relations between Civil Society and the state

Moksnes and Melin (Eds) (2012) argue that the justification for CSO involvement in international organizations is that they represent the hopes, concerns, anxieties of the people through a form of transmission belt. Critics however deny that this is the case (Anderson, 2000) but that global CSOs are representing the interests of founders rather than people on the ground. This shows that there is no agreement among scholars as to the role of civil society and the interests that CSOs represent.

Gutsa and Mandizadza (2014) argue that the relationship between the state and civil society has generally been a problematic one in the developing world, a view that is supported by Moyo (2012). They posit that the relationship has been ‘abrasive’ and marked with a lot of conflict and this can be explained by the fact that civil society is generally foreign funded and therefore owe their allegiance to foreign powers.

The abrasive relationship between the state and civil society in developing nations can be explained by the generally stunted development of democracy in these regions. According to the liberal theory, civil society tends to thrive in democratic nations and is generally underdeveloped in their non-democratic counterparts a view that is supported by Ndou (2016). This is because representative democracy gives more space to civil society and takes ideas from such organizations. In non-democratic societies however, there is generally repression of human rights and there is not much space for civil society to operate as governments are suspicious of the motives of CSOs. Because one of the central roles of civil society is to protect the citizenry from the excesses of the state and to provide a safety net from defective state policies, in playing this role, civil society crosses the path of governments and non-democratic states view this as a challenge and tend to repress civil society resulting in conflict Haynes (1997). It may also be due the state perceiving that civil society is taking over some of its traditional roles. As Moksnes and Melin (Eds), 2012) content, the increasing influence of CSOs is somewhat a consequence of neo-liberal reforms that have reduced state responsibility in some economic and political issues, instead adding to the role of non-governmental organizations.

2.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has attempted to provide an overview of literature relating to Civil Society, its duties and roles and its relations with the state. The focus was on civil society in international relations, the powers that CSOs in influencing global norms and relations between different actors the

chances of CSOs to influence government policies and reform process. It also diffuses the polarized antagonistic political atmosphere. CSOs can act as intermediaries to make government. In turn, this is likely increase citizen voices in policy formulation through access to policy makers.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter was to present the philosophical assumptions underpinning this research. It introduced the research strategy, the targeted population, sampled techniques, data collection, presentation and analysis, research validity and reliability including key research ethical considerations. The researcher interviewed thirteen representatives from thirteen CSO. The researcher got most responses through access via participant and snowballing, although she had to be careful with snowballing to not end up with too similar sample profiles. The researcher also learnt that fieldwork is neither long nor arduous when taken with the right spirit and an open mind. Majority of respondents were more than welcoming and had a real need to share their stories, experiences, problems and every one of them hoped that the solutions to their problems existed somewhere in the near future. The fieldwork experience was quite challenging and enlightening experience.

3.1 Philosophical assumptions

Philosophical assumptions in a social science research are the ideas and beliefs that inform our study. They are also procedures used by the researcher and are based on the researcher's own experience in collecting and analyzing data (Bhattacharjee, 2012). They buildup into the purposes of the research, the questions addressed, and the methods employed. In addition, the way we think the world is (ontology), influences: what we think can be known about it (epistemology); how we think it can be investigated (methodology and research techniques); the kinds of theories we think can be constructed about it; and the political and policy stances we are prepared to take" (Fleetwood, 2010). Generally, the above historical reflection gave this study a clear picture of scientific research in conducting a social inquiry.

The philosophical assumptions underlying this research came from the interpretive tradition. This implied a subjective epistemology and the ontological belief that reality is socially constructed. The research strategy adopted was to conduct multiple interviews with CSOs. The fieldwork was conducted during the period from September to October 2019 and recordings of participants and email correspondence was maintained. The main data collection techniques used in this research study was interviews and documentation analysis.

3.2 Research Methodology

Research methodology justifies actions and decisions, (Berry, 2010). This means that research methodology is a way to solve the research problem. The research was informed by the qualitative research methodology which gave participants the flexibility to give richer answers to questions asked. Qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretative and naturalistic approach to its subject matter, (Kothari 2014). In addition, qualitative research is an effort to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a context and the interactions there (Patton, 2013). Furthermore, the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. Qualitative research also involves fieldwork where the researcher interacts with the people. Finally, qualitative research is that it uses an inductive research strategy.

The researcher in this regard gathered intact information from participants in their own context. Information was gathered from CSOs organizations such as the Zimbabwe Democracy Institute, Zimbabwe Institute of Democracy, and the Zimbabwe Council of Churches, Leaders in Africa Network, Citizen Manifesto, Mass Public Opinion institute to mention but a few. Hence the researcher found it fundamentally essential to conduct the study under the guard of qualitative research.

Qualitative research data collection methods include interviewing participants, examining documents, use of questionnaires and observing behavior (Creswell 2011). The researcher triangulated several methods of data collection to gather the data for the study. This helped in giving in-depth analysis and a well-rounded understanding of issues around the issues of CSOs in Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts with the West. She conducted the research through interviews and document analysis. The researcher chose to use several sources of data as compared to a single method of data collection to avoid bias

3.3 Research design

A research design is "a blueprint for conducting a study with full control over factors that may interfere with the authenticity of the findings (Burn & Grove, 2010). In other words, research design provides the framework and the model to collect and analyze data. Research design provides light to how the study was conducted. Since the study focused on civil society as a player in Zimbabwe's international relations, the researcher collected information in form of words from the participants and presented it in narration. Thus, qualitative research methods like interviews applied. The researcher chose qualitative research design because it provided a platform for

difficulties and differences that surround the worlds under the study to be investigated and represented, (Philip, 2012). In addition, the researcher was able to understand the meanings that the participants gave to events, situations and actions that as they had live experiences.

In addition, to achieve the objectives of this research, an explorative study was used to investigate CSOs in the Post Mugabe era and their relations with the Zimbabwean Government. The study sought to analyze whether CSOs were an agency or obstruction in the Post Mugabe era through interviews and documentary evidence. This enabled the researcher to bring out a detailed analysis of the CSOs-state relations in Zimbabwe's Post Mugabe era. The researcher favored an explorative study because it tried to understand a problem in depth and thus very useful to gain insight.

3.4 Study Population

The population of this study was made up of high-ranking officials from CSOs with an interest in CSO-state relations and international relations. The population was drawn from Harare and comprised of both sexes. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2015), a population can be described as including all people or items with the characteristic one wishes to understand. In other words, because there is very rarely enough time or money to gather information from everyone or everything in a population, the goal becomes finding a representative sample (or subset) of that population. According to Wenger, these sampling units have characteristics that are relevant to the problem.

3.5 Sample

The sample was mainly composed of key stakeholders from Centre for Peace Initiative in Africa, Citizen Manifesto, Christian Legal Society, Coalition Against Sanctions, Leaders in Africa Network, Mass Public Opinion Institute, Nhimbe Trust, Zimbabwe Amalgamated Council of Churches, Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development, Zimbabwe Council of Churches Zimbabwe Institute of Diplomacy, National Youth Development Trust and The South Western Region Gender Network. 13 participants participated in the in-depth interviews.

3.5.1 Sampling technique

The study used purposive sampling and snowballing. Sharon (2010), defined purposive sampling as selecting a sample based on one's knowledge of the population, its elements and the nature of the research aims. Thus, the population is non-randomly selected based on a particular characteristic. This method was useful as the researcher wanted to study a small subset of a larger

population in which many members of the subset were easily. The research mainly focused on those aligned to the field of International Relations. In this study, CSOs were purposively sampled. Babbie (2016) states that a purposive sample is selected based on knowledge of a population, its elements, and the purpose of the study. This population was chosen by the researcher because they had rich information. In other scholarly circles, purposive sample is also referred to as judgmental sampling. On snowballing, participants helped the researcher to identify others that participated in the study.

3.6 Total Number of Respondents

Sample	Sampling technique	Subtotal	Data collection method
Centre for Peace Initiative in Africa	Purposive	1	Interview
Citizen Manifesto	Purposive	1	Email
Christian Legal Society	Snowballing	1	Interview
Coalition Against Sanctions	Purposive	1	Interview
Leaders in Africa Network	Purposive	1	Interview
Mass Public Opinion Institute	Purposive	1	Interview
Nhimbe Trust	Snowballing	1	Interview
Zimbabwe Amalgamated Council of Churches	Purposive	1	Interview
Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development	Purposive	1	Interview
Zimbabwe Council of Churches	Purposive	1	Telephone Interview
Zimbabwe Institute of Diplomacy	Purposive	1	Interview
National Youth Development Trust	Snowballing	1	Interview
The South Western Region Gender Network	Snowballing	1	Interview
TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS		13	

3.7 Data Collection methods

A combination of face to face, telephonic and email interviews was conducted with participants from several civil society organizations. In addition, the research used documentary search to

gather more data that interviews might have left out. The documents include newspaper articles, internet videos, and statements by government.

3.7.1 Key Informant Interviews

13 interviews were conducted. Informant interviews encompass interviewing a selected or a small group of people who are likely to furnish required or necessary information, ideas, and perspectives on a subject (Borg,2013). Key informant interviews for this research was drawn from the Zimbabwe Council of Churches, Zimbabwe Institute of Diplomacy, Zimbabwe Institute Citizen Manifesto, Mass Public Opinion Institute, Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development, Center of Peace Initiative in Africa, Nhimbe Trust, Christian Legal Society, Leader in Africa Network. In terms of interviews, the focus was on individuals or groups who play a daily role in Zimbabwe's foreign affairs and in state-civil society relations. Thus, researcher conducted in-depth interviews with CSOs who deal with the government on a regular basis. By conducting these in-depth interviews, the objective was to get first-hand information on CSOs relations with the Zimbabwean government, whether they are an agency or obstruction in the Post Mugabe re-engagement efforts. The participants were guaranteed and assured of the confidentiality while every interview was recorded for decoding purposes. The researcher further adopted the probing method which basically entails examining, analyzing and investigating all issues pertaining to the study to ensure essential information regarding the study is acquired. Mainly open-ended questions which gave to give respondents room to give details on issues discussed.

In addition, the researcher combined two types of interviewing techniques in each interview sessions. These included direct and undirected interviews. Hence the interview guide contained two forms of questioning methods. On the first session, the interviewer asked precise questions and the interviewee answered the questions whilst the interviewer jotted down the replies and responses. On the second part session of the interview guide, non-directive questions were used. This was done to extract wide information form the participant. It also inspired them to disclose their knowledge and vast experience on CSO and their relations with the Zimbabwe government especially CSOs representatives. The researcher preferred interviews because of their ability to investigate issue in a much deeper way. Interviews are very rich in knowledge as the interviewer can engage the interviewee on very specific matters or issues of concern (Genise, 2013). This in turn also leads to focused, useful, beneficial, reasonable, convenient and practical suggestions. However, use of interview method was quite time consuming. For example, on setting up the

interviews, recording and doing the analysis. In order to prevent this problem, the researcher began by advising the participants well in advance for them to prepare for the interviews.

3.7.2 Document Analysis

Document analysis is a vital aspect in any social science research. Document analysis encompasses examining and reviewing written documents containing vital information about subject under study. This type of document analysis in a qualitative research is known as obstructive method. According to Eisenhart, the process of document analysis involves exhaustive reading and exploring discourse relating to the field research (Eisenhart, 2016). In addition, document analysis basically includes what the researcher needs to know, (numbers or stories, where the data reside (environment, files, people), resources and time available, complexity of the data to be collected and frequency of data collection. The researcher analyzed written official documents, newspapers, television reports, media briefings, strategic plan documents and literature relating to CSOs. The researcher analyzed documents that deal with Zimbabwe's foreign policies and CSO activity in Zimbabwe. The focus on these documents was to find those that speak to Zimbabwe's relations with other states in the international community. In analyzing the documents, focus was on the objectives of Zimbabwe's foreign policy vis a vis the actions of actors especially civil society to this end. The analysis sought to interrogate the activities of civil society as an actor in international relations and whether they added value or disturbed the re-engagement efforts.

3.8 Data presentation and analysis

According to Creswell, (2011) data presentation and analysis includes scrutinizing and examining the data in a logical way so that conclusions may be drawn on the subject under investigation. It includes editing, coding, classification and layout of the gathered data so that they are responsive to the analysis. Furthermore, the analysis allows the data to be interpreted and in order to come up with a useful conclusion. To examine and explore the qualitative data acquired from various participants, the researcher employed thematic analysis technique. Thematic analysis is a general method for studying or probing qualitative data in many disciplines or fields, (McCaig, 2010). Thematic analysis and can be applied in lots of different data sets and many disciplines to address lots of different research questions. Through thematic assessment, results of this study were presented using themes generated from participants' findings. The advantage being that themes are hypothetically flexible as they can be used within diverse contexts or frameworks to answer different sorts of research questions. This type of analysis also matched the questions that are

linked to individuals' experiences, opinions, ideas, perceptions and understanding. Thematic analysis helped to analyze the how, what and why questions. This was achieved through analyzing data per objectives.

3.9 Validity and reliability

Validity and reliability are the very essential aspects to be considered when assessing a study. Validity looks at the accuracy, integrity and credibility of an explanation, justification, version, narrative or interpretation that a researcher has drawn up (Denscombe 2010). Validity is usually concerned about authenticity produced by the research or study. This means that the study should have some consistency.

Reliability is closely related to validity. It basically asks the question: how might the researcher be wrong? This is because validity requires the possibility of testability, it depends on others being able to attain related results using the same methods on the same subjects (Dahlberg & McCaig, 2010). However, qualitative research rarely enables directly comparable conditions. Qualitative researchers therefore need to foresee weaknesses regarding validity in their research design (Maxwell, 2013).

In this study, the reliability and validity of the research was enhanced by doing the following: spending some time in the field and conducting persistent observations, thereby allowing for sufficient scope and depth of observations; using triangulation which is characterized by multiple methods of sampling; research instruments to allow for the confirmation of data obtained using different instruments; and submitting findings to key informant participants for their validation.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

According to Saunders et al (2012), ethics are the appropriateness of your behaviors in relation to the rights of those who become the subject of your work or are affected by it. Whilst Babbie and Mouton (2001) emphasize that social research often represents an intrusion into people 's lives therefore research ethics should be consistently observed. The major rationale for ethical considerations when carrying out a research is to protect the respondents or participants. Violations of research ethics adversely affects the research outcome and negatively impacts on any future studies. More so the research was accompanied by a student confirmation letter from the department of Peace and Governance and an introductory letter identifying the researcher and

stating the purpose of the research. The researcher was cognizant of the informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality as some of the ethical guidelines.

3.10.1 Voluntary Informed Consent

The Nuremberg Code (1947) stipulates that valid consent in research should be properly informed and freely given without pressure such as coercion, threats or persuasion. The researcher was guided by this fundamental code of conduct. The participants were made aware of their rights, purpose of the study, the study procedures to be followed and what the researcher intends to do with the research afterwards. Introductory documents were acquired from the Department of Peace and Governance that declared the researcher as a bonafide student of the faculty.

3.10.2 Anonymity and Confidentiality

This principle generally refers to the cover-up of the participants identity in a research. The British Sociological Association Code of Ethical Practice (BSA:704) states that research participants should understand how far they will be afforded anonymity and confidentiality and should be able to reject the use of data gathering devices such as tape recorders and video cameras. Participants required assurance that their names were not mentioned anywhere in the research. Only key informants were identified, but consent had to be sought from them before mentioning their names. Other participants who participated in this research have been protected through identifying them by organization.

3.9 Chapter summary

This chapter described and discussed how the study was conducted. It focused on the research design, data collection, sampling procedures and the data analysis methods which were followed in order to investigate the research objectives of this study including the justification for the research design, methods and instruments that was chosen. The type and number of participants interviewed was also highlighted. The researcher interacted with participants in order to appreciate their feelings, norms and values. The chapter further presented the research as an explorative study of the CSOs and Zimbabwe's post re-engagement efforts with the USA. Ethical considerations were also discussed in the chapter as they are a pivotal component of any study that in any social science research. Data presentation is the subsequent chapter that follows, in which the researcher analytically presented gathered information from interviews, journals, books, government reports, to mention but a few

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This is a data analysis chapter that focused on presenting, examining and interpreting data that was gathered using various data collection techniques in qualitative research. Data generated was analyzed per objective and was collected from in depth interviews with key informants and document analysis.

4.1 The Research Study Overview

The research topic is Civil Society Organizations and Zimbabwe's Post Mugabe re-engagement efforts with the USA. The research used qualitative research methodology using interviews and document analysis as research tools as they provide quality and in-depth information. The researcher interviewed (13) participants drawn from various CSOs who provided answers to the research questions because of their accessibility to information needed. Key informant and experienced participants were from, Centre for Peace Initiative in Africa, Citizen Manifesto, Christian Legal Society, Leaders in Africa Network, Mass Public Opinion Institute, Nhimbe Trust, Zimbabwe Amalgamated Council of Churches, Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development, Zimbabwe Council of Churches, Zimbabwe Institute of Diplomacy, National Youth Development Trust, The South Western Region Gender Network. The research also read various publications such as journals, print and online media about CSOs-Zimbabwe State relations. The sample size was deliberately chosen and maintained mean in order to give better and accurate answers to the research study. The statements presented in this chapter are completely personal opinions of the participants who participated in the research. Their views included both positive and negative responses in order to present a balanced assessment.

4.2 CSOs with an active role in international relations in Zimbabwe and the strategies that they are using.

4.2.1 Pro Government CSOs

The research enquired a question on what participants' viewed are the active roles being played by pro-government civil society on Zimbabwe's foreign engagement with the USA. According to the Founding Executive Director of the Leader for Africa Network, "*CSOs in Zimbabwe are trying to ensure that there is a respect of civilian rights and to ensure that there is a balance between the government of Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwean public*". Respect of human rights is a key concern by the Western world. Hence in promoting the respect of human rights, he cited that the CSOs

under the banner CSOs and Churches Joint Form (CSCJF) continue to court and lobby the regional bodies such as Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union (AU) to push Zimbabwe back on international agenda with Washington. The researcher learnt that regional integration is important as this will increase the chances Zimbabwe being re-admitted into the global platform by USA. In addition, it also concurred with the constructivism theory which highlights how actors in the international system are actively involved in shaping the world.

Based on his experiences and also associating with other CSOs, the Communications Manager at Zimbabwe Institute stated that *“CSOs as the key stakeholders of a state, are playing a positive role in political processes through working with the government, businesses and the parliament as a way of finding a solution to Zimbabwe’s economic challenges.* Finding a last solution to the economic challenges facing Zimbabwe is one of the major reasons why Zimbabwe is keen on re-engaging Washington, a superpower in international relations. This revealed how CSOs are key to Zimbabwe’s Post re-engagement efforts.

The Director for Operations for Centre for Peace Initiative in Africa revealed that *“CSOs are playing an instrumental role in building Zimbabwe’s image which has been buttered for several decades.”* The researcher learnt that in building Zimbabwe’s image, the CSOs are actively involved in diverse role such as promoting co-operation, partnerships, reconciliation between political parties in Zimbabwe. Hence the researcher noted that CSOs through promoting such strategies, CSOs are acting as the watchdog of the government on its re-engagement path.

The CSOs representative from Christian Legal Society played a key inspirational role to the researcher as he narrated the active role of CSOs in foreign policy engagement. He postulated that CSOs are ambassadors of upholding the rule of law as they make sure that there is an alignment between the interests of the state and its citizens. The representative postulated that CSOs are promoting democratization, civil participation and engagement. He described the CSOs being the voice of the voiceless clearly showing how CSOs are a positive tool in promoting Zimbabwe’s agenda of economic reform. Their role revealed the liberalism thinking that interaction of states is not limited to high politics such as security or political factors, but it also encompasses low politics such as economic or cultural factors, through organizations (Gasper, 2013). In this case, civil society.

The participant from the Christian Legal society revealed how Pro government CSO are critical a cog in Zimbabwe's efforts to be re-integrated into the community of nations. He stated that CSOs are playing an agency role through providing alternative policy framework in support of government's efforts to normalize its relations with the US, to end decades of isolation. To that effect, the researcher realized that CSOs have been proposing several policies and have increased their participation in policies that help to attract foreign direct investment (FDI), how to secure markets and increase tourism into the country. These local CSOs have also been working with Zimbabwe CSOS in the West by ensuring that the diasporans also invest in the country. The participant further indicated that once Zimbabwe has strengthened its ties with the US, this will also even unlock relations with the European, Asian and BRIC countries that is Brazil, Russia, India and China, (Zigomo,2018). Saner (2014) described this process of local CSOs promoting alternative policy frameworks as "development diplomacy" and Lewis (2013) articulated that this type of diplomacy also contributes to international diplomacy. However, the researcher gathered that the new Maintenance of Order and Peace (Mopa) Bill and the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy replacement Bills have hindered CSOs re-engagement thrust with the West as the bills are even worse than the original Bills (UNHCR, 2018).

The Director from the Zimbabwe Amalgamated Churches Council (ZACC) indicated that CSOs have a natural role to play in deepening bilateral ties and promoting diplomacy between Zimbabwe and the USA. The researcher also gathered that CSOs are actively involved in international relations through being a "third sector" of a state. In addition, the representative postulated that CSOs through soft power are advocating for political and economic reforms such as democracy, respect of human rights in its efforts towards re-engagement. However, the participant seemed to question some of the reforms that are being called for by some CSOs such as compensation of white farmers. He characterized such reforms as being blackmail. He said that "*some CSOs (that are international CSOs but working in Zimbabwe) want to blackmail the Zimbabwean government to concede to the things that are not their national interests.* Nevertheless, he stated that CSOs such as the Citizen Manifesto have been able to position themselves as a balanced and progressive group.

The participant from the Zimbabwe Amalgamated Council of Churches (ZACC) stressed that the anti-government CSOs have become the local voices that act or see with the same mirror like the

Westerners especially in proclaiming that there is absence of rule of law, democracy and good governance in Zimbabwe. This concurs with a response from the response by the Director for Leaders in Africa Network who said that, “*the truth be told, civil societies are working together with the opposition party MDC-Alliance, in fact, they are the foot soldiers of the Western regime change agenda*”. This is possibly why one Member of Parliament mentioned that the abbreviation MDC-A should be translated to mean “Major Destruction of the Country Associates. This clearly reveals how CSOs have been an obstruction to the rapprochement of Zimbabwe and USA, (The Herald,2018).

4.2.2 Pro West CSOs

The research also gathered that despite the positive impact of CSOs, there is also an evil hand of civil society. These types of CSOs, viewed as Pro-West CSOs are working against the government of Zimbabwe and its re-engagement blueprint. For example, the participant from the Mass Public Opinion Institute indicated that a good example of how some CSOs have been working against Mnangagwa led government is in August 2019 when the civil society fronted a massive shutdown in Zimbabwe. The shutdown was planned, organized and coordinated by MDC-Alliance and about forty civil societies under the banner of Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition. To him, the shutdown was “... *characterized by looting, lawlessness, chaos mayhem, and disorder*”. The high level of violence saw the destruction of property burning police stations and shops, threatening of citizens going to work, and extortion of motorists and looting of shops, (The Herald, 2018). Hence the researcher noted that such kind of terrorist behavior is a rough equivalent to actions and undertakings that are done by the famous and notorious movements such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), Boko Haram, Al Shabab. This revealed how CSOs are an obstruction to the re-engagement efforts being done by the government of Zimbabwe.

Much wider information from other researches on civil society’s roles in Zimbabwe’ Post Mugabe international relations indicated that in Zimbabwe Pro West CSOs get their funding from regime change organizations in America such as George Soros, National Endowment for Democracy (NED), (Gecke 2018). These donor groups in America have been experts in sweetening opposition parties in Zimbabwe for regime change in a country that USA interests are not easily exercised. Zimbabwe falls in the pathway of such countries including Libya in the era of Gaddafi. The influence by Americans through sweetening up its relations with local CSO shows how actors in

the international system use soft power to pursue their interests. It also explains how actors try to construct the world through their experiences and interactions.

In trying to understand the strategies being used by these Pro West CSOs, the researcher gathered that CSOs are employing a tactic of destroying the economy through a process described as throwing sand in the dish, (The Sunday Mail,2019). This strategy is well politicized in the political circles as kudira jecha musadza. The researcher also noted that kudira jecha musadza has the same guide as that of sanctions that is meant to destroy the ruling party ZANU-PF efforts of re-engaging the West despite whether the efforts are practical and achievable. The strategy is even being supported by the European Union (EU) and USA. Thus, the researcher observed that CSOs by throwing such spanners are an obstruction to Zimbabwe's re-engagement call.

Political analyst, Professor E Masungure from the Mass Public Opinion Institute said that "*CSOs are promoting the foreign policy of America towards Zimbabwe rather than promoting Zimbabwe's foreign policy towards America*". Besides promoting America's foreign policy in Zimbabwe, he also argued that these CSOs are promoting EU foreign policy in Zimbabwe and not the vice versa. Hence, the researcher noticed that Pro West CSOs are not working towards Zimbabwe's Post Mugabe re-engagement efforts. This is because of the influence that they have on America towards Zimbabwe. For example, the August 1 and January shootings which left at least six Zimbabweans dead and at least thirty injured, (Moyo, 2018). According to Masungure, CSOs pressured America to question how President E.D Mnangagwa rules Zimbabwe arguing that he is not a democratic reformer. This has resulted in CSOs becoming too much involved in politics and much aligned with the Western countries. As a result, the CSOs are now influencing foreign policy in Zimbabwe through originators and implementers of sanctions. Yet Zimbabwe's call for re-engagement with the USA is to have the regime of sanctions to be removed and engage with international finance institutions like Breton wood institutions. For example, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to get capital and debt restructuring. Thus, the researcher deduced that Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts with the USA is being affected by the negative picture that America has on Zimbabwe. Hence, Zimbabwe need some serious reforming in order to be accepted internationally.

On the current strategies being used by CSOs to promote diplomatic relationship between Zimbabwe and the USA, the researcher discovered that there has been no collective re-engagement

process by CSOs and Zimbabwe's Post Mugabe government as far as cementing ties with USA is concerned. The Zimbabwe Institute Communications Manager said that, "...at the moment (September 2019), CSOs have been engaging on their own, opposition parties have also been engaging on their own and the Zimbabwean government is also engaging on their own". He stressed that this polarization on the part of CSOs and the government is a serious challenge and setback for promoting international relations. He described the position as divided international re-engagement between the government of Zimbabwe and CSOs. Another representative from the Nhimbe trust alluded that lack of co-operation is possibly because there is no unified position in terms of how the diplomatic re-engagement initiative should be, between the CSOs and the government of Zimbabwe. Hence for that reason, the re-engagement strategy of CSOs in the Post Mugabe government with the West has been a one-dimensional effort thus global relations continue to falter, and they remain frosty. The one-dimensional effort brings out the realism aspect that states are the important actors in the international system.

In addition, in analyzing the active role of CSOs in strengthening relations between Zimbabwe and Washington, the representatives from Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development (ZIMCODD) and Citizen Manifesto both indicated that currently there is a standoff in terms of the bilateral relationship between CSOs and the government of Zimbabwe. To support this argument, political analyst Alexander Rusero had this to say "*CSOs are not prepared to work with Mnangagwa at the moment,*" (Rusero,2019). This statement alone clearly shows how some of the CSOs are an obstruction to Mnangagwa's engagement and re-engagement process. The participants further claimed that although the Zimbabwe is Open for Business Policy is aimed at finding ways in which the government, non-state actors and the private sector can find ways of working in harmony, several cases of citizens and activists being abducted by suspected state security agents have resulted in the abuse of human rights. The researcher also picked that the friction on diplomatic relations between CSOs and the Zimbabwe government have also been worsened by elements in the security forces who have branded civil society as a threat to Zimbabwe's national interests. Thus, CSO are slowing down on the re-engagement drive citing human rights abuses. The diplomatic rift due to human rights abuses are shaping their interactions with Zimbabwe based upon their experiences

The participant for the Mass Public Opinion Institute indicated that “... *largely, the relations between CSOs and the Mnangagwa government have not been at their best*”. According to him, this is because of CSOs have labelled and branded the New Dispensation led by President E.D Mngangagwa as “*corrupt, illegal and illegitimate following the 2018 harmonized elections.*” In retaliation, President E.D Mngagagwa has exercised hard power on the pro CSOs as the government views them as being anti state, pro-neocolonialists and as Western stooges, (Moyo,2019). Furthermore, the representative alluded that although the relations between the two have not been cordial, ED Mnangagwa has tried to create a platform for dialogue with the CSOs but for him again, it is a conditional type of dialogue between CSO and the government where both the CSOs and government have set conditions for their diplomatic relations in order to pursue re-engagement. On the same issue, a report also produced by the Zimbabwe Peace Project stressed that the government has certainly initiated a dialogue agenda, which it says will lead to reform, however for them, the dialogue seems structured in such a way as to capture ground from the opposition, rather than genuinely engage with it, (Zimbabwe Peace Project 2019.) This clearly showed how the relations are not favorable between the CSO and the Government of Zimbabwe.

Citizen Manifesto Coordinator highlighted that local CSOs with observer status with the United Nations (UN), African Union (AU) and SADC, are the ones who can influence foreign policy engagements although she stressed that the democratic space for civil society in African countries continues to shrink. To further portray how CSOs have soft power of foreign policies of a country. She gave an example of the Xenophobia attacks in South Africa that took place in early to mid-September 2019. The attacks prompted numerous countries to come up with security measures of evacuating its citizens. Nigeria and Zimbabwe are two of those countries. Civil society organizations in those countries, through social media and other platforms pressurized their governments to expatriate its citizens and condemn South Africa’s lack of urgency in protecting African nationals from attacks by South African citizens. CSO role in the case brings out the liberalism aspect of how state actors and non-state actors exercise co-operative interaction.

However, the participant from the Mass Public Opinion Institute indicated that the power of CSOs is limited as far as renewed engagement drive of Zimbabwe and USA is concerned. The participant said that this is because “...*CSOs are not policy makers and that they do not even aspire to make policies*”. His view differed from one prominent scholar, Saner (2014) who argued that CSOs

provide alternative policy frameworks which also help to lobby international co-operation among countries. Besides CSOs being viewed as non-policy makers, the participant claimed that the fact that majority of the CSOs are under the banner of the National Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (NANGO) and the Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC). The CSOs are opposed to the current ruling government in Zimbabwe hence are not likely to initiate re-engagement between the Post Mugabe government and the USA government. For him, these are the same CSOs who have labelled and branded the current government as illegitimate, undemocratic and corrupt making their relations uncordial.

However, the participant from the Coalitions Against Sanctions mentioned other CSOs such as the Affirmative Action Group (AAG), Federation of Mining Association (FMA) Women and Land in Zimbabwe (WLZ), Youth in Agriculture, Amnesty International are promoting democracy or specific policies for re-engagement between Zimbabwe and the USA. Such CSOs that are pro government have made a significant impact on Mnangagwa led government re-engagement efforts. However, the significant progress they have made is being affected by external CSOs abroad who are regarded as being the mother of CSOs in the West. For him, the external CSOs such as the Global Canada-Africa Partnership, Global Witness, Human Rights Watch, Oxfarm have heavily influenced how local CSOs connect and co-operate with the Zimbabwean government. They have projected the government of Zimbabwe in a negative way and thus local CSOs lack the zeal to normalize Zimbabwe's relations with the global community especially with the US. The local CSOs have also produced several negative reports about the Zimbabwean government. Thus, as a result, two years on, Mnangagwa's international re-engagement thrust has not yielded much results. International players have become more concerned with the regime's failure to implement comprehensive political and economic reforms due to these reports and feedback by the local CSOs.

More so, the researcher reckoned that the recent civil society plots to smear Zimbabwe at the SADC summit that was held in Tanzania on the 17th of August 2019 reflects how CSOs are against re-engagement of Zimbabwe. The CSO group that travelled under the banner, Southern African People Solidarity Network (SAPN) intended to hold an illegal demonstration aimed at humiliating President Mnangagwa so that SADC would place Zimbabwe on its agenda. Commenting on this issue, the participant from the Leaders in Africa Network shared that the plan was opposition-

linked and foreign-sponsored. CSOs from Zimbabwe comprised of Nqobizitha Mlambo from Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development, Clayton Manjova (Heal Zimbabwe Trust), Lloyd Sesemani (artisanal miner), Michael Ndiweni (BVTa and Youth NAD), Foster Thole (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Blessing Vava (Crisis in Zimbabwe) Joy Mabenge (Action Aid), Tinashe Madondo (Family Aids Caring Trust) and Cloud Fusire, a university student, Thulani Mswelanto (Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition), Charles Kataure (ZNNP, Phakamani Moyo (PATA), Ropafadzo Sandra Shoko (a law student), Lydia Dhliwayo (Zimcodd), Confidence Bobo (Zimcodd) and Margarety Nyakuhwa (FACT), (Moyo,2019). This boggle one's mind that how can these CSOs be for Zimbabwe re-engagement with the US if they have staged demonstrations and conducted seminars meant to set an anti-Zimbabwe agenda. This is despite coercive efforts by the New Dispensation to re-engage and foster a cooperative long-lasting bilateral relationship with USA.

4.3 CSOs roles and their implications on Zimbabwe's Post re-engagement efforts with the USA

The participant from the Coalitions Against Sanctions said that, "...*CSOs are pursuing a polarized interest either of ruling party, Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) or the main opposition party, which is the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)*" as far as Zimbabwe re-engagement efforts with USA are concerned. For him, the strategies used by CSOs such as lobbying, people centered development, international advocacy among others have been hell-bent on the proximity of their self-agendas which is either for ZANU PF or MDC. To support his argument, he cited the recently launched Political Actors Dialogue (POLAD), a platform is designed to proffer solutions to the challenges that confront Zimbabwe nation, through peaceful, open and transparent discourse which the participant believed that the it should be for the benefit of all Zimbabwean despite which party one belongs to . However, one MDC MP was once quoted saying that the "*POLAD process where Mnangagwa is both player and referee lacks seriousness*", (Newsday, 4 August 2019). In addition, the participant also cited the Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC), which its mandate is to promote a united and common response to the political and socio-economic challenges facing Zimbabwe, as the house of CSOs which are pro-MDC and anti-government. The researcher also established that, Nelson Chamisa, who is the President of MDC, featured at sidelines of ZCC dialogue but refused to feature at POLAD dialogue. Hence, the participant seemed to question the existence of these local CSOs when he said that "... *you would expect that the CSOs would rally behind the government against sanctions and the economic*

effects that are caused by these sanctions”. Nevertheless, this view seems to have been influenced by his political affiliation to the ZANU- PF party.

Furthermore, in trying to understand the impact of CSOs in improving Zimbabwe’s relations with Trump administration, the participant from the (MPOI) said that... *“most CSOs in Zimbabwe lack the depth and understanding to re-engage meaningfully”*. For him, this is because they struggle when it comes to developing strategies, policies and tactics to re-connect on an international level. According to him, this is because CSOs have been experts in domestic policy and not in foreign policy. Hence for him, it is more like they do not even exist as they do not have enough capacity to penetrate the global world. He cited the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition (CZC) as one of the CSO that instead of trying to lobby or bargaining the relations between Zimbabwe and the USA, it effects confrontational policies with the Zimbabwean government. To him, this shows lack of understanding on re-engagement matters. Also, the fact that CSOs have not showed interests on the Anti Sanctions day held on the October 25, 2019 by Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries as solidarity day against illegal sanctions on Zimbabwe is demonstrable evidence of the weaknesses of CSOs in policy shaping.

The Director from the Centre for Peace Initiative in Africa alluded that CSOs have not been able implement effective strategies for Post Mugabe re-engagement efforts as there is no mutual trust between local civil society and the state. She said that, *“the current operating environment is not conducive for political cohesion for CSOs to influence co-operation and Zimbabwe’s diplomacy with the USA”*. For her, the limits are related to what is stated in the policy and legal framework governing CSOs work in a country which is the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) Section 27. For instance, if CSOs produce independent monitoring reports that do not portray the government in a positive light, they risk being deregistered, as reflected in a number of laws and policies that have also been introduced as the NGO Bill in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Kenya, and Uganda for reference. Her view is supported by Saner (2014) who alluded that foreign policy engagement is mostly confined to government sovereignty as it deals with how the government intends to engage with other countries. If the government views civil society as enemies of the state, it is unlikely that CSOs will have much influence in foreign policy discourse and domestic issues of a state as the interests are varied. Therefore, one can note that not much can be done by civil society within the foreign policy domain as far as re-engagement efforts are concerned. This exhibits the

liberalism notion that although co-operation in the international system is possible, it is harder to achieve.

However, two participants from the National Youth Development Trust (NYDT) and the South Western Region Gender Network (SWRGN) had different sentiments. They argued that local CSOs are exercising smart power through working and engaging with Post Mugabe government through various forms such as publications, papers produced by CSOs think tanks and their various submissions on what Zimbabwe's re-engagement process with the Western block needs to look like. A good example is in May 2019 when CSOs convened a panel discussion and commissioned a research paper on international reengagement, (Moyo,2019). This is clearly an olive branch that has been offered by CSOs regarding Zimbabwe re-engagement with Washington. Their views are supported by Froissart (2014) who alleges that CSOs are adding their voices to international development through providing alternative policy framework. In addition, the researcher learnt that CSOS are even working with embassies both home and abroad issues, discussing several issues to enhance friendly relations between the Post Mugabe government and the USA government. This in turn is promoting international advocacy as far as CSOs and Zimbabwe's re-engagement is concerned. Also, for the CSOs to be able to implement such strategies, it has been possible through the New Dispensation mantra "Zimbabwe is Open for Business". Through this policy adopted by the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ), re-engagement has included engaging the opposition parties, civic society, students, the Diasporan community and basically all stakeholder communities in Zimbabwe.

Citizens Manifesto Coordinator shared the same sentiments on how local CSO have been upholding positive strategies regarding the rebranding of Zimbabwe and the rebuilding of local, regional and international partnerships. For her, strategies being called for by CSOs such as national dialogue and strategic engagement with top officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, government officials, political parties demonstrate how CSOs are for re-engagement. This is because dialogue and strategic engagement ensure that there is understanding between the parties involved. However she also had this to say "*until both the state and CSOs come together through state institutions such as the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission(NPRC) and the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission(ZHRC) to address political tolerance related issues, then chances of CSOs influencing foreign policy for local interests are limited*". Hence the researcher

gathered that the political and economic issues Zimbabwe that remain unaddressed have been a serious starting point for serious re-engagement discussions of Zimbabwe and the USA.

Hussein (2014) established that another strategy being used by CSOs in terms of its relations with Zimbabwean government is preventive diplomacy. According to Hussein, preventive diplomacy which he constitutently refers as citizen diplomacy uses various tools to avert disputes from rising and prevents disputes from escalating into violent conflicts, (Hussein,2016). In Zimbabwe, the researcher gathered that some CSOs such as the Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC), Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference (ZCBC), Zimbabwe Evangelical Fellowship (ZEF), Zimbabwe Amalgamated Council of Churches (ZAC), Zimbabwe Liberation War Collaborators Association (ZLWCA) National Business Council of Zimbabwe (NBZ), Affirmative Action Group (AAG) among other local CSOs have been heavily involved in preventive diplomacy on Zimbabwe's international re-engagement crusade. Preventive diplomacy demonstrates the liberalism opinion that actors in the international system value perpetual peace as opposed to going to war, (Kant,2010). Strategies currently being used by local CSOs include but not limited to finding missions, legal advice, negotiations and diplomatic exchanges for Zimbabwe's re-engagement with the US. The researcher remarked that preventive diplomacy is a positive strategy for CSOs and Zimbabwe. Even the United Nations regards it as one of the most efficient ways to engage in diplomacy. The European Union is also involved in preventive activities through several political initiatives and large funding programs.

4.4 The appropriateness and effectiveness of CSOs in Zimbabwe's Post Mugabe re-engagement process/efforts

The participant from the Leader in Africa Network claimed that CSOs ensure that there is a balance between central governance and the public or the governed. Saner (2014) just like Fukuyama (2011), contended that CSO always seek ways to influence agenda at national level and that they also propose political solutions. However, the participant Nhimbe Trust questioned the point in which civic society began to exist, appear vibrantly, their key motives and when they began to mushroom said in Zimbabwe. He said that.... *"it is not a generous gesture that CSO exist in Zimbabwe"*. He further stated that CSOs are neglecting other issues such as gender, disability and they have been focusing more on democracy and human rights issues only. For him, these CSOs have been bent on preserving and promoting a selective notion of democracy. Hence, he claims that for these reasons, the permanent national interest of the Zimbabwean government as far as its

re-engagement with USA will not be preserved by local CSOs considering how their existence is premised on notions such as human rights or democracy. In addition to that, he argues that the CSOs have not been effective as they only contest the ruling power, in this case the ZANU PF. He further alluded that the CSOs role is to ensure that the re-engagement process is a success.

On assessing the effectiveness of CSOs, the participant from Zimbabwe Institute said that CSOs are not being hundred percent effective because they have no leverage on the government. To him it is because of adversarial relationships which in the end are affecting re-engagement efforts in the Post Mugabe era. However, one participant from the Centre of Peace Initiative in Africa argued that CSOs have been very effective in projecting the Zimbabwean government in a positive light. For her, CSOs in Zimbabwe like every CSOs in the world have become vital actors in development programs and have been complementing government action on their re-engagement efforts with the USA. To further develop the effective roles being done by CSOs, the participant said that some CSOs, such as the Zimbabwe Human Right (ZHR), National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) have also taken on a role of watchdog, demanding effective, accountable, transparent governance and have sought to widen the base of the fight for constitutional reforms, by grouping together civic organizations from many schools and philosophies. Hence for these reasons, CSOs have often been viewed as tools for promoting and upholding democracy which is one of the basic tenets of liberalism.

In addition, the researcher also gathered local CSO are currently demonstrations at the American Embassy in Zimbabwe as a fight against America's attitude against Zimbabwe. In terms of the effectiveness of the demonstrations, it was interesting to note that participants from Citizen Manifesto, Centre for Peace Initiative in Africa, Leaders in Africa Network, all highlighted that the demonstrations will not change America's stance towards Zimbabwe because they do not have substance. The representative from the Citizen Manifesto said that "... *eventually they will become tired.*" For her, this is because it is only a minority group and not the majority who are demonstrating. Another representative from Zimbabwe institute said that the "*CSOs are just demonstrating for the sake of demonstrating*". Clearly showing that the demonstrations being done by CSOs are of nuisance value. The researcher learnt that what changes a country's foreign policy is the foreign interests of a country, for example America trade interests in Zimbabwe's resources. Their sentiments concurred with the remarks by the Zimbabwe Council of Churches participant

who said that “*a country’s foreign policy will always be influenced by what citizens benefit from it*”. For example, Zimbabweans in the United Kingdom. Besides that, he mentioned that the USA and Zimbabwean governments have signed bilateral agreements for mutual co-operation and both parties are bound to adhere to them. After further research, the research also noted that these demonstrations have only be broadcasted on Zimbabwe’s local television which is the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Television and not elsewhere on international news platforms such as CNN, Sky News, BBC and many other prominent news channels clearly showing that the demonstrations are baseless,(The Zimbabwean Independent,2019).

Furthermore, Mass Public Opinion Institute Director postulated that although CSOs are very important, they are only able to influence political processes through effective means such as the parliament, open hearings and closed hearings. However, a representative from the Coalition Against Sanctions (CAS), a lobby group shared different sentiments. According to him, CSOs do have the platform to influence political issues. He cited business CSOs such as the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries (CZI) as one of the examples. The representative from the Zimbabwe Amalgamated Council of Churches also said that “*CSOs affect significantly the attitude of the US towards Zimbabwe*”. The representative was of the view that even though CSOs are not formal institutions, they are very convenient creations who hold a huge impact in international affairs. He further asserted that the position of the US is predetermined and largely dependent on what is confirmed by the local CSOs. The huge impact of CSOs are supported by Lewis (2013) who said that the existence of CSOs contribute to domestic and international legitimacy.

The participant from Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development (ZCDD, mentioned that the CSOs have exercised their effectiveness by using the internet to exert their influence on the government of Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe’s re-engagement efforts with the US, local CSOs have been using the internet such as websites, YouTube, Facebook, Twitter to provide information on what exactly is happening in Zimbabwe. For example, on the August 1, 2018 shootings which claimed six lives, some of the CSOs under NANGO constantly posted pictures and videos of the fatal shootings, (The Daily News, 2019). On the other hand, CSOS such as the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum and the Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) have issued various press statements on their websites showing great concern and recommended that the government investigate in an open and transparent manner, the actual perpetrators of the shootings. The

pictures, videos and various statements that went viral on various social media platforms attracted both regional and international pressure on the Zimbabwean government which resulted in President Mnangwagwa setting up a Commission of Inquiry led by Kgalema Motlanthe to investigate the August 1 shootings. This shows how CSOs easily influences governments to redress issues and how they open democratic spaces. This possibly explains why countries as Cuba, Russia and China are adapting and designing new rules that incorporate CSOs in their states as they help to provide checks and balances (Patel,2017).

4.5 CSOs and regime change accusations in the Post Mugabe Era and the challenges on the re-engagement efforts of Zimbabwe with the USA

The researcher noted that there all sorts of interesting and mixed scenarios emerging around civil society. This is because there are several accusations that the CSOs are pursuing a regime change agenda in the country and various responses have been given to either support or refute the accusations. The Leaders in Africa Network (LAN) participant said that *“when CSOs start talking about human rights abuses, they end up calling for a change of Government”*. He further noted that what boggles the mind is that the issue of alleged human rights violations in Zimbabwe has all the signs of regime change written all over it. For him, this alone shows that there is a third hand in that narrative which will be pushing them left, right and center to make those baseless allegations. The researcher gathered that this is probably why since the turn of the 21st century, the USA has zoomed its regime change radar on Zimbabwe. USA stance on Zimbabwe is because of how Zimbabwe reclaimed her agricultural land from a few white farmers and redistributed it to most Zimbabweans. The US reacted harshly by imposing illegal sanctions under the banner of Zimbabwean Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA). This displays the realism thinking that states are ruthless actors in the international system.

The participant from the Mass Public Opinion Institute (MPOI) argued that civic society in Zimbabwe is not existing because there is fund from the European Union (EU). For him civil society has existed or is existing to promote sectorial interests. His argument is that maybe because the state has promoted what Ibbo Mandaza and Lloyd Sachikonye define as the One-party state system. So, according to him, the civil society are now challenging the linear power dimension. This is possibly because political reforms are essential for international re-engagement. The researcher thus noted that the existence of civil society, whilst it has had a humanitarian perspective, the other reason why these CSOs exist is to fight against ZANU PF. The representative

participant further asserted that civil society in other words can be viewed as an arm of contesting power. He had this to say, “... *many of these civil society groups and NGOs are mere appendages of the opposition*”. He went on to say “...*What one should note in all this is that there is really no difference between the opposition MDC and these civic society organizations*”. Hence the regime change allegations and that some of the CSOs are anti-government can be regarded as true hence the possibility too that the CSOs are pursuing regime change in the post Mugabe era.

The researcher gathered from documentary evidence that one representative from the Amnesty International Zimbabwe was once quoted saying, “...*of course we are pursuing a regime change agenda with the help of USA*” (Moyo,2018). This clearly shows that indeed CSOs, even with the coming ushering in of the New Dispensation are still pursuing regime change. A representative from the Citizen Manifesto, a coalition of more than twenty-three organizations shared the same sentiments when said that “... *there is no problem with the motive of pursuing regime change in Zimbabwe.*” Just like how ZANU- PF got assistance from, foreign countries like China during the liberation struggle. She argued that it should not be a problem that the USA is supporting CSOs and the opposition parties’ motive of regime change. Internationally, this interference is also common, for example, USA involvement in Iraq. Hence the researcher also concluded that part of the US re-engagement strategy is to find a way of penetrating the current ZANU-PF founding and destroy it. It is to also revive MDC and make it the future of Zimbabwe, under a cocktail of measures disguised as democracy, good governance, accountability, human rights and so forth, (The Herald, 6 August,2019).

However, a representative from the Zimbabwe Institute refuted the allegations that CSOs are on a mission of regime change on their agenda of international re-engagement of Zimbabwe. He gave this response, “*do not be misled by those accusations, as CSOs organizations, we are only here to promote good governance, democracy, rule of law and the respect of all basic human rights as enshrined in the United Nations Charter*”. Such organizations which have been advocating these values include CSOs such as Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) which upholds the conducting of free, fair and credible elections, Zimbabwe Peace Project which condemns the use of violence and all these calls are tools that help to enhance a free and fair democratic space (Thiel,2017). He mentioned that it is very unfortunate that these values and are being suppressed by the government hence they are often called regime change agents. So, it is just a myth that the

CSOs are chasing regime change agenda. Masungure stressed that that this the perpetual suspicion and confusion about civil society and its role partly explains poor relations that exists between the CSOs with government, (Masungure,2014)

Political analyst Nick Mnagwana has often stated that there is a correlation between opposition party (MDC) and the civil society in Zimbabwe, all in the pursuit to pursue a transition and regime change, (The Herald,2019). He argued that Zimbabwe needs to embrace it. To support his argument, Douglas Mahiya, a renowned member of the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association... said that “*MDC and civil society are as inseparable as Siamese twins*”, (The Zimbabwean Independent, 2019). This could be regarded as true as in September 2019, the MDC together with Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition (CiZC) held a workshop which was facilitated by some foreign nationals (Americans and Europeans) under the theme ‘*The crisis of legitimacy in Zimbabwe*’. The main purpose of the workshop was to agree on strategies to be employed to force ZANU PF to form either a GNU with the opposition or a Transitional Authority, (The Standard,2019). Mahiya argued that CSOs were used as the driving force that pushed Zimbabweans to revolt against Government through rallies, demonstrations and manipulation of the media to disseminate messages that would turn the masses against Government. The workshop featured the key players in CSO sector and of the regime change project to once again revisit their method of working (modus operandi). Considering the argument above, one can note that the CSOs have paved the way for the MDC and regime change in Zimbabwe, thereby being a obstruction to Zimbabwe’s interntioal relations with USA.

However, it is important to note that Civil society, including non-governmental organizations (NGOs), is a highly misunderstood phenomenon further complicated by Zimbabwe’s polarized environment, (Rodney, 2016). Contrary to a popular misunderstanding, the researcher gathered from Saner’s (2014) that civil society in Zimbabwe did not rise in the last two decades to concentrate on human rights and good governance or to focus on a regime-change agenda as government often wants to picture it. Civil society has been in existence since the days of the liberation struggle when church groups like Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace challenged the human rights record of the Ian Smith regime. It is therefore ironic and bizarre that some of these ZANU PF leaders are today’s champions against civil society. The irony seeks out to cement the misconception that civil society exists to undermine government fight against the interests of

the state. In Zimbabwe, therefore the public's understanding of civil society has not reached that level except in a few professional associations that are sustained by their members.

Furthermore, other CSOs such as Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO forum have often produced several reports, press statement, done various media campaigns refuting the claim that CSOs in the Post Mugabe government are pursuing a regime change agenda. In these statements published on their social pages, they state that the state has often coordinated systematic attack on CSOs in Zimbabwe through falsehoods in the media, arbitrary arrests, detention and malicious prosecutions of civil society leaders and staff members. It may also explain why the colonial and post-colonial government alike sought control over the activities of CSOs (Masunungure, 2014). Through their press statements and reports they postulate that the state through the Herald, the Chronicle and its surrogate tabloid the Patriot and online publication the Harare Post, has consistently published falsehoods against CSOs in a deliberate effort to criminalize the work of civil society, fuel hate and undermine the integrity of the persons who work with and in civil society. Other CSOs that have also expressed concern on the falsehoods of the media include but not limited to the Counselling Services Unit (CSU), Research and Advocacy Unit (RAU), Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) and the Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP). This shows that efforts being done by CSOs are being derailed by the accusations labelled against them.

4.6 The possibility of CSOs positively influencing relations between Zimbabwe and USA in the Post Mugabe re-engagement efforts.

The representative from the National Youth Development Trust (NYDT) *said* "...CSOs will improve re-engagement relations between Zimbabwe and USA only on one condition; if the Zimbabwean government observe and human rights". For her, this is because foreign policy is intrinsically and innately intertwined with domestic policy. The two cannot be separated. In addition, she postulated that the respect of human rights will also allow USA to re-visit the sanctions of ZIDERA 2001 which have also been extended by the US President Trump administration. Mandaza shared the same sentiments when he said that Zimbabwean domestic policies such as restricting media freedom and refusal to allow protests are a threat to the U.S foreign policy. As a result, to him, re-engagement drive is growing more remote by the day with increasing reports of gross human rights prompting some to term these crimes against humanity, (Mandaza, 2018). The researcher thus noted that CSOs are not able to create a space for dialogue with the international community until the Mnangagwa government sanitizes its image as far as

human rights are concerned. In other words, CSOs will not influence external powers in this case USA to re-engage with the Mnangagwa government.

Political scientist E Masungure stressed that co-existence of CSOs that are pro-state and anti-state possess a challenge for government's re-engagement efforts which are aimed at repositioning Zimbabwe's economy in line with government Vision 2030 were Zimbabwe must be a middle income economy, (The Sunday Mail, August 4, 2019). This is because anti state CSOs are regarded as not being in support of the "engaging and re-engaging" policy mantra of President E.D Mnangagwa. As a result, these anti state CSOs are viewed as not acting in support of Zimbabwe's national interest in the USA. Hence, he recommended that the CSOs should work towards consensual or bipartisan politics. However, the researcher noted that the CSOs who have been labeled as being anti state is mainly because of some issues that they have challenged the Zimbabwe government to resolve. For example, the call by CSOs for the compensation of all white farmers who had their land taken during the Zimbabwe Fast Track Land Reform Program of 1997. One respondent from the South Western Region Gender Network (SWRN) questioned whether the Post Mugabe administration represents a genuine change for re-engagement or that they are simply a reconfiguration of the ruling ZANU-PF which she believes is now dominated by security sector interests and factions aligned to the new president. But from a critical point, this maybe have been a diplomatic tongue to hide the sour relations between CSOs and the Zimbabwean government.

One respondent from the Centre Peace Initiative in Africa said that the possibility of local CSOs mending relations between the Post Mugabe government and the USA has several limit factors. Firstly, she asserted that there not every CSO has access to the Western players. To her, unlimited besides limited access to these western players, she highlighted that even the CSOs in the Diaspora through their organization known as the Zimbabwe Diaspora Platform always have a challenge with linking up with the local CSOs in Zimbabwe. Leaders in Africa Network director argued that CSOs should not be seen bowing to the western players. For him, this is because the West do not have respect for Zimbabwe. He said that CSOs and Zimbabwe have been re-engaging a world that does not love us. He said that "*.... why would you want to be loved where you have ben traditional unloved?*" He noted that from the colonial period, the West never loved us. Hence for him, CSO

will never appeal to the Western players. In addition, he even stated that sustaining a vibrant civic movement in neo-liberal Post Mugabe era continues nightmare.

His view is similar to the Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC) who said that *“generally, they have always been cold relations between CSO and the Zimbabwean government for many years, more like there is cold war between them”*. According to him, this is mainly because of the hostile attitude between some of the CSOS and the government although he cited some variations depending on the type of work being done by CSOs and the government. Even sentiments from foreign embassies reports point to a diplomatic rift between CSOs and the Zimbabwe state. The hostile attitude of the government and CSOs can be regarded as true, for example in March 2019 when attempted they attempted to close operations of The Community Tolerance Reconciliation and Development (COTRAD), a CSO that operates in Masvingo only the decision to be overturned by the High Court. But the reality was that COTRAD just like any other CSOs was trying to push for development and economic issues, (The Herald,2019). In some instances, he noted that CSOs who demand accountability and respect for rights from government frequently find themselves harassed by state agents. Hence the researcher noted that in the Post Mugabe government era, the relations between CSOs and the State continue to be strained thus there is a closed space for CSOs to push for re-engagement drive of Zimbabwe and the US.

Moreover, another respondent from the Christian Legal Society said that lack of funding has also been affecting CSOs to contribute meaningfully towards good governance and development processes in Zimbabwe with the international world. He mentioned that efforts to develop a conducive operational environment, promote access to and dissemination of information on development processes in Zimbabwe have been also hindered by lack of funding for CSOs related projects. Just like how the Cotonou Agreement governs relations between Zimbabwe and the European Union. Another respondent from the Nhimbe Trust, a local CSO shared the same view when she said that *“....funding from countries such as US is meant to create capacity within civil society in Zimbabwe but local CSOs have not been getting enough funding.”* However, the participant from the Coalitions Against Sanctions suggested that a long time the donors were interested in sponsoring regime change and not requiring a genuine CSOs-state relation. Nevertheless, the researcher noted lack of funding has been a major setback for the local CSOs to be able to push for re-engagement.

The representative from (LAN) contended that CSOs will not be able to ensure the re-entry of Zimbabwe into the global system because CSOs themselves do not know what national interests is or are. E Masungure, a prominent scholar shared the same sentiments when he said that “*CSOs are only acting as prunes of the Western regime change seekers*”. He mentioned that if CSOs knew what national interests is, they would have created policies which really show their support for the government in terms of the removal of sanctions, opening of doors for International Financial Institutions and supporting Zimbabwe’s Open for Business policies which are the main government policies. He even mentioned that CSOs would rather say ... “*Zimbabwe is closed for business*”. This shows that CSOs and government are proceeding from different and conflicting perspectives. They are running parallel perspectives as far as re-engagement with USA is concerned.

The journey for CSOs for the last couple of decades in Zimbabwe has been a painful one due to due to political suppression. This has been mainly because Mnangagwa government has done little so far to open spaces for CSOs participation, (The Zimbabwean Independent,2019). The researcher also noted from local publications and newspaper stories that the change of leadership in Zimbabwe following the military intervention in November 2017 has done nothing to address the many issues affecting CSOs hence the possibility of CSOs mending the relations of Zimbabwe and the US is impossible. Borrowing from Antonio Gramsci, the crisis in Zimbabwe consists of the fact that “... *the old is dying and the new cannot be born*”. Hence at the center of re-engagement Zimbabwe’s re-engagement efforts, CSOs have not yielded positive results. Even the pressure groups, another appendage of civil society even though they have kept the demands of different interest groups alive through the various platforms they use to push through messages they have not been able to do much due to the closed spaces of democracy in Zimbabwe.

Political scientist E Masungure said that CSOs have no power to influence international community to engage with the Zimbabwean government. He said that “*US is more likely willing to work with Brian A. Nichols, the current U.S. ambassador to Zimbabwe than to work with CSOs*”. This could be possible true considering that the positive results and bearing of fruits of the current re-engagement process has been mostly influenced by President Emmerson Mnangagwa’s administration. For example, EU, African Union, Eastern countries, China, Americas have so far backed Mnangagwa’s international re-engagement. However, a representative from the Christian

Legal Society had different sentiments when he said that “*nowhere can re-engagement efforts be divorced from domestic players*”. He mentioned that CSOs thus have an impact on domestic policies and are very crucial in shaping of both domestic and foreign policies. The researcher noted that local players or investors attract international players. Hence CSOs should be part and parcel of the engagement and re-engagement efforts by the government. The above argument reflects the liberalism trait that both the state and non-state actors are both key players in the international system.

In addition, a representative from the Nhimbe Trust highlighted that CSOs will only be able to influence the external powers to engage with the Post Mugabe government only once there is enough confidence that Zimbabwe is safe for business. This was against the background that Zimbabwe is at loggerheads with the international community due to several human right abuses in the country. He said the more we see Zimbabweans such as James Makamba, Strive Masiyiwa, Mutumwa Mawere to mention a few investing back home, it will attract international players. The representative also suggested that Zimbabwe instead, need to re-think engagement by addressing the domestic issues or domestic engagements before we even think about CSOs about committing themselves to re-engage the world. With domestic issues such as lack of economic and political reforms, the CSO such as the Zimbabwe Heads of Christian Denominations (ZHOCD) is now calling for the suspension of elections in Zimbabwe for seven years. This shows that now, the CSOs have no ground to influence the willingness of external powers to engage with Post Mugabe government.

Political analyst, R Mahomva postulated that it is an uphill task for CSOs, who exist as a peripheral entity to boost the reengagement drive to influence the international community to engage Zimbabwe. This is because Zimbabwean and the international community are expecting a lot to the extent of expecting impossibilities. Media analyst Alex Maigaisa further supported Mahomva’s view when he postulated that although CSOs “...are not a novice in politics, governance and statecraft”. The dynamics of international re-engagement are a bitter pill to swallow for CSOs also considering that USA itself has not really owned up to a re-engagement plinth with Zimbabwe. Moreover, the despite researcher also gathered that the fact that persuasion is Zimbabwe's foreign policy thrust, the anti-government CSOs are will not influence external powers to engage with the government of Zimbabwe.

However, some civil society groups have also acted in national interest in the process of re-engagement with the Zimbabwe government. For example, in May 2019, more than sixty CSOs and civic activists in the three provinces operating in Bulawayo, Matabeleland North and Matabeleland South under the auspices of the Matabeleland Collective met President Emmerson Mnangwagwa at the Bulawayo State House. They met him to discuss issues affecting Zimbabwe's international re-engagement. CSOs' interest in Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts has also seen an upsurge in the calls for dialogue among CSOs and Zimbabwe government help to generate ideas, content, course and actions the envisaged how international; dialogue should take, (Mandzaza,2018). The researcher also gathered that the church through Heads of Denominations comprising of the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference (ZCBC), Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC), Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ) and went a step further by appealing all the stakeholders to a "National Dialogue" prayer breakfast in Harare where they reflected on the agenda for non-violent engagement in finding the lasting solution to the crisis being faced by Zimbabwe. George Makoni, a well-known Human Rights Activist argued that even countries such as Tunisia and Senegal, dialogue practices from 2013 to 2014 owe much of their success to four civil society organization, UGTT employers union (UTICA), Tunisian Bar Association and the Tunisian League for Human Rights (LTDH) who served as the organizing entities, (Zimbabwe Human Right Report, 2019). Hence one can note that civil society a vital cog in Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts with the USA.

In addition, the representative from the Zimbabwe Institute indicated that CSOs have a role to play in the international scaffolding of Zimbabwe and USA. He said that the CSOs provide an incentive form to Zimbabwe's crusade in mending relations with the USA. The representative said that this is because "*.....CSO's are viewed much more with greater trust by international partners as they are the ones who are more likely to tell the truth*". For him, CSOs are not there for political power and whatever their view is, it's more likely to be the truth. CSOs are also seen as the as a neutral body in terms of mediation between the two countries other than the SADC and the AU. Hence the western countries have much confidence in them. He also added that ZANU PF as the ruling party is likely to project itself in a positive way and the MDC might be viewed as just trying to get into power. But CSOs views are taken seriously and deeply for example their proposals and policy papers, description of context makes them a big source of information for international countries. Moreso, they opinions also shapes what other countries think of Zimbabwe. Hence the researcher

noted that there is no doubt that ultimately CSOs have a huge role in rebuilding our relations with the US.

Moreover, a representative from the ZIMCODD suggested that although to a large extent the CSOs have an interface with the international community, the possibility them restoring relations between Zimbabwe and USA will highly influenced by the role that they are facing internally. If government is not involving them in its own planning processes and if government, make them part of their foreign international engagements' itinerary. He admitted that CSOs are not really being involved in the re-engagement agenda of the government. The representative said that "*it could be very interesting if the government would give a list of four or five items that they need help from CSOs*". A good example of how the government worked together was the constitutional making process. All parties pulled from the same direction and even the international community was able to fund the process because they saw that there was unity among the parties. But the current re-engagement, this is not the case as CSOs have set their own priorities, they government has their own priorities and so are the other political parties in Zimbabwe. The international community is now choosing the priorities from different set of pots.

4.8 Chapter summary

This chapter presented and analyzed the data obtained from the respondents and interviews sessions with representatives from various CSOs, government officials and university officials. The information was condensed together with relevant documents on the US embassy in Harare website. The researcher had to integrate the data with related literature from chapter two to come with ideas which then becomes answers to specific research questions in chapter one. Hence new theories and recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides research conclusions, recommendations and proposes means to improve problems identified in the research. It summarizes the research looking at the research objectives in relation to research findings. The chapter further reveals how the objectives of the study were met. The conclusions were drawn from the previously discussed chapters. Challenges and opportunities encountered are going to be highlighted. The chapter will also draw conclusions from various findings and further draw recommendations for policy makers and other stakeholders interested in the field civil society organizations. The research assessed Zimbabwe's Post Mugabe re-engagement efforts with the USA. The chapter also identifies possible areas for further studies. Finally, areas for further research are suggested.

5.1 Summary

Chapter one introduced and well-defined the research/study. The chapter presented the background of the study; problem statement; purpose and objectives of the study; the research questions to be answered; the methodology employed; importance and contribution of the study and the scope and limit of the study. A summary on the role of CSOs in the global world was also discussed. The chapter also explored the CSOs-State relations.

Chapter two covered the literature review and theoretical framework leading the study. It traced the history and the role of CSOs in International relations, rather more specifically the background of CSOs, the beginning and their relations with states. The chapter also focused on diplomatic relations of civil society and the state in international relations, the powers that CSOs in influencing global norms and relations between different actors especially states. It also interrogated the concept of civil society from a theoretical perspective using constructivism as the main paradigm to analyze civil society. The chapter attempted to make links between theoretical assumptions and the actions of CSOs in the country's international relations.

Chapter three took a qualitative research method to address the research questions and objectives of the study. Key informant interviews and the use of reliable secondary or documentary sources was used to gather data informed this study. Population was drawn from a few representatives from CSOs groups, government officials, ruling and oppositions party members. It employed the

purposive sampling technique were the key informants were individually selected. The researcher administered the data collection procedures by face to face interviews, telephone interviews, attending relevant conferences on the topic. The researcher also reviewed existing documents and literature to extract pieces of information relevant again to the discussion. Challenges faced were also highlighted. The study also explorative were the researcher sought to understand the role being played by CSOs as far as Zimbabwe and US relations are concerned. The chapter also deliberated on measuring tools and methods drawn to analyze data. These are validity and reliability.

Chapter four deliberated and reflected on the key findings of the study. It unpacked the strategies and roles being exercised by CSOs and the implications that they have on Zimbabwe's post Mugabe engaging and re-engaging efforts with the USA. It also discussed and analyzed the initiatives made CSO in promoting the relations between Zimbabwe and Washington. The effectiveness of CSOs on Zimbabwe's international re-engagement with the global community.

Chapter five presents the summary, vital recommendations and conclusions of the study. Implications of the study and areas for further research are also highlighted. This final chapter sums up the study and makes well-informed recommendations. The study instigated the participants to offer possible recommendations and measures that could be implemented and implored to Zimbabwe's international re-engagement efforts a sound success.

5.2 Conclusions

The main goal of this study was to understand whether CSOs are an agency or obstruction in international relations. Whether they have been progressive or not. The aim of this study was to investigate whether civil society have been an agency or obstruction in Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts with USA. To achieve this, firstly the researcher examined the CSOs-State relations in Post Mugabe Zimbabwe with the USA. The study pursued to appreciate the role of CSOs and to assess their effectiveness in Zimbabwe's Post Mugabe re-engagement efforts with the USA. The findings of the study tackled and addressed research questions which were propounded in Chapter One. The first question sought to understand how the CSOs relate with the Government of Zimbabwe including their active role in international relations. The research findings described how CSOs exist in two forms which is Pro-Government CSOs and Pro-West CSOs. It explained how Pro Government CSOs are pursuing positive relations with the Zimbabwean government whilst on the other hand, Pro West CSOs are working against the Zimbabwean government with the help of the Western world.

Objective number two was concerned with understanding the strategies that are being used by CSOs in fostering relations between Zimbabwe and Washington. The research can conclude that quite several CSOs are quite involved in roles such as lobbying for international engagement, promoting reconciliation between political parties, upholding alignment between the interests of the state and its citizens, providing alternative policy frameworks which are viable to international players. CSOs are also encouraging political and economic reforms which are essential to the re-admission of Zimbabwe on the global level and the international community. In addition, CSOs think tanks are producing publications and papers on how the re-engagement process needs to look like. They are also staging national dialogue and strategic engagement with top officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Government of Zimbabwe. All these strategies are in support for Zimbabwe's international re-engagement drive. This contradicts notions discussed in Chapter Two that CSOs are self-serving and has other motives besides the good of the country.

Objective number three looked at the impact of CSOs in Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts with the USA. The study revealed that CSOs although CSOs have been traditionally been an important sector of Zimbabwe, it is a long overhaul for the CSOs to be able to fix the relations between Zimbabwe and USA. This is because the CSOs are pursuing a polarized interest either of ruling party, Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) or the main opposition party, which is the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) hence they have not been able to present a strong case for Zimbabwe's cause. The research also uncovered that CSOs in Zimbabwe lack the depth and understanding to re-engage hence the relations between CSOs and the Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts with USA remains constrained. The slow progress has mainly been affected by current political and economic challenges in Zimbabwe.

The researcher feels that CSOs are an agency to Zimbabwe's re-engagement with the West. CSOs have been able to successfully add their voice and have been helpful in establish a Zimbabwe-USA bilateral space for discussing issue of mutual interest between the countries. The researcher also takes the position that CSOs are an effective tool that the Government of Zimbabwe cannot do without. They are also the gateway to sound re-engagement between Zimbabwe and the USA. What is only needed is for them to be given an open and democratic space for them to effectively moot their strategies for Zimbabwe's re-engagement with USA. Not convincing!

5.3 Recommendations

- The Post Mugabe era political environment has changed hence for Zimbabwe re-engagement with the USA to be very effective, Zimbabwe's government, opposition parties and CSOs need to undergo a period of reform and rebirth to remain effective influences.
- CSOs too will have to adapt. International funding for CSOs and opposition parties is fast declining. In addition, ZANU-PF's dominance of the political environment and ownership of the patriotic-nationalist narrative mean that civil society will have to match strategies of confrontation with ones of negotiation and accommodation where appropriate, for them to survive.
- For the foreseeable future, CSOs will have to adopt innovative strategies to survive and still be influential. These strategies will have to include forward thinking on funding, possible mergers to avoid duplication and reassessing how best to have policy impact.
- To thrive in their policy advocacy and goals, CSOS need to prevent and shy away from confrontations but not shy away from using appropriate influencing schemes as the latter do not lead to protracted conflicts.
- New post Mugabe era calls for reform of traditional roles and obligations as government are not the sole custodian/guardian of diplomacy. They must share diplomatic space with the CSOs and other non-state actors.
- For Zimbabwe to evolve into an entirely democratic state, it is of paramount importance that the relationship between the state and society is fully reconfigured. Much needs to be done to develop new working relationships between non-state actors and the government.
- To build new relationships of value-based partnering, CSOs would need to go beyond being critics to being critical partners who infuse fresh perspectives, critical thinking and sound alternatives to policies.
- To aid in this thinking CSOs need to reflect on a few questions:
- How can civil society, government and donors creatively work together forging new forms of partnering and reinforcing capabilities to plough through the complexity of this transition?

- How can they engage in processes of co-producing new ways of operating that are geared towards enhancing citizen participation, building inclusive institutions and improving government capability and responsiveness?
- Both CSOs and government are far more likely to deliver in an atmosphere of partnership than antagonism. Building a relationship creates space for critical conversations to take place increasing the chances of CSOs to influence government policies and reform process. It also diffuses the polarized antagonistic political atmosphere.
- CSOs can act as intermediaries to make government. In turn, this is likely increase citizen voices in policy formulation through access to policy makers.

5.5 Areas for Further Research

CSOs and international relations is a broad topic of study and many areas have been left out which can be broadly explored further, such areas as how to capitalize on the expertise of CSOs in the Diaspora, how CSOs can improve on their legitimacy and credibility with states.

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INTERVIEW GUIDE

TOPIC: CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AND ZIMBABWE'S POST MUGABE RE-ENGAGEMENT EFFORTS WITH USA. AGENCY OR OBSTRUCTION?

The researcher is a Master student in International Relations. The information you are asked to provide is required for research purposes only and was not be used to jeopardize your position or compromise the integrity or status of your organization. Your responses was be kept in confidence and used solely for the purpose of this study. Anonymity is strictly guaranteed. Your cooperation was be greatly appreciated.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1.What is you understanding of the role of civil society in building a country's international image and foreign policy engagement?
- 2.Are CSOs involved in Zimbabwe's foreign policy engagements and if so, to what extent?
- 3.Who are the main CSO actors that are contributing to or opposed to Zimbabwe's re-engagement efforts, (particularly with Western world)?
- 4.What are some of the key strategies being used by the CSOs to enhance cordial relations between Zimbabwe and the Western countries.
- 5.Can civil society influence a country's foreign policy in pursuit of domestic interests? Under what circumstances can this be done?
- 6.In your opinion, how effective are these strategies?
- 7.What are the limits for CSOs in foreign policy?
- 8.Has civil society acted in national interest in the process of re engagement?
- 9.Do you think demonstrations at the American Embassy by the local CSOS was likely influence America's attitude towards Zimbabwe?
- 10.To what extent does civil society influence the willingness of external powers to engage with governments.