

**ZIMBABWE RE-ENGAGEMENT EFFORTS WITH EU AFTER THE NEW POLITICAL
DISPENSATION.**

BY

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May 2022

ABSTRACT

Ever since the ascendance of Emmerson Mnangagwa to the office of president in 2017, his government has been seized with mending relations mainly with western nations. The relations had soured in the early 2000s and had largely remained so in the final years of former president Mugabe. One of the entities that the administration of president Mnangagwa has sought to entice is the European Union (EU). The EU is an important player in international affairs, holding sway on many issues. It also happens to be an important partner for Zimbabwe, having been the country's biggest trading partner and currently being a major donor to Zimbabwe. re-engagement with Brussels is therefore a priority for the new dispensation and this has been demonstrated in rhetoric and in action. However, four years after the advent of the new dispensation, EU sanctions on Zimbabwe remain as the EU argues that Zimbabwe has not met the conditions for their removal. This research sought to interrogate the issue of EU sanctions on Zimbabwe in the context of Zim-EU relations. The research considered the causes and effects of the sanctions, the actions taken by the government to mitigate their effects and steps taken to normalize relations between the two players. Using qualitative techniques, the research gathered data from officials within the government of Zimbabwe and the European Delegation in Zimbabwe to gain a deeper understanding of the sanctions issue. The study found that there is disagreement on the causes and effects of the sanctions, rendering any potential dialogue very difficult until such a time as they can agree on what brought about the sanctions in the first place. Hence, the research also found that it is possible that the government of Zimbabwe is using the sanctions as a scapegoat for its own failures. This research revealed that events of the first of August 2018, and January 2019, cases of rampant corruption, rule of law (or lack thereof) resulted in the waning of the re-engagement efforts under the mantra 'Zimbabwe is open for businesses, and as such failed to achieve meaningful foreign direct investments. In order to rebuild the confidence and international rapport towards Zimbabwe, the study notes the critical role which can be played by implementing political and economic reforms and combating corruption.

DECLARATION FORM

I NOMSA DUBE declare that the research project herein is my own and has not been copied or lifted from any other source without acknowledgement of the source.

Signed

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Date

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my supportive husband Munyaradzi Chitando and my children. It is also dedicated to my supportive parents Mr and Mrs Dube ,because they are the pillars of my strength and sources of inspiration.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the professional support, guidance and encouragement given to this research by Dr Kurebwa who supervised this dissertation. I would like to express my gratitude to the key informants for the time and information that they gave during interviews.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EC	European Commission
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
EU	European Union
ICG	International Crisis Group
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PRC	People's Republic of China

SADC	Southern African Development Community
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZDF	Zimbabwe Defence Forces
ZDI	Zimbabwe Defence Industries
ZHRC	Zimbabwe Human Rights Council
ZIDERA	Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Relations between and among international actors are characterized by different kinds of exchanges. These range from diplomatic engagements, communication using a variety of means. Where relations are cordial, they are generally punctuated by cooperation and constant communication between diplomats of the entities in question. However, where relations turn sour, acrimony, harsh exchanges, sanctions and even war can become the order of the day. Sanctions refer to measures that are taken by one actor against the other as a means to force the latter to alter its behavior. They usually result in situations where one actor perceives that another is acting in ways that are against its interests or those of other actors in the international system.

Several instances of sanctions including Iraq, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Iran, Libya, among others come to the fore. Sanctions take different forms including economic, political and military. Sanctions can also be unilateral or multilateral.

The United Nations imposed sanctions on Iraq in 1990 after the latter had invaded Kuwait (O'Driscoll, 2017). The sanctions were in response to an act that the UN considered to be violation of the sovereignty of another country. The sanctions on Iraq resulted in a humanitarian catastrophe in the country with the general public bearing the brunt of the sanctions (Chingono, 2010). The Saddam Hussein regime which was supposed to be punished by the sanctions instead flourished and members of Hussein's clique became richer in the process. The experiences in Iraq led to a rethink of sanctions by the international community (Chingono, 2010). The effects on the population of Iraq led to the international community leaning more and more towards targeted sanctions that aim to affect only those responsible for the undesirable behavior with minimal effects on the population. Smart or targeted sanctions were therefore developed to solve the problem of non-discrimination that characterized sanctions (Goldman, 2016).

In 2002, the EU slapped Zimbabwe with what it called restrictive measures (ICG, 2012). The argument of the EU was that it was trying to close the maneuvering space of Zimbabwe's ruling elite led by the then president Robert Mugabe whom they accused of human rights violations in Zimbabwe. According to ICG (2012), the sanctions on Zimbabwe are neither comprehensive nor illegal as argued by President Mugabe and his ZANU PF party. Instead, they are a part of the relatively new concept of "smart sanctions", a term that refers to measures that are taken against specified individuals and entities within an offending country. Smart sanctions are meant to avoid harming the general populace of a country by targeting individuals who would be seen as being behind the undesirable behavior that the imposer seeks to stop. The cocktail of EU sanctions on Zimbabwe included an arms embargo, asset freezes and travel restrictions for targeted individuals (ICG, 2012). In addition, there were restrictions in government to government relations including restrictions on loans and developmental assistance (Raftopolous, 2008). In Zimbabwe's case, the EU preferred to channel development assistance through Non-Governmental Organizations as opposed to directly funding government programs (Reliefweb, 2012).

The then Organization African Unity (OAU); now African Union (AU) responded by castigating the sanctions (HRW, 2002) and assigning the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to resolve the crisis in Zimbabwe. The African Union, spurred by shared liberation history with ZANU PF, stood with the government of Zimbabwe (ICG, 2012; HRW, 2002). According to Kurebwa (2019), the sanctions would have been more successful had they managed to get the support of regional and continental bodies.

SADC, like the AU, castigated the measures, arguing that they would pursue African solutions for African problems (HRW, 2002). The general feeling in SADC was that the sanctions on Zimbabwe were unjustified and that dialogue should be given a chance. SADC argued that the continued maintenance of sanctions only serves to worsen conditions in which dialogue takes place and do not contribute to finding constructive solutions to the problems at hand (ICG, 2012). According to Kurebwa (2019), sanctions would become more effective had they gotten support from regional bodies, which was not forthcoming. The lack of support from both the AU and SADC perhaps explains why even nearly twenty years after the sanctions were imposed, the Zimbabwean government has not made many concessions with regards to the demands of the EU.

In Zimbabwe, the rally against sanctions was led by the then President, Robert Mugabe (HRW, 2002). President Mugabe argued that the sanctions were meant to effect regime change in Zimbabwe in aid of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (Raftopolous, 2008). For him, the sanctions were an attack in retaliation for the government's decision to redistribute land to the previously marginalized black majority (Reliefweb, 2006). According to ICG (2012), sanctions provided propaganda fodder for ZANU PF to mobilize its base. ZANU PF hardliners became strengthened in their resolve against any reforms. The battle over sanctions therefore became a back and forth affair with the Zimbabwean government advocating for the unconditional removal of sanctions while the EU insisted on the implementation of reforms before the sanctions could be lifted. ICG (2012) argue that hardliners within ZANU PF wanted sanctions to remain in place so they could justify the dragging of feet with regards to reforms. According to the Crisis Group (2006) as quoted by ICG, sanctions were irritants but not "active forces for change." This means that the Zimbabwean elite, while feeling the effects of the sanctions, could not be moved by the measures to modify their behavior.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Sanctions on Zimbabwe have affected its relations with the EU. While the measures have been targeted, they have strained relations between the two entities and in a way, exacerbated the situation they are meant to remedy (ICG, 2012). This presents a problem to the people of Zimbabwe who have had to endure the effects of strained relations between their government and the EU. While the restrictions were meant to curtail human rights abuses especially during the 2000 and 2002 elections, they were used by the ruling party as justification to further constrain the democratic space for citizens, in the process worsening the situation. The frosty relations between Harare and Brussels, while being supposedly targeted at the ruling elite have an effect on the general population with citizens finding it more difficult to acquire European visas since the introduction of the measures (ICG, 2012). The measures have also seen Zimbabwe being considered a pariah resulting in the country failing to access loans from IFIs and budgetary support from its erstwhile partners in the west. It can therefore be seen that the sanctions on Zimbabwe had negative consequences on the general population. While the measures were targeted at the ruling elite, the general population has had to bear the brunt of the effects while the ruling elite have remained relatively comfortable. The European Union was and remains an important political

and economic partner to Zimbabwe. The European Union was Zimbabwe's biggest trading partner before 2000, accounting for more than 40% of Zimbabwe's exports (Newfarmer and Pierola, 2015) and the country's main source of development assistance since 1980 (Kurebwa, 2019). Kurebwa argues that Zimbabwe's economy contracted by over 40% and the country lost in excess of US\$42 billion in potential revenue following the imposition of sanctions by the EU. However, it should be noted that these figures result not only from EU sanctions but from other sanctions regimes like the US government's Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA). Despite efforts by both sides to normalize relations, it seems there is not much progress on the ground (Noyes, 2020). Three years after the advent of the new dispensation, relations between Zimbabwe and the EU have remained uneasy. There have been a mixture of promising signs and drawbacks on the road to Zimbabwe's re-engagement with the European Union (Matiashe, 2021). As such, it is necessary and important to critically study the way in which Zimbabwe has attempted to re-engage with the European Union.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand the effects of strained relations between Zimbabwe

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1. To look at the causes of EU sanctions on Zimbabwe.
2. To study the effects of EU sanctions on Zimbabwe.
3. To study the measures taken by the Zimbabwean government to counter the effects of sanctions.
4. To study the re-engagement efforts made by the Zimbabwean government in its relations with the EU.

1.5 Research Questions

1. What caused the European Union to impose sanctions on Zimbabwe?
2. What are the effects of the EU sanctions on Zimbabwe's economic and political landscape?
3. How has the Zimbabwean government attempted to counter the effects of the sanctions?
4. What has the Zimbabwean government done in its re-engagement efforts with the EU?

1.6 Significance of the Study

Scholars will gain a deeper understanding of the factors that led to the imposition of sanctions on Zimbabwe and how these sanctions have affected the lives of different constituencies in the country. The findings of this research add to the expanding knowledge on sanctions in general and on sanctions as they relate to Zimbabwe. The academic community and researchers will therefore have more sources to consult when researching about sanctions on Zimbabwe.

The Zimbabwean government will gain an appreciation of how the standoff with the EU has impacted on the lives of the general populace. This will hopefully help spur the government in its re-engagement efforts with the EU. The research findings could also be used by the government in its negotiations with the EU on re-engagement.

The EU likewise will come to better understand the Zimbabwean crisis and how the strained relations with Zimbabwe is affecting ordinary citizens in the latter. The findings of this research will help the European bloc to consider the effectiveness of its strategy and if need be, change or modify the strategy.

1.7 Assumptions of the Study

1. It is in Zimbabwe's best interests to re-engage with the EU.
2. The EU sanctions on Zimbabwe have had a negative impact on the economic and political situation in Zimbabwe which needs to be corrected.
3. The sanctions on Zimbabwe have failed to achieve their stated objectives and the strategy needs to change.

1.8 Delimitations of the study

The study focuses on the relations between Zimbabwe and the EU from 2002 when sanctions were imposed on the country. It will dwell on the period after 2017 when the country experienced a change of leadership. The study will desist from studying the relations between Zimbabwe and individual members of the EU or non-EU actors. Where reference is made to non-EU entities, it is only for the purposes of reinforcing understandings about the issue at hand.

1.9 Limitations

The study is likely to face the challenge of officials hiding information about diplomatic dealings between Zimbabwe and the EU because of the sensitive nature of such information. In order to counter such a situation, the study will conduct interviews with a range of actors in the diplomatic circles so as to gain a better understanding of the situation on the ground.

1.10 Definitions of Key Terms

Sanctions: are an instrument in international relations that are typically used to influence the behavior of one actor by another (Esfandiary, 2013). They are usually characterized in restrictions in what can be done by the receiving party as a way to influence their actions and have them change behaviours that are considered inappropriate by the imposer.

Diplomacy simply defined, is an instrument of foreign policy used to achieve goals considered to be of vital interest of the state; done through peaceful means and; accomplished by way of established diplomatic protocol and procedures represented by accredited agents (Holsti, 2004)

Diplomatic Relations- Diplomatic relations refers to the customary diplomatic intercourse between nations. It involves permanent contact and communication between sovereign countries. As a part of the diplomatic relations two countries send diplomats to work in each other's country and to deal with each other formally (US Legal, 2016).

Foreign Policy: Foreign policy is defined as the decisions, strategies and ends of interactions among states (Bojang, 2018)

1.11 Dissertation outline

The report is structured as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction

This provides a background to the subject at hand and an introduction to the research. It traces the historical developments in Zim-EU relations up to the present period and gives an overview of attempts by the Government of Zimbabwe to normalize relations with the European bloc. It then

frames the problem of the research and provides the research objectives, purpose and questions. The chapter also provides a justification for the study, pointing out the benefits that different parties will derive from the knowledge that will be produced.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework

This chapter is a discussion of existing literature with a view to establish grounding in the subject matter. It will be a discussion between different scholars in international relations through the researcher. It explores the different theories that shape the subject matter in order to deepen understanding about issues of re-engagement in international relations.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

This chapter provides the research plan, detailing out how the research was conducted, the approach taken, instruments used, how data was collected and analyzed. The chapter also explores ethical issues as they affect the research process.

Chapter 4: Data presentation, analysis and discussion of findings

This chapter presents the data that was gathered during the research. This is where findings can be derived through different types of analyses.

Chapter 5: Summary, conclusion and areas for further research

This chapter summarizes the report, providing a conclusion to the report and recommendations for further research on the subject matter.

CHAPTER TWO:

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is the literature review and theoretical framework for the research. The chapter will discuss the concept of Utilitarianism, linking it to the problem at hand. In addition, it will interrogate the concept of sanctions and how they fit into the utilitarian concept, their effects on the receiving entity and on relations with the imposer. Further to this, the chapter will consider the genesis and effects of sanctions on Zimbabwe as part of Zim-EU relations since 1980. The chapter will also consider other examples of countries on which the EU has imposed sanctions and how such countries have responded to such imposition. Finally, the chapter will round off with a summary of all the discussions contained therein.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.1.1 Utilitarianism

Utilitarianism is a moral theory popularized by John Stuart Mill and Emmanuel Kant (Ellis, 2009). It states that an action is moral and acceptable if it results in the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people while minimizing pain. According to Bentham (1781), happiness is a condition in which an individual in which individuals enjoy more pleasure than pain. Elfstrom (2019) opines that utilitarianism stands apart from other moral theories in that it argues for the maximization of all things considered to be good; that is those that bring pleasure to individuals and the minimization of all things considered bad. Utilitarianism is therefore concerned with the consequences of an action in judging its morality. According to Ellis (2009), Utilitarianism is a consequential theory. This means that all actions are assessed on their consequences. According to Mill, general happiness is the ultimate standard for moral assessment. According to Ellis (2009), an actor is obligated by Utilitarianism to act in a way that maximizes the good.

In international relations, utilitarianism considers state boundaries to be of little importance since it is concerned with the happiness of an individual (Elfstrom, 2019). In international relations, utilitarianism generally deals with issues of human rights (Elfstrom, 2019). However, Marchetti, 2017) argues that when utilitarianism first appeared in politics it was based on individual states. Utilitarian's believed that the actions of the state would build the international system so the focus

was on the practice of utility within each individual state rather than on an international stage (Marchetti, 2017). Marchetti argues that the focus on the internal actions of states rather than on the international stage can be explained by the fact that the level of interaction on the international stage was relatively limited back then as compared to the modern day. According to Marchetti (2017), an understanding of utilitarianism is important in understanding consequentialist international affairs. Marchetti argues that classical utilitarian like Mill, Bentham and Austin envisaged international reforms that would lead to the development of democratic relations between states. Such reforms according to Marchetti, would include the creation of an international court of justice. According to Bentham, for a moral code to be effective in international affairs, it needs to have a legal obligation; that is there is need to have consequences for non-compliance (Marchetti, 2017). This would require the creation of dedicated institutions for the enforcement of moral laws. Bentham argued for the establishment of an international tribunal to encourage states to obey international law. In the absence of such a law, he argued that international law could not properly be called law since there would be no method of encouraging obedience. The absence of a mechanism to make nations obey international law perhaps explains the reliance on sanctions by states and other actors on the international stage to punish disobedience and modify behavior. Because there is no central world government that can enforce international law with legitimacy, states tend to use sanctions as a form of compliance-enforcement mechanism to get those who deviate from international moral back in line. In this regard, sanctions can therefore be seen to be in line with utilitarian thought of having enforcement mechanisms in international relations.

Sanctions

Sanctions can be defined as the interruption of normal economic activity or the restriction of access to certain economic resources between two entities in the international system (Rudolf, 2007). Ozdamar and Shahin (2021) define sanctions as restrictions of economic activity imposed by one actor against another in the international system. Esfandiary (2013) contends that sanctions have become a favoured methods to deal with problematic behavior by international actors. According to Rudolf, sanctions suspend normal interaction between states in certain areas. According to the European Commission (1998), sanctions or restrictive measures are terms that are interchangeably used to refer to measures of a diplomatic or economic nature taken against a country or another actor in the international system with the aim of modifying the behavior of the

said actor. Sanctions often signal disapproval of certain actions and behaviors by a concerned actor (Ozdamar and Shahin, 2021). O'Driscoll (2017) argues that sanctions is to coerce the receiving actor to comply with the interests of the imposer, an argument supported by Ozdamar and Shahin (2021). Sanctions are not an end in themselves but a means to an end in that they are used as a negotiation tactic with the removal of the sanctions used to incentivize good behavior. According to Rudolf (2007), sanctions are meant to alter the cost-benefit calculations of the violator in a way that forces them to change course. The European argues that sanctions are usually deployed as a response to human rights violations or undemocratic practices. According to the EC, restrictive measures often consist of arms embargoes, trade restrictions, financial restrictions and travel bans. Rudolf (2007) argues that sanctions can be divided into import, export and financial sanctions. Import and export sanctions constitute disruption in economic activity while financial sanctions are meant to limit access to capital by the target. O'Driscoll (2017), argues that international actors consider sanctions to be generally more humane ways of dealing with deviant actors than military intervention. Sanctions increase the chances of a leader losing power by 28% (O'Driscoll, 2017). This potentially has an impact on the cost-benefit calculations on political leaders, likely leading them to altering their positions.

The European Union according to the EC (2008) imposes sanctions in order to achieve certain goals including the safeguarding of fundamental interests of the EU in conformity with the UN Charter. The EU also uses sanctions to preserve peace and promote international security and cooperation. In addition, the EU applies sanctions as a way of developing and consolidating democracy and the respect for human rights. From this discussion of sanctions by the EU, it is evident that in the case of Zimbabwe, sanctions were imposed. This settles the long-running debate on terminology with the EU and Zimbabwe's main opposition party insisting that restrictive measures rather than sanctions were imposed on the country.

Smart Sanctions

Since the 1990s, the international community came to realize the tendency of untargeted sanctions on populations which most of the times would have been the victims of the bad behavior being punished (Sidiropoulos, n.d). This led actors to start thinking more and more about adopting measures that would target specific individuals involved in the violations (Rudolf, 2007). These measures have come to be known as smart sanctions. O'Driscoll (2017) is of the opinion that targeted sanctions have lesser of an impact on the wider population (Kurebwa, 2019) while also

being less effective than comprehensive sanctions. Smart sanctions generally include a raft of measures like visa bans, travel restrictions for concerned individuals, arms embargoes and asset freezes (Sidiropoulos, n.d). According to Rudolf (2007), it is plausible to assume that comprehensive economic sanctions would bring about the most immediate change in behavior in governments that are accountable to the voters but this is not the case when dealing with autocratic governments that may instead be strengthened in their resolve. Rudolf cites the case of sanctions on Yugoslavia in the 1990s which resulted in the government digging in against the demands of the imposers. According to Rudolf, if the threat of sanctions is credible, it can be effective itself by giving the potential imposer some bargaining power. Rudolf argues that for sanctions to be effective, demands have to be aimed at concrete political changes and that sanctions should be a part of a broad strategy with other measures and incentives in place to promote cooperation.

Sanctions and Utilitarianism

Smart sanctions by their conception would fit into the utilitarian scheme of maximizing happiness for the greatest number of people. This is because they are meant to target only specific individuals rather than entire populations. In addition, smart sanctions are meant to remedy undesirable behavior like terrorism and human rights abuses which would threaten the happiness of people. In this regard, smart sanctions, in theory, fit into the utilitarian concept of maximizing happiness. However, in practical terms, the enforcement of smart sanctions is not a straightforward matter and it involves many false starts and collateral damage. In many cases, the smart sanctions through ill-conception or the actions of the sanctioned government may end up hurting ordinary citizens of a country while the targets remain comfortable. Due to the geopolitical make-up of modern international relations, targets often find ways to circumvent the effects of the sanctions by turning to other actors to provide whatever would have been lost through the sanctions. In some cases, they have the effect of worsening the situation they are meant to remedy through entrenching the attitudes of elites who then use the sanctions as a scapegoat and a mobilization tool for their constituencies.

Effects of Sanctions

Esfandiary (2013) argues that a frequent criticism of sanctions is that they are ineffective and often counterproductive. According to Ozdamar and Shahin (2021), the effects of sanctions are dependent on a number of factors including the type of sanction sender, the target of the sanctions,

scope, and nature of relations between the sender and the target and third party states. Sanctions can have a broad range of effects on the target, the imposer and on third parties. The effects of sanctions can also be felt by the populations of the receiving country. Ozdamar and Shahin (2021), argue that targets of sanctions may face a range of consequences from economic collapse to little or no cost. According to O'Driscoll (2017), sanctions have often been criticized for failing to achieve their stated objectives and instead worsening the situations for which they are imposed. Peksen (n.d) argues that sanctions fail between 65% and 95% of the time. Where they do work, usually they impact human rights, democracy and other freedoms. The perpetrators usually resist reform and tend to redirect resources in ways that help them retain power (Peksen, n.d). Peksen opines that elites usually respond to external pressure in a variety of ways including changing spending patterns, channeling them towards the military and other sectors that can be used for repressive purposes. Ozdamar and Shahin (2021) are of the opinion that sanctions may in fact strengthen the target instead of weakening them. O'Driscoll (2017) opines that sanctioned regimes often attempt to magnify the negative effects of sanctions in order to prevent popular revolt. In this way, the state can worsen its human rights record instead of improving it as would be the intent of the imposing actor. Peksen argues that ruling elites can also involve themselves in activities like smuggling as sanctions-busting measures and argument supported by Sidiropoulos (n.d). The redirection of resources by governments may result in the neglect of social services. Sanctions also result in increased risk perception among investors leading to decreased economic activity in the country. Ozdamar and Shahin (2021) argue that sanctions may in fact lead to economic growth through the creation of what they call 'siege morality' which leads to citizens of the sanctioned country mobilizing and developing the country's productive sectors.

According to O'Driscoll (2017), sanctions tend to impact the most vulnerable sections of society, in the process increasing levels of poverty and inequality. Women, minorities and other vulnerable groups tend to be worse affected by sanctions than other sections of society (O'Driscoll, 2017). He further contends that elites usually find ways to escape the adverse effects of the sanctions, unlike other citizens who stand to suffer more than the elites. Esfandiary (2013) supports O'Driscoll's argument, positing that sanctions result in the rise of black market activity, inflation and unemployment in the receiving country. O'Driscoll further opines that sanctions affect rural and non-industrialized areas more as resources are channeled towards supporting the industrial centres. Sanctions on average result in a 25% reduction in the GDP of receiving countries

OzdamarandShahin (2021). O'Driscoll further posits that sanctions affect the humanitarian situations and living standards in the sanctioned country.

Zimbabwe-EU Relations Since 1980

Zimbabwe's relationship with the EU since 1980 was one characterized by cooperation and mutual understanding. The European Union was the country's biggest trading partner accounting for more than 30% of the country's exports (The Herald, 2012). After the land reform program of the early 2000s and deteriorating human rights conditions coupled with political violence during the 2000 and 2002 general elections, the EU adopted a raft of measures aimed at making the government change tact. The sanctions were characterized by travel bans for senior government officials, asset freezes and an arms embargo. Kurebwa (2019) argues that the sanctions included blockage of lines of credit for the Zimbabwean government. The measures according to Kurebwa, resulted in the deterioration of the socio-economic situation in the country. However, it should be noted that even though there have been strained relations between Brussels and Harare since 2002, the EU remains an important trading partner for Zimbabwe. The EU is Zimbabwe's second most important trading partner after South Africa (Kurebwa, 2019). As Kurebwa contends, in 2012, Zimbabwe's trade with the EU totaled more than US\$709 million. The European Commission (2021) supports this argument, showing that Zimbabwe has a positive balance of trade with the EU as of 2020. The sanctions on Zimbabwe according to EU (2002) are not trade related but are targeted towards specific individuals and entities that are considered be active in the violation of human rights in Zimbabwe. Any decrease in trade volumes especially exports from Zimbabwe, it can be speculated is a result of the deterioration in the country's production capacity which may or may not be a result of the sanctions. Kurebwa (2019) further posits that the EU is not attempting to punish Zimbabwe as seen by the bloc providing more than 1.5 billion Euros in development aid to Zimbabwe since 2002.

The EU has imposed unilateral sanctions on Iran in 2012. The EU sanctions on Iran were an expansion of the UN sanctions on the country (Esfandiary, 2013). The EU sanctions target the country's financial, energy and transport sectors. Esfandiary (2013) is of the opinion that the EU has increased its use of sanctions in recent years because it lacks the capacity to enforce its foreign policy decisions by force. According to Esfandiary (2013), sanctions on Iran prohibit the export to Iran of any tools that can be used for nuclear enrichment or for internal repression. As such,

sanctions have become a tool of choice in enforcing compliance for the EU. The sanctions on Iran were in response to the latter's nuclear enrichment program which was considered by the western world to be a threat to regional and international peace. Esfandiary argues that sanctions on Iran, instead of modifying the behavior of the government and stopping the nuclear program have resulted in a combination of economic problems and the deterioration in the humanitarian situation. Esfandiary argues that though the sanctions have failed to alter the Iranian leadership's stance on sanctions, they have managed to force Iran to the negotiating table. Esfandiary argues that the sanctions have failed on their stated goal of changing the Iranian leadership's decision to proceed with nuclear development.

Conclusion

The foregoing has been a review of relevant literature on Zimbabwe-EU relations in relation to sanctions and re-engagement. The chapter discussed the concept of utilitarianism which theory will be used as an analysis tool for this research. The chapter went on to discuss sanctions as a tool to enforce behavior change by actors in international relations, their effectiveness and weaknesses. The chapter then discussed sanctions as they relate to Zimbabwe taking into account different perspectives of their utility and impact on the stated behavior. The next chapter is a discussion of the research methodology, detailing how the research will be conducted.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter presents the research design and Methodology. Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault (2016), argue that methodology refers to the way that one approaches problems. Methodology is shaped

by one's interests, assumptions and purpose. Methodology is more than a set of data gathering techniques but a style with which one approaches the empirical world. The chapter will discuss how the research is set up, that is the methods and techniques used for data collection. The chapter will discuss data collection instruments, population, sampling and data analysis.

3.1 Research Philosophy

Research philosophy refers to the belief about the manner in which data in research should be gathered, analyzed and used. Philosophy is concerned with the nature and development of knowledge. In other words, it is concerned with the ideas about reality and the nature of knowledge that is acquired during a study. Research philosophy refers to the approach that is taken by the researcher in the process of gaining knowledge about given phenomena. Research philosophies include positivism, interpretivism, naturalist, critical, postmodern and pragmatism. This research will use the constructivist approach to gathering and analyzing data. Constructivism is a philosophy that acknowledges that reality is a product of the human understanding (Pedersen and McEvoy, 2011). In constructivism, all knowledge is constructed from human experience and knowledge cannot be separated from the person who provides the knowledge (Armstrong, 2018). Constructivism is based on cognitive psychology. Constructivism argues that there are multiple methodologies to generate knowledge and that knowledge is generated by scientists based on their cognitive outlooks. According to Bisman and Highfield (2012), constructivism is concerned with how people make sense of a particular situation at a certain point in time. Bisman and Highfield argue that reality is created by the mind and there can be many different social realities. What is real is specific to an individual though there can be similarities between individuals and groups. According to the constructivist philosophy therefore, reality is fluid and elastic, depending on several different variables that influence the outlook of the thinker. Constructivism differs from positivism in that it acknowledges the presence of values in research (Bisman and Highfield, 2012). According to Bisman and Highfield, prior prejudices and understandings influence the interpretation that people make in research. Adopting the constructivist approach therefore gives the researcher room to interpret how things are and explore factors that would otherwise be impossible to explore through numerical research paradigms (Bisman and Highfield, 2012). Constructivism is generally associated with qualitative, exploratory research. Constructivism is a good fit for exploratory research because it gives the researcher the chance to explore the experiences of individuals from their own perspective without theoretical limitations.

3.2 Research Methodology

Research methodology refers to the study of research methods. It is the way that knowledge is gathered in a study. According to Sileyew (2019), methodology is the practical of “how” of research. This means that methodology is concerned with how the research is actually conducted, away from the philosophical questions. Rajersekhar, Philominathan and Chinnathambi (2013) argue that methodology refers to the systematic way of solving a problem. The methodology is affected by the researchers outlook on the world (ontology) and their beliefs about the nature of knowledge (epistemology). Methodology includes such aspects as data collection techniques and tools, populations, samples, ethics and analysis of data. The central point of methodology is data and how it will be collected and analysed to provide knowledge about phenomena.

The research will take on a qualitative methodology in uncovering knowledge about Zimbabwe’s re-engagement with the EU after the advent of the new dispensation. According to Mohajan (2018), qualitative research focuses on the way people make sense of their experiences in order to understand their social realities. Ospina (2004) quotes Shank (2002) who defines qualitative research as a form of systematic and empirical inquiry into the meaning of phenomena. Qualitative research is generally used for exploratory studies and theory building (Cresswell, 2012). Qualitative research allows flexibility for the researcher to explore new ideas that they might have not expected. It has the ability to understand social meanings and is sensitive to contextual factors (Ospina, 2004).

Qualitative research is chosen for this research because of its ability to explore subjects over which little is known. It gives the researcher the ability to explore the meanings that individuals attach to given phenomena. Because the issue of Zimbabwe’s re-engagement has not been adequately studied and therefore there is still little knowledge about the subject, an approach that is open to building an understanding of the subject is necessary. Qualitative research also helps to explore some issues that the researcher might not have bargained for, making it a good approach for an exploratory study.

3.3 Research Design

Research design refers to the way through which a research will gather and analyse relevant data and how it will disseminate the knowledge that is produced as a result. Research design is influenced by the philosophy and nature of the research. Research design is the blueprint or plan

within which research is conducted. Research design incorporates a plan for the collection, measurement and analysis of data (Islamia, 2010). Islamia argues that research design can be considered as the structure of research which holds all the elements together. According to Islamia, research design facilitates the collection and analysis of data in a manner that adds relevance to the research. Cresswell (2012) opines that research design is a plan for how the researcher will collect, manage and analyse data. Islamia goes on to argue that research design, aside from presenting a plan of how the research will collect and analyse data also, presents justification for the choices made.

The research sought to collect primary qualitative data that would provide an insight into relations between Zimbabwe and the European Union as they relate to re-engagement. The data focused on actions taken by both sides with the aim of achieving the re-engagement of the two entities. Data was collected from various sources including internet searches, newspapers, press releases and TV news reports. In addition, interviews were conducted with relevant stakeholders in the Zimbabwe Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the EU Delegation to Zimbabwe.

According to Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault (2016), qualitative research produces descriptive data; that is people's words and observable behavior. Qualitative research is concerned with the meaning that people attach to phenomenon in their lives. According to Blumer (1969), qualitative researchers have to set aside their own assumptions and views of the world in order to empathize and identify with the people they study as a way of understanding their experiences.

Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault (2016), argue that qualitative research is inductive rather than deductive. This means that qualitative research seeks to develop an understanding of phenomena from patterns in data as opposed to collecting data in order to test hypotheses.

This research will take the form of a case study in studying the effects of sanctions. A case study refers to an in-depth study on one person, group or event considering nearly every facet of the subject's life and causes of behavior (Biba Rebolj, 2013). The hope is that the findings made from the case study can be generalized to many other cases of a similar nature (Baxter and Jack, 2010). The case study of EU sanctions on Zimbabwe was chosen to study the causes and effects of sanctions. Zimbabwe was chosen because it is one of the most prominent cases of sanctions since the turn of the millennium. It also happens to be one of the most contested cases with different sides having different interpretations of the causes and effects of the sanctions. In addition, the

approaches by successive governments in Zimbabwe to the issue of sanctions make the country an interesting case study on the effects of sanctions.

A case study is used because it provides knowledge about a phenomenon without having to recreate the phenomenon specifically for the study (Baxter and Jack, 2010). Recreating the conditions of the phenomenon of sanctions would be unethical because of the potential human suffering that results from sanctions. Picking a situation where the phenomenon has occurred therefore helps to gain understanding of the phenomenon without being invasive.

3.4 Population and Sample

A population refers to the total of subjects under study from which participants can be drawn. According to Polit and Hungler (1999), population refers to an aggregate or totality of all the objects, subjects or members that conform to a set of specifications.

The population for this study comprised of diplomatic actors within the Ministry of Foreign affairs in Zimbabwe and those in the EU Delegation to Zimbabwe. These would be in a position to provide relevant information on the progress of re-engagement efforts between the two entities.

Sampling is the process of choosing a group of people from within the population to participate in the research. A sample refers to a small group that is part of the population that is chosen to represent the entire population in a research. According to NHS (2006) a sample is “a group of people, objects or items that are taken from a larger population for measurement.” A sample is chosen to give a representation of the population because it is usually impractical to study the whole population. A sample is then used as to overcome the challenges of studying an entire population. This research will use purposive sampling in order to recruit participants that are knowledgeable about the subject matter. Purposive sampling is a non-random sampling method that aims to recruit people who have specialized knowledge in the subject at hand as participants. The sample for this research will comprise of three officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in Zimbabwe and three from the EU delegations in Zimbabwe. These people are chosen based on their intimate knowledge of relations between Zimbabwe and the EU based on their involvement in diplomatic relations between the two.

3.5 Sampling Methods

The research will use purposive sampling to choose participants for the research. Purposive sampling is chosen because it enables the researcher to pick individuals that have relevant

knowledge to the subject at hand who will provide specialized knowledge. This research requires that participants be knowledgeable about diplomatic relations especially as they relate to Zimbabwe and the European Union. Purposive sampling will therefore enable the researcher to pick such people, in the process contributing to the study's validity.

3.6 Data Collection Methods

Data collection is the process of gathering data on targeted variables. According to Kabir (2016) data collection methods are the ways through which data for research is acquired from participants. There are a range of data collection methods in qualitative research including interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation. This research will use key informant interviews to collect data from officials within the ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and the European Delegation in Zimbabwe. Key informant interviews are chosen because they are a good fit for exploratory research and the qualitative approach that this research takes. Key Informant Interviews have the ability to solicit for information and explore issues in ways that other data collection methods would be unable to do. This is because key informant interviews give participants the opportunity to open up on issues as they perceive them and give their own interpretation of the issue at hand. This method of collecting data also helps exploring relatively understudied issues by focusing on the experiences and perceptions of participants and not the biases of the researcher. They also help in picking up issues that the researcher would not have bargained for, something that would not happen in the case of other methods like questionnaires. In addition, documentary review will be used to collect additional data on the actions being taken by both actors in the re-engagement matrix.

The interviews will be conducted with officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in Zimbabwe who have working knowledge in Zim-EU relations. These are chosen as participants because of their knowledge of the issue at hand. They also represent the ministry that is responsible for the country's engagement and re-engagement efforts with the EU and other foreign entities and nations. Another group of participants will come from the EU delegation in Zimbabwe. These participants are again chosen based on their working knowledge of the relations between Zimbabwe and the EU and would be in a position to provide a wealth of information about the EU's perception of Zimbabwe and its strategy and responses to the overtures of the second republic.

3.7 Data Presentation and Analysis

“Data analysis is the process of systematically applying statistical and/or logical techniques to describe, illustrate, condense and recap data,” (Shamoo and Resnik, 2003). In other words, data analysis refers to the process of breaking down data in a way that it makes sense to the reader. This research will use thematic analysis as a tool. According to Braun and Clarke (2012), thematic analysis is “a method of systematically identifying, organizing and offering insight into themes across a data set.” From this definition, thematic analysis focuses on themes that arise from a research and seeks to provide consumers of the research with an understanding of those themes. Kiger and Varpio (2020) opine that thematic analysis is a powerful tool to analyse qualitative data. They posit that thematic analysis involves searching across a data set for the purposes of identifying, analyzing and reporting recurring patterns. It is descriptive but also involves interpretation of data.

This research will seek to search for repeated themes in the data, describe them and consider their significance to the question of Zimbabwe’s re-engagement with the EU. The analysis will consider each of the research in questions in turn, considering the responses of both sides and assessing their weight based on previous studies and theory.

Data presentation is the process of using various media to show data so that readers can make sense of such (In and Lee, 2017). Methods of data presentation include graphical displays and descriptive text. This research will use descriptive text to present the findings of the research. Descriptive text is a method of data presentation that involves describing the characteristics of an object, event, person or place.

3.8 Validity and Reliability

Validity refers to the accuracy of a measure; that is a measure’s ability to measure what it intends to measure (Taherdoost, 2016). This means that the measure that is used in research should be tested to prove its ability to measure that which it intends to measure (Mohajan, 2019).

Reliability refers to the consistency of a measure (Taherdoost, 2016); meaning its ability to give similar results when tested different times. A measure is considered to be reliable when it gives a consistent set of results when tested across a set of individuals and time-periods (Edwin, 2019). Qualitative research measures tend to score high on reliability and lower on validity while the converse is true for quantitative research.

The measures in this research are meant measure the effects of sanctions on Zimbabwe. The effect of sanctions is visible on how they affect the people of a targeted population. The measure of validity is the way in which the sanctions have forced the government of Zimbabwe to alter its behavior regarding the problematic behavior as perceived by the EU. The effectiveness of the restrictive measures will therefore be measured through the actions of the Zimbabwean government in response to the sanctions. If the study is valid, it should be able to accurately predict the actions of the government of Zimbabwe in response to the sanctions.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

“Research ethics is a codification of scientific morality in practice” (Cresswell, 2013). Research ethics are based on general ethics of science. Research ethics are necessary in ensuring that studies are conducted in ways that do not harm participants and communities. They also promote the aims of research and support values such as collaborative work and other social and moral values. This research will uphold research ethics in a way that promotes social and moral ethics. All participants in the research will be asked to sign informed consent forms after reading and understanding the contents of such forms. Informed consent gives participants information about the research and their rights during and after the research. Participants will be recruited on a voluntary basis. At the same time, they will be free to withdraw from the study at any time without have negative consequences for them. The identities of participants for the research will not be revealed. In addition, any personal information of the participants that might be used to identify them will be kept confidential so as to protect the identities of participants. The residue of interviews will be kept under lock and key for a period of five years before being destroyed through shredding. The researcher will take all steps necessary to ensure that participants are protected from any harm that might arise from their participation in this research. Aliases will be used in place of the names of the participants where need be so as to keep the identity of participants private.

3.10 Summary

The foregoing chapter has been a discussion of the research design. The intent of the discussion is to provide a clearer understanding of the processes involved in the research. The chapter discussed the population for the study, the samples and sampling techniques and methods. In addition, it considered the data collection instruments; that is interview schedules and the analysis of data. Finally, the research discussed the research ethics observed in this study.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the results of the research. In addition, it will analyse the results of the research. The research collected qualitative data through key-informant interviews and documentary search. This chapter will therefore analyse the data collection techniques and the qualitative data that was gathered as a result. The results are discussed in light of other findings of previous researches and are contrasted with existing literature in order to provide an understanding

of the obtaining situation regarding EU sanctions on Zimbabwe after the advent of the new dispensation.

4.2 Reasons for the imposition of sanctions on Zimbabwe

The research posed the question of the causes of EU sanctions on Zimbabwe. Participants were asked about their opinion on the reasons for the imposition of EU sanctions on Zimbabwe and their responses generally took two distinct approaches representing their respective backgrounds and motivations. EU Delegation officials in Harare argue that the restrictive measures are a response to human rights abuses perpetrated by the government over the past twenty years. On the other hand, government officials within the ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade highlighted that sanctions were a response by the EU to Zimbabwe's land-reform program and that they were an unjustified attack on a sovereign state.

When asked, in your opinion, what are the causes of European Union sanctions of Zimbabwe, an officer in the political affairs office of the EU delegation traced the causes of sanctions to the EU's Foreign Policy as follows:

“As the EU, we have standards to which we hold our partners in the international community and we have instruments that we use to enforce compliance with the demands of the EU. Under the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), there are provision for the use of restrictive measures to bring about changes in the behavior of target states or entities. The issues for which the EU uses sanctions include, threats to European security, terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the violation of human rights, good governance, democracy and the rule of law. In the case of Zimbabwe, the latter three are what led to the imposition of EU restrictive measures in 2002. The EU's problems with the government of Zimbabwe started around the year 2000 when the general election of that year was punctuated by violence and clear manipulation of ballots. This became a trend as the governing party continued to use violence as a political tool as it fought against the then newly formed opposition in the mould of the MDC. The trend of violence continued in the 2002 presidential election and the EU sought dialogue with Zimbabwe. Unfortunately, the dialogue did not produce the desired results and the EU had to take action in order to prevent the situation from worsening. The intent of the measures was to

try and convince the government of the then President Mugabe to stop the repression of dissent and respect human rights, that's all."

Another officer within the delegation had a similar response;

"It is a matter of policy. The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy enjoins the Council and member states to take actions against states and other actors within the international system that violate given values and principles set by the EU. Zimbabwe happened to violate quite a number of these principles, namely the suppression of democracy, human rights and the rule of law. This forced the hand of the EU as we sought to influence a change of policy in Harare."

The responses from the EU delegation support the assertions of scholars who argue that sanctions are a tool that is used to elicit a change of behavior on the part of the recipients. Esfandiary (2013) is of the opinion that sanctions are used to deal with perceived problematic behavior by international actors. In this case, the sanctions were meant to modify the behavior of the Zimbabwean state with regards to human rights and democracy. The EU perceived that the behavior of the government in Zimbabwe was problematic and used sanctions to try and modify it. However, there is need to further interrogate the causes of sanctions in Zimbabwe beyond the human rights, democracy and rule of law argument by the EU. As government officials in Harare posit, the sanctions were a response to the government's land reform program rather than the touted human rights, democracy and rule of law violations. In this regard, the sanctions were an attempt to modify the behavior of the government of Zimbabwe with regards to the issue of land.

One participant from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade posited that the issue of human rights was not the concern of the EU, rather, the EU wanted to ensure that the land reform program failed as an example to other states that would consider implementing similar programs. When asked what in their opinion is the cause of sanctions on Zimbabwe by the EU, he responded:

"Look at it this way, the Europeans and the rest of the western world were not happy about Zimbabweans charting their own course and deciding their destiny. They knew that if the land reform program succeeded, it would give confidence to Zimbabwe to take further control of its economy and would embolden our brothers and sisters in Africa to engage in land reform. This was a grave threat to the economic interests of the west in Zimbabwe

and in Africa as a whole. As a result, they could not sit around and watch as the land reform program succeeded in Zimbabwe. That is why they had to punish the people of Zimbabwe, make them suffer and turn against the government. That is the real reason for the imposition of sanctions; to stop the land reform program and deter other countries from engaging in such empowerment programs.”

Another official from the same ministry reported that the EU sanctions were mainly instigated by the British government who were unhappy at the loss of property by their Zimbabwean cousins.

“The reality is, the British were not impressed by the land reform program. Their cousins in Zimbabwe had lost control of the land that they had unjustly controlled for decades. They therefore sought to isolate Zimbabwe as punishment for redistributing land to the landless blacks. It affected their economic interests and they hoped that through instigating their allies including the EU to impose the sanctions, the people of Zimbabwe would relent.

From the responses above, the responses from the Zimbabwean government maintained the political line that sought to paint the country as being under siege for empowering its people. The Foreign ministry officials maintained the ruling party line that the people of Zimbabwe were being punished for taking control of their resources. They did not make a distinction between the government and the population of Zimbabwe, preferring to have the two groups lumped together. In the end, the impression created is that the EU was punishing the people of Zimbabwe for the land reform program. This is consistent with Ozdamar and Shahin (2021) who argue that sanctions can lead to a siege mentality and give the recipients a platform on which to mobilise and gain the sympathy of citizens. By creating the impression that it is under siege, the government would be able to mobilise supporters who feel the country is under attack. ICG (2012), argue that western sanctions against the ruling elite in Zimbabwe have provided propaganda fodder for the ruling ZANU PF party.

Hence, from the above forgoing discussions, differences in responses to the question about the causes of sanctions on Zimbabwe by the EU demonstrate the divergence in positions between the two actors in international relations. On one hand, the EU insists the sanctions are a result of problematic behavior by the government of Zimbabwe with regards to human rights, democracy and the political space in Zimbabwe. On the other hand, the government insists that the sanctions

are a form of punishment by the EU for engaging in the land reform program. In addition, the responses from both sides show that they each have different terminology for the sanctions with the government preferring the term ‘sanctions’ while the EU prefers ‘restrictive measures.’ These differences are perhaps an indication that there is still very little hope of convergence between the two entities regarding sanctions. For any meaningful progress to be made, there need to be agreement on both sides on the causes of the sanctions so that solutions can be found. In this regard, any dialogue on sanctions should focus on agreeing on the causes of sanctions in Zimbabwe.

4.2.1 Effects of EU sanctions on Zimbabwe.

The question, “how have sanctions affected Zimbabwe”, was asked to participants from both the EU delegation and the government of Zimbabwe.

The government of Zimbabwe blames the economic meltdown of the past two decades on sanctions imposed by the EU, US and their allies in the western world. The government insists that the sanctions/restrictive measures are a tool being used by the western world to effect regime change in Zimbabwe through destroying the country’s economy leading to a popular uprising against the government. When asked “what are the effects of sanctions on Zimbabwe, an official who deals directly with the EU in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade stated that the sanctions on Zimbabwe were tantamount to economic warfare on the country.

“The sanctions that we have experienced over the past two decades are a fight against the people of Zimbabwe. The western world has literally declared war on us, an economic war. As I said earlier, these people were not impressed with us taking back our land and they sought to effect regime change through economic warfare. The sanctions are an act of war as they restrict the country’s access to loan financing, markets and make the process of repatriating export proceeds very difficult. The western world has the objective of making the people of Zimbabwe suffer economically so that they either rise against the government or vote for the opposition.”

Asked to elaborate on the effects that the sanctions had on the people and on the government’s ability to deliver public goods and services, he responded:

“The government is virtually operating with its hands tied and this has been the situation for two decades. Lines of credit are being blocked, access to international markets for our

products is restricted, our industry cannot access crucial components for its day to day running. As a result, government is struggling to meet its obligations to the citizens. Industry is dying and we constantly have shortages. There are shortages of everything from bread, fuel to foreign currency. As a result of increased risk perception because of the sanctions, the original Zimbabwean dollar collapsed. The people who get affected by all this are the citizens of Zimbabwe. They cannot access good healthcare, education, food and other basics. Our towns are dying, our transportation system is dying. So you can say the biggest victims of the sanctions are the people of Zimbabwe.

“This country has been under economic siege from the westerners. They have tried to destroy Zimbabwe’s economy mainly through closing our access to lines of credit. The World Bank and IMF have been instructed not to give us anything, that is why our economy is suffering. That is why our people are suffering, no government can thrive without borrowing. Britain, EU and their allies are on a mission to ensure that Zimbabweans suffer for taking back their land.”

While this line of thought is relevant with regards to the USA which explicitly instructs its officials to block Zimbabwe’s access to credit, there is no evidence that the EU has done such. The government insists that the EU along with its allies are waging economic warfare on Zimbabwe. However, trade data between the two entities paints a different picture with Zimbabwe having a positive trade balance with the EU as of 2020. A study of the EU sanctions on Zimbabwe also shows that they are generally restricting the provision of goods that might be used for repression in Zimbabwe from the EU. Evidence shows that the EU does not stop Zimbabwean entities from trading with the EU, except those that are specified in the sanctions. The argument that EU sanctions are part of economic warfare against the country therefore holds little water and can be seen as a political strategy by the government to gain the sympathy of the voters by creating a siege mentality.

The EU on the other hand insists that the sanctions are not any kind of warfare against Zimbabwe but rather an attempt to get GOZ to respect human rights and end repression in the country. Officials interviewed pointed to the continued development assistance to Zimbabwe as evidence that the EU bears no ill-will towards the people of Zimbabwe. They argued that the restrictive measures are meant to induce the Zimbabwean government to change course in its human rights

record. All of the European diplomats interviewed however admitted that there had not been any change in the human rights record of the Zimbabwean government since the imposition of the sanctions with one going further to mention that things had even worsened. She however would not be drawn into mentioning the cause of the worsening human rights record in Zimbabwe. The diplomat's refusal to give possible reasons for the worsening situation in Zimbabwe might indicate that the EU perceives that the sanctions are the cause for the worsening human rights and democratic record in the country.

Members of the EU delegation on the other hand insisted that the issue of the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe was a result of the said poor governance not sanctions.

“As I said, lack of respect for the rule of law was one of the reasons why sanctions were imposed on Zimbabwe. When a government does not respect the rule of law, it decreases the confidence of business and investors. There is no way that business would invest in a place where their rights will not be respected and where they feel they would not have recourse to the law because the decisions of the court would not be respected. That is the height of misgovernance and no economy can survive such. That is the cause of Zimbabwe's economic problems in Zimbabwe, not sanctions as has been the line in Harare.”

When the question of credit lines was put to EU officials in Harare, they insisted that the EU restrictive measures were not aimed at the people of Zimbabwe but on a few individuals who were responsible mainly for the violation of human rights and for political violence. An officer in the economic office stressed that the measures were economic but never meant to hurt the Zimbabwean economy and that the EU had no control over the lending decisions of the IFIs.

“There are no economic sanctions on Zimbabwe from the EU. All the EU has done is to restrict the government's access to resources that can be used for repressive purposes. Things like military hardware and training have been forbidden for Zimbabwe. The EU has also sought to restrict the access to Europe for specified individuals who are under the targeted measures. We have maintained our trade relations with Zimbabwe and if you check your figures, you will see the evidence. There is economic cooperation between Zimbabwe and Brussels, its only a handful of individuals who have been sanctioned for their part in the state's problematic behavior, otherwise there was no break in economic

cooperation. With regards to the IMF and World Bank, the EU does not control those institutions. We have never blocked any credit funding for Zimbabwe. We understand that it is only the generality of the people that stand to suffer from such actions, and we do not want such a situation. Our restrictive measures are meant to affect only those targeted so that they change the problematic behavior and improve the situation for the people of Zimbabwe.”

It is difficult to study the effects of EU sanctions on Zimbabwe since there are other sanctions regimes that run concurrently with the EU measures. It therefore becomes difficult to tell whose position is the correct one regarding the effects of sanctions between the two entities under discussion. However, there are some plausible points raised by each side on the causes of sanctions. The government's insistence on the sanctions being the cause of the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe has some merit as it points to some common effects of sanctions. As Esfandiary argues, sanctions can reduce the economic leeway of those on which they are imposed. This results in the recipients failing to access some basic economic necessities, resulting in economic problems. However, scholars have argued that along with sanctions, Zimbabwe has some internal problems including corruption, policy inconsistency, weak institutions, the failure of the rule of law and weak economic regimes. These result in the country's economy continuously weakening. It therefore means that both sides raise pertinent points with regards to the effects of sanctions and the cause of the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe.

This argument seems to be plausible if trade figures are anything to go by. Statistics show that the EU is Zimbabwe's second largest trading partner after South Africa (Kurebwa, 2019). Kurebwa however argues that the blockage of lines of credit was one of the measures taken against Zimbabwe by the EU.

Scholars however seem to disagree with the assertion that the EU sanctions constitute economic warfare against Zimbabwe. Kurebwa (2019) opines that the EU doesn't seem to be engaged in any economic warfare against Zimbabwe as seen by its provision of more than \$1.5 Billion in development aid to Zimbabwe since 2002.

One issue that kept arising in the interviews with GOZ officials was the issue of the country failing to get lines of credit from international financial institutions (IFIs) as a result of the sanctions. The government insists that the EU and the US actively block any lines of credit for Zimbabwe in IFIs

which they control. However, the EU officials argue that the EU does not control any IFIs. While the Zimbabwean government's argument is plausible with regards to the US, it holds little water with the EU.

4.2.2 Measures taken by the Zimbabwean government to have the sanctions removed

The question "what has the government done to facilitate the removal of sanctions" was posed to government officials in Zimbabwe.

The Zimbabwean government continues to demand for the unconditional removal of sanctions. The reason for this demand they argue is that Zimbabwe is a sovereign nation that should be allowed to chart its own course without undue interference from other nations. An official within the ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade admitted that the government had not implemented most of the demands stated by the EU as conditions for the removal of the sanctions but argued that those were not the real reasons for the imposition of the sanctions:

"Look at it this way, there are many countries around the world that have worse human rights records, there are countries that have worse democratic credentials but they are not under EU or any other sanctions. The way we see it, these sanctions are just a punishment for the land reform program They want to point at the land reform program and say, 'look, it has failed', as a warning to other African states. Of course, we have not implemented the demanded reforms, but I tell you, without the reversal of the land reform they will never remove those sanctions. We are being fought for reclaiming our birthright. After all, we are an independent and sovereign nation, we are a peaceful nation, we should be left in peace. What the EU and everyone else should understand is that the land reform program is irreversible."

These sentiments echo those of president Mnangagwa who in his 2021 independence speech in which he said Zimbabwe would not reverse the land reform program for the purposes of re-engagement with the west (The Zimbabwe Mail, 2021).

Another official within the same ministry argued that the said poor human rights record was a figment of the west's imagination. He also accused hostile western media of fuelling hostility

between Zimbabwe and the west through false reporting. He argued that the country's human rights record was not as bad as hostile western media painted it.

“There is no country in this world that has a perfect human rights or democratic record. What you see with the west trying to police us on such issues is hypocrisy. They have good relations with nations that have worse human rights records than us, it is not proper for them to try and school us about human rights and democracy. We all know the real reason for the imposition of sanctions on our people, and that is the land reform program. This talk about human rights is just a scapegoat they are using to punish us.”

The underlying argument from the ministry however was that there was no need for the west to school Zimbabwe on human rights and democracy and that the sanctions had to be removed unconditionally. Another diplomat within the ministry argued that the west had to meet Zimbabwe halfway in the removal of sanctions. He said that the EU needed to remove the measures as a gesture of goodwill and enter into negotiations with Zimbabwe regarding the issues at hand.

“We have approached them seeking re-engagement because we believe good relations are mutually beneficial. But we have said they should remove the sanctions on us so we can talk. Let them show us that they really want to dialogue with us.”

The EU has pledged its willingness to engage the Zimbabwean government (European Council, 2022; The Zimbabwe Mail, 2021). The EU however notes that the situation in Zimbabwe in terms of human rights has not improved. The EU reiterated its commitment to support political and economic reforms in Zimbabwe (European Council, 2022). In the same report, the EU reiterated its readiness to dialogue with Zimbabwe in the near-future. While the statement by the EU and the commitments it makes to re-engaging with Zimbabwe can be viewed as a positive sign for the relations between the two entities, it points out that issues like human rights and democracy are at the forefront of its re-engagement efforts. The EU notes the intimidation of political opposition, lack of respect for human rights and the continued shrinking of the democratic space in Zimbabwe. The EU therefore decided to renew the restrictive measures for another year, ending in February 2023. This means then that the ball is in the Zimbabwean government's court as it should decide if it will implement the reforms demanded by the EU for re-engagement to take place. The Zimbabwe Herald (2022), reports that the EU is happy to engage with Zimbabwe on various issues. The recurring theme from the EU on the re-engagement however continues to be issues of human

rights and democracy. The government of Zimbabwe however continues to insist on the unconditional removal of sanctions. An illustration of this insistence by the government of Zimbabwe is the anti-sanctions march, held in October 2019 (France24.com; 2019) and the SADC Zimbabwe anti-sanctions day. The Zimbabwean government has continued to paint a picture of improvements in relations between the EU and Zimbabwe (The Herald, 2021; The Herald, 2022). However, the Zimbabwe Mail (2021) points out that the government has not met much success in its attempts to re-establish cordial relations with the EU.

Evidence at hand shows that most of the actions taken by the government of Zimbabwe in seeking to have the sanctions removed are mainly rhetorical. The government, it seems, has not taken any concrete measures to address the concerns of the EU, preferring instead to demand that the sanctions be removed unconditionally. This approach, according to scholars rarely works since the intent of sanctions is to induce a change of behavior on the part of recipients. Without such a change in behavior, there is no incentive for the imposer to remove the sanctions. Concrete steps have to be taken to show the EU that the Zimbabwean government has indeed reformed and is willing to make concessions with regards to relations with the EU.

The most notable measure adopted by the government of Zimbabwe to counter the sanctions been the look east policy adopted during the early-2000s. The policy entails concentrating on relations with countries like China that do not really consider human rights and democracy as a factor in relations with foreign powers. Since 2004, the Zimbabwean government strengthened its relations with countries in the far-east and in eastern-Europe. These countries have moved in to cover the gap in the wake of the sanctions from the west. One official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade noted that Chinese supported has helped the government to survive the onslaught from the west and from the EU. When asked, “what has the government done to counter the effects of sanctions”, they had this to say:

“Had it not been for support from our traditional friends in the east, notably China and Russia, Zimbabwe could have possibly collapsed under the weight of western sanctions. What we did after realizing that the west was increasingly becoming hostile against our people, we turned to our friends in the east. China particularly has helped us stay afloat by providing loans and grants and a market for our products.”

In a bid to fight sanctions, the Zimbabwean leadership, notably former president Mugabe have taken every opportunity to castigate the sanctions which they term “illegal” on international fora. In addition, they have lobbied the southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union (AU) to help in attempts to have the sanctions removed (Newsday, 2019). The government of president Mnangagwa has attempted to engage the EU in dialogue to have the sanctions removed with the overtures however being rebuffed by the latter (Newsday, 2019).

Officials from the Zimbabwean government who were interviewed pointed to the look-east policy as a measure taken to escape the sanctions. They however refused to divulge any other measures arguing that it would jeopardise the country’s sanctions-busting exercise if such information were to be put in the public domain. One official, when asked what else besides the look east policy, the government had done to overcome sanctions said:

“It’s a matter of strategy, and there are certain strategies that have to remain secret for them to be effective. I cannot reveal such secrets, it would jeopardize not only our foreign policy and economic plans but also our national security. I’m sorry, I cannot divulge the other measures, you just need to know that there is a lot we are doing to bust these sanctions.”

4.2.3 RE-ENGAGEMENT STRIDES BY THE NEW DISPANSATION

The Researcher asked the question regarding the move by the new political dispensation to ensure a successful re-engagement with the Western countries. This was different from the previous questions which were centered on the effects of sanctions and the causes of sanctions on Zimbabwe.

A participant member from the Ministry of foreign Affairs said that; *the coming into office of Mnangagwa gave renewed hope to many Western countries and the Zimbabweans particularly the unemployed, political opportunists amongst others who had known only one president their entire lives, causing widespread voter apathy amongst them. The common sentiment was their vote wouldn’t count or change anything because the same president always won the elections.*

On the same note another research participant who was interviewed had this mentioned that:

The new dispensation brought opportunities for a new start, a chance to operate differently. At home and abroad, Zimbabwe's well-wishers allowed themselves a cautious hope that change was finally afoot. Although the recent developments and changes were welcome, after the euphoria has worn off, there are mixed feelings about how the new dispensation is trying to reengage the international community.

In line with the interviewee from the Ministry of foreign Affairs, the Researcher noted that Zimbabwe experienced a change in government that saw the end of Mugabe's 37 year rule and the coming in of Emmerson Mnangagwa after a military intervention in November 2017. He became Zimbabwe's second ever president. Because of the peaceful nature of the takeover there are a lot of arguments on the new dispensation locally, regionally and internationally as to whether the environment is conducive for investment or not yet conducive.

From the findings gathered by the researcher, it was noted that Zimbabwe is playing critical roles in trying to reengage with the international community. This has been noted in the elections which the country held in 2018, where all contesting political parties were been given platform to campaign using different forms of communication. Most importantly, political parties voiced in areas where they feel it needed clarification. Though the freedom to organize and speak freely during a campaign, the researcher found out that intimidation, threats and use of physical violence was directed to opposition candidates and supporters. Methods of intimidation included reminded both citizens and the international community about the violence that took place in 2008 elections and the lingering of similar violence in the event of a runoff. Hence, the researcher found that the violence and intimidation of past elections remained fresh in the minds of many voters and the international community at large. This was one of the major reasons why Zimbabwe got Isolated in the international community two decades ago. It was mainly based on rule of law, democracy just to mention but a few examples.

Summary

This chapter was a presentation of the research data. Research questions were posed to officials within the EU delegation and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in Zimbabwe. The results show divergence in the understanding of sanctions between the two entities. On one hand, the government of Zimbabwe insists that sanctions are a form of punishment against Zimbabwe and that they are the cause of economic problems in Zimbabwe since the turn of the millennium. On the other hand, the EU insists that it is not punishing Zimbabwe in any way but is seeking to have the government of Zimbabwe to modify its behavior with regards to human rights and democracy. The data also shows that there has not been much progress in terms of re-engagement between the two entities. It also shows that Zimbabwe has turned to other allies, most notably countries in the global east for political and economic support. On the whole, there are very little prospects of re-engagement between the two in the present state of affairs.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is a summary of the research which provides conclusions gleaned from the whole research, recommendations on the way forward regarding Zim-EU relations and areas of further study. The chapter attempts to provide answers to the research questions posed in chapter one. The research findings discussed in this chapter are in line with the questions posed in the first chapter of the research and seek to bring about an improved understanding of Zim-EU relations since the turn of the millennium. Conclusions are drawn from previous chapters in the research. The research noted that there are quite a number of problems in Zim-EU relations that make the removal of sanctions unlikely, emanating from the entrenched positions of both parties. The study focused on the respective positions of the Zimbabwean government and the European Union with regards to the sanctions imposed on the former by the latter. The study also offers a number of recommendations for the resumption of cordial relations between the two parties to the conflict. The recommendations are based on the findings of the study and on the views offered by scholars in existing literature.

5.2 Summary

Chapter one presented an introduction to the research. It presented the problem of Zim-EU relations focusing on the period since the ascendance of Emmerson Mnangagwa to the office of President in Zimbabwe. The chapter provided the background of the study, 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.

Chapter two covered the literature review and theoretical framework guiding the study. It discussed utilitarianism as an international relations theory and how it can guide actors in making decisions. It traced the History of Zim-EU relations up to the present day with a focus on the period of strained relations between the two. The chapter also explored the concept of sanctions, their role and purpose in international relations, their common effects and impact and if they are an effective tool in meeting the goals of the imposer. The chapter revealed sanctions as a tool of political coercion in international relations particularly after 1990. The chapter also showed that international actors have developed an affinity for targeted sanctions rather than the indiscriminate type after the realization that without targeting specific individuals, sanctions had dire consequences on populations, most of whom would not be part of the problem group. The chapter also considered other experiences of the use of sanctions in the international arena. The intent was

to understand the conditions necessary for the effectiveness of sanctions and the possible responses that recipients may make to the sanctions.

Chapter three presented the research design and methodology. The research design section is concerned with the ways and methods through which data is gathered, processed and analysed. It is informed by the objectives of the research and the best way to meet such objectives. The research took a qualitative research approach in order to address the research questions and objectives of the study. The purposive sampling technique was employed and the key informants selected. The chapter also discussed the challenges faced in accessing participants and getting information from them. The study used qualitative research methodology and was a case study of EU sanctions on Zimbabwe. Key informant interviews were used to collect data in addition to use of authentic secondary or documentary sources. The study adopted an exploratory approach to study the relatively understudied phenomenon of Zim-EU relations under the new dispensation. The chapter also discussed validity and reliability as measuring instruments and techniques drawn to analyze data.

Chapter four was a discussion and analysis of the key findings of the research. It unpacked the complications behind the issue of sanctions and the effects that these complications have on our understanding of the phenomenon especially in Zimbabwe. The chapter discussed the causes of EU sanctions on Zimbabwe from the perspective of the EU and that of the Zimbabwean government. The chapter also pondered on the steps taken by the Zimbabwean government in its attempts to have the sanctions removed since the advent of the new dispensation. This is in addition to measures taken by the government of Zimbabwe to counter the effects of sanctions. It also considered the effects that sanctions have had on Zimbabwe, especially on the country's economy and how it is difficult to measure such an impact due to a number of intervening factors.

Chapter 5 as discussed above provides a summary of the whole dissertation. In addition to summarizing the study, the chapter offers recommendations and a conclusion to the study while providing recommendations for further study.

5.3 Conclusions

The main purpose of this research was to understand the relations between Zimbabwe and the European Union in the light of sanctions imposed by the latter on the former with a focus on the new dispensation period in Zimbabwe. The study sought to understand the effects of the sanction on Zimbabwe and what steps are being taken by the government of Zimbabwe to normalize relations with the EU. The chapter also sought to provide recommendations that can lead to the restoration of normal ties between Zimbabwe and the EU. The findings of the research addressed research questions which were posed in Chapter 1. The first question which the research sought to understand the causes of sanctions on Zimbabwe. The study found that EU sanctions on Zimbabwe were a result of human rights abuses, electoral violence and the shrinking democratic space in Zimbabwe. As such, the EU sought to have the government of Zimbabwe change course regarding these issues through engagement and when such failed, it imposed sanctions. The research also found that these issues are also the bone of contention with the United States government which also imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe.

The research however found that, while issues of human rights and democracy are the official line of the EU, the government of Zimbabwe holds other views. Harare insists that the sanctions are a result of the Zimbabwean government's decision to redistribute land to the then landless black majority. The government argues that sanctions are a form of punishment by the EU for the land reform program and that the issues of human rights and democracy are just a smokescreen to divert attention from the real issue at hand. There is therefore a disagreement between Zimbabwe and the EU on the fundamental causes of the strained relations between the two. This may be due to competing interests between the two actors. The EU on one hand has a constituency that puts democracy and human rights at the forefront while the government of Zimbabwe seeks to retain power through pushing a nationalist narrative and creating a siege mentality among citizens as a way to get them to support the ruling party. As such, both parties seem to be seeking to portray the other as the enemy to their respective constituents to justify whatever actions they take. The EU paints the ZANU PF government as the enemy that does not respect human rights and democratic principles while the Zimbabwean government presents itself as the victim of an unjustified onslaught for empowering its people who in turn must support their government for taking such a brave stand. Ozdamar and Shahin (2021) argue that the recipients of sanctions can use them as a

mobilization tool for their political ends. This happens by portraying the leadership of a country (and by extension, the country) as under siege from an external source, which siege should be resisted by the citizens of the country that is under siege. This resistance is usually in the form of supporting the present leadership against both foreign enemies and domestic enemies that have the support of the former. The ZANU PF government has used this strategy to great effect, painting the opposition as an appendage of the west that is fighting to reverse the land reform program (Asuelime and Simura, 2014).

The second research question was concerned with the effects of EU sanctions on Zimbabwe. Again, there is disagreement on the real impacts that EU sanctions have had on Zimbabwe with both sides to the conflict having different versions. The government of Zimbabwe insists that sanctions are to blame for the economic downturn that has been experienced in Zimbabwe since the turn of the millennium. On the other hand, the EU insists that the sanctions regime it imposed on Harare does not interfere with the economy of Zimbabwe and that it (the EU) has actually continued to support Zimbabwe in various spheres. It is difficult to conclude the exact effects of EU sanctions on Zimbabwe since they exist alongside other sanctions regimes; most notably the US government's Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA) and other intervening factors. In this regard, sanctions may indeed be the cause of Zimbabwe's economic problems as the government of Zimbabwe insists, but these may refer to the US sanctions. In addition, there is evidence that Zimbabwe's economy had started showing signs of structural weakness as far back as the late 1980s (Grebe, 2010) which culminated in the Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) at the behest of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In 1997, the Zimbabwean dollar lost more than 50% of its value in a single day, something economists attribute to the policies of the government, mainly the payment of unbudgeted lumpsum pensions to veterans of Zimbabwe's war of liberation. These events show that the Zimbabwean economy was on its way down long before the advent of sanctions and may be evidence to counter the government's narrative. With regards to the effects of the sanctions from an EU perspective, Grebe (2010) opines that sanctions have failed to achieve their stated objective of restoring human rights, the rule of law and democratic practices in Zimbabwe. Grebe argues that during the decade after the imposition of the sanctions, the situation on the stated issues actually worsened instead of improving. He argues that there has been very little in terms of the desired change in behavior as a result of the sanctions. So whereas the sanctions have had an effect on Zimbabwe, they have not

been successful in inducing the desired change of behavior on the part of the recipients. Grebe opines that the EU and US sanctions on Zimbabwe may have limited effectiveness owing to the room that is afforded to the Zimbabwean government to maneuver by other bodies, most notably the United Nations (UN). He argues that mandatory UN sanctions tend to be more effective since they close the space for maneuver by the targeted individuals or groups. In summary, it is difficult to conclude on the effects of EU sanctions on Zimbabwe because of a conglomeration of intervening factors that all impact the situation in Zimbabwe. What is clear however, is that in the EU sanctions, the Zimbabwean government has found a way to mobilise its supporters as discussed in the preceding section. It is also clear that while the sanctions might have had an impact on the (economic and political) situation in Zimbabwe, they have largely failed to meet their stated objectives of forcing the Zimbabwean government to change course regarding the issues for which they were imposed.

The fourth question dealt with the actions being taken by the government of Zimbabwe to counter the effects of sanctions. The research found that the government has tended to seek out alternative sources and markets for the country's industry. This has taken the form of the look east policy through which Zimbabwe has switched allegiance from the west to eastern countries, notably China and Russia. These countries have become the preferred partners of the Zimbabwean government as it seeks markets, credit and industrial machinery to retool its industry. The government of president Mnangagwa has acquired hundreds of buses from Belarus for its ZUPCO fleet. Russian and Chinese businesses have been favoured in Zimbabwe as western businesses avoid violating sanctions. Besides the look east policy, little else is known about the steps that the government is taking to counter the effects of the sanctions. Government officials who were interviewed stated that they could not divulge the government's 'sanctions busting' strategies as this would lead to the loopholes being closed by the 'country's enemies.' A closer look at the EU sanctions however reveals that EU sanctions have more of a political rather than economic outlook. It therefore follows that any action taken by the government of Zimbabwe in countering the EU sanctions should be political rather than economic. As already discussed, Zimbabwe has strengthened its relations with countries in the global east. The advent of the new dispensation saw the government of president Mnangagwa continuing with the look east policy and consolidating relations with Russia, China and other eastern nations.

The fourth research question dealt with the issue of steps taken by the government of Zimbabwe to re-engage with the EU and establish cordial relations. The research found that there has not been much done in terms of meeting the demands of the EU in order to have the sanctions removed. The new dispensation under president Mnangagwa has since its inception stressed that re-engagement with the EU and other players in the international systems is a key objective of the government. The government has sought to dialogue with the EU but the overtures have not resulted in the total and unconditional removal of sanctions as the government had hoped. Several rounds of dialogue have been held between the two since the 2017 ascendance of Mnangagwa to state power (EU, 2021). Instead, at the beginning of 2022, the EU renewed the measures in place removing three individuals from the list namely former first lady Grace Mugabe, Vice president Constantino Chiwenga and Zimbabwe Defence Forces Commander General Phillip Sibanda (The Herald, 2022). The removal of the three individuals from the sanctions list may represent a softening towards Zimbabwe by the EU. Notably however, the Zimbabwe Defense Industries (ZDI) has remained on the list of sanctioned entities. This perhaps indicates the perception that the EU still perceives the ZDI as an entity that can be used to support the violation of human rights and democracy in Zimbabwe. With elections due in little over a year, the EU may be playing a carrot and stick game by offering incentives and keeping measures in place as a reminder to the Zimbabwean government that it is willing to punish disagreeable behavior. The failure by the government of Zimbabwe to implement the reforms as demanded by the EU may be an indication that the sanctions are not as effective as the EU had posited. Reliefweb (2006) argue that the sanction on Zimbabwe are just a small inconvenience for the then president Mugabe and his ruling elite and they had found a way around them. As Peksen (n.d) argues, elites usually find ways to work around sanctions, often engaging in “sanctions-busting” activities like smuggling. The fact that targeted individuals and entities have found their way around the measures may provide an explanation as to why the government continues to dig in regarding the issue of reforms. The attempts by the government to have the sanctions removed may in fact be an act of playing to the gallery as they remain comfortable even in the presence of the measures.

5.4 Recommendations

Zimbabwe needs the EU as a partner in international relations. While the country has survived for two decades with the look-east policy, it needs to get rid of its pariah status. The following

recommendations are made in the hope that if implemented, they will help to quicken the process of re-engagement with the EU. The removal of the majority of targeted individuals and entities from the sanctions list over the past fifteen years is a sign that the EU is willing to normalize relations with Zimbabwe. The latter has to play her part towards making this a reality. These recommendations are made, cognizant of the fact that the removal of sanctions is not an event but a process and that there are many hidden issues in Zim-EU relations that need to be ironed out before they can truly re-engage. They are also made knowing that the sovereignty of Zimbabwe should be respected and that any programme that Zimbabwe adopts should in the process and at the end, benefit the people of Zimbabwe.

- i. **National Branding:** Zimbabwe has to repair its tattered image in international relations. The country needs to urgently shake off its pariah state and become a respectable member of the international community. This can be done through adopting a deliberate program of reform focusing on the issues raised by the EU as the cause of the sanctions. Such a strategy, if followed, would help the perception of the country to improve internationally and for it to be accepted among the community of states.
- ii. **Human Rights:** as part of the aforementioned national branding programme, the country has to ensure that it makes a commitment and follow through on the respect of human rights. The government needs to show that it is committed to respecting human rights through enacting legislation that promotes human rights, the equipping of the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (ZHRC) and ensuring that all cases of human rights violations are swiftly and satisfactorily dealt with. Due to several cases of human rights abuses since 2017, the new dispensation has lost opportunities to rebrand the country as a nation that respects human rights. However, opportunities still exist for it to mend its image.
- iii. **Democracy and Elections:** the country needs to show its commitment to true democracy. Political rights and freedoms need to be respected and a level playing field created in the political space. The government has to ensure that state institutions, including the police, army and judiciary are truly impartial and independent of executive influence.

- iv. **Mutual Benefit:** Zimbabwe needs to take advantage of its geopolitical positioning in international affairs in order to court the European Union. It needs to show the EU what benefits it can derive from cooperating with Zimbabwe. This way, the EU is more likely to soften its stance towards Zimbabwe and facilitate the removal of the sanctions.
- v. **Strengthen Relations with Individual EU States:** Zimbabwe needs to identify EU states that are likely to be more receptive of its re-engagement with Brussels and use such states as a stepping stone. Nations like France have expressed their willingness to cooperate with Zimbabwe and help her rejoin the community of states in good standing. Zimbabwe needs a coalition of such states to help her do her bidding with the EU. In order to achieve this, the country needs to ensure that it strengthens relations with a number of such states, enter mutually beneficial arrangements with them and lobby them to help her re-establish cordial relations with the EU.
- vi. **Relations with the East:** just because the country is seeking to re-engage the west, particularly the EU, it does not mean that it has to abandon its erstwhile allies in the east. Zimbabwe needs to maintain and strengthen its relations with its current allies so that it has a bargaining chip in negotiations with the EU. The country needs to better negotiate agreements with its current allies so it can make real progress and derive real benefits from cooperation with its present allies. This will show the EU that Zimbabwe can stand with the help of friendly states and bodies in international relations and incentivize the EU's re-engagement process. It is disingenuous for Zimbabwe to approach re-engagement from an obvious point of disadvantage. The country needs to show the other side through actions that it can thrive on its own and that relations with Zimbabwe are for the mutual benefit of both parties.
- vii. **Mobilising Local Support:** the government needs to use anti-sanctions rhetoric for national economic development rather than just for political expediency. The government must encourage innovation and maximize productions within Zimbabwe for the growth and development of its economy. As Ozdamar and Shahin (2021) argue, sanctions can be used to create 'siege morality' through which

productive sectors of the economy can be developed. By rallying citizens to come up with solutions, supporting such solutions and leveraging on the support of friendly states, the government can create a thriving economy in spite of the sanctions.

- viii. **Political parties and politicians in Zimbabwe:** Politicians and political parties should bear in mind that democracy and development are inter twinned , hence the researcher recommends that for Zimbabwe to have a successful re-engenment program the rules of democratic principles in conducting elections by the international community should be the first steps to practice.

5.5 Areas of Further Research

The issue of sanctions in Zimbabwe has been studied extensively over the past twenty years. However, there has been little attempts to get to understand the real cost of the sanctions on the Zimbabwean economy. There is need to study how and to what extent sanctions in their various forms have affected Zimbabwe and how it can thrive even under such restrictive measures.

5.6 Summary

This chapter has outlined the summary of the entire research. It has also outlined conclusions derived from the study .This chapter also laid out recommendations to politicians, political parties and the government of Zimbabwe. Areas for further studies have also been outlined.

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