

PERCEPTIONS ON PEOPLE'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE IMPLEMENTATION  
AND FEASIBILITY OF SECURITY SECTOR REFORMS IN ZIMBABWE: A CASE  
STUDY OF HARARE METROPOLITAN PROVINCE

By

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## **Abstract**

*The study sought to analyse the perceptions on people's understanding of implementation and feasibility of Security Sector Reform in Zimbabwe's Harare Metropolitan Province. In this study 50 respondents were used as the research subjects. They comprised of 10 respondents from the security sector institutions, 20 civil society groups, 5 academics and political analysts, 5 political party representatives, 5 media practitioners and 5 diplomats. Data collection tools such as questionnaires, documentary reviews (to provide information on how Zimbabweans and others perceive SSR), and interviews were used in the study to collect data. The combination of these methods was done to reduce the effect of the weaknesses of each method selected. For instance the questionnaire and documents reviews revealed the trends, while the key informant interviews explained the trends and gave in-depth data. The study showed that people have divergent perceptions on how SSR should be carried out and this can best be explained through the realist and idealist theories. It is argued that realists are concerned in maintaining the security of the state through a strong security apparatus while idealists are interested in the well-being and security of the individual by means of democratizing the security sector to make it more professional and accountable. This study recommends that the security sector should be in a better position to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory as well as to create a favourable environment for people to interact peacefully and freely. A strong security sector needs democratic control if the security needs of the population are to be met effectively. It is also necessary to depoliticize the security sector institutions. Finally, it is also recommended that further research be undertaken in order to give priority to African views, opinions and interpretations on how best SSR should be carried out on the continent.*

**Declaration**

This Dissertation is my original work except where sources have been acknowledged. The work has never been submitted, nor will it ever be, to another University in the awarding of a degree.

STUDENT ..... DATE .....  
Signature

SUPERVISOR ..... DATE.....  
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To God be the Glory !!!

## **Dedication**

To God be the Glory. I dedicate this work to my family.

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## List of Acronyms

A.U	Africa Union
BMATT	British Military Advisory Training Team
CCJP	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation, Reintegration
DFID	Department for International Development
EU	European Union
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
GNU	Government of National Unity
IDAZIM	Institute for a Democratic Alternative Zimbabwe
MDC – T	Movement for Democratic Change – Tsvangirai
MDC – N	Movement for Democratic Change – Ncube
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RF	Rhodesian Front
RENAMO	Mozambique National Resistance Army
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAPES	Southern Africa Political and Economic Series
SSR	Security Sector Reforms
SS	Security Sector
T.I.	Transparency International
UN	United Nations
WB	World Bank
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African Peoples’ Liberation Army
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People’s Union

ZESN	Zimbabwe Election Support Network
ZDF	Zimbabwe Defence Forces
ZLHR	Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights
ZLP	Zimbabwe Liberation Platform
ZNA	Zimbabwe National Army
ZPS	Zimbabwe Prison Services
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

# **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

## **1.0 Introduction**

Security Sector Reform (SSR) in Zimbabwe has become one of the most important and yet contentious issues in local politics. At both scholarly and policy levels, SSR is an important part undertaken by nation states recovering from conflicts such as Sierra Leone, Liberia, South Africa, Angola and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Most African countries underwent the SSR during the post independent era as a part of peace-building. It can be noted that African countries have gone through various levels of conflict which have led some scholars to advocate for an integrated African model of the Security Sector Reform. Post independent Africa underwent SSR with assistance coming from various actors which included the former colonial powers. It can also be noted that after the initial stages of SSR, most African countries instead of enjoying peace and stability actually got involved in conflict which included armed rebellion, coups, ethnic and religious wars. The military and security institutions in one way or the other fuelled these conflicts. This greatly compromised military professionalism as governance and democratic oversights were affected resulting in the same security institutions becoming less and less accountable to the state. The western countries in particular, the United Kingdom and the United States of America as well as civic groups and some political parties have been calling for SSR in Zimbabwe as part of the peace-building process. However, there has not been an integrated approach to the issue of SSR in Zimbabwe. Questions have therefore been raised on whether the call for SSR by civic organizations



and politicians in developing countries and Zimbabwe in particular has a genuine objective of creating good governance and democracy.

### **1.1 Background to the study**

The concept of Security Sector Reform (SSR) in Zimbabwe started some ten years back and the voice was coming from local political parties, civic bodies, think tanks and intellectuals (Mahoso, 2012:2). The issue attracted debate locally and internationally with some sectors narrowing the matter to mean a democratization of the security sector. The concept is not new to Zimbabwe as the amalgamation of former conflicting parties into the military, police, prisons and other security sector institutions is also a part of SSR. This can be seen in the integration of the Zimbabwe National Liberation Army (ZANLA), the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) and Rhodesia Front (RF) into the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) in 1980 after the liberation war. The creation of the South African National Defence Force in 1994 and the integration of RENAMO and FRELIMO military personnel into the new Mozambican Defence Force in 1992 ( Lala, 2002:5-7; Williams, 2004:4; Nathan, 2004:5).

Security Sector Reform is widely viewed as the transformation of the security system which include all actors, their roles, responsibilities and actions so that it is managed and operated in a manner that is more consistent with democratic norms and sound principles of good governance (Mcfate, 2008:7). In this context, SSR is conceived to contribute

towards a more secure environment that is conducive for development. It is argued that the crux of SSR is the development of both effective civil oversight and creation of institutions capable of providing security.

In Zimbabwe the debate on security sector reform heightened in momentum following election results contestations of 2005, 2008 and the subsequent formation of the government of national unity (GNU) by the three dominant political parties, namely Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) led by Robert Mugabe, Movement for Democratic Change led by Morgan Tsvangirai (MDC-T) and Movement for Democratic Change led by Welshman Ncube (MDC). The calls for SSR seem to be mainly concerned with reforming Zimbabwe's main security sectors namely the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), Zimbabwe Defence Forces (ZDF), Zimbabwe Prison Services (ZPS), Judiciary and the State Intelligence. The calling is coming from the local civic organizations, some parts of the international community and Zimbabwe's main opposition political parties as part of peace building initiatives. It is these bodies' view that the current Security Sector is aligned to the ruling ZANU PF party and that it should be democratized.

The Security Sector Reform (SSR) in Zimbabwe is the cornerstone and the centre of controversy in local and international politics. This study therefore, sought to investigate the likely impacts, both positive and negative thereof, arising from reforming the SSR if

implemented since the discourse is a contested field. The central question lies on who will design, plan, sponsor and implement as well as whose ideas are underpinning the security sector transformation in Zimbabwe. The fears whether real, or perceived, emanate from the suspicions the SS has of Western countries. Tendi (2014:4) argues that changes in western foreign policy towards Zimbabwe were also instrumental in the growth of a siege mentality in the military command. A perceived western onslaught on Zimbabwe's sovereignty through negative international media coverage, the application of sanctions by the United States government and the unceremonious withdrawal of the British Military Advisory Training Team (BMATT) from Zimbabwe in 2001 has worsened the suspicions between the SS and the Western countries (Tendi, 2014:3). It must also be noted that calls made by the UK and US governments for UN military intervention over alleged abuse of human rights raised suspicion of an imminent western military attack among many in the SS. The European Union applied targeted sanctions on military generals, solidifying their belief that Zimbabwe was facing an onslaught from western countries (ibid:4). Cheeseman and Tendi (2010:217) point out that, drawing on their service as guerilla fighters in Zimbabwe's liberation war, the military generals see themselves as the guardians of Zimbabwean sovereignty and refuse to countenance the defeat of ZANU PF, the deliverer of Zimbabwean independence.

This research was born out of a desire to critically analyse SSR which has become a topical issue in Zimbabwe. Professionalism within the security sector (SS) in the context of SSR has created a lot of interest among stakeholders such as politicians, political

parties, the military, NGOs, civic groups, the EU, America and many others. There seems to be a huge gap in perception concerning SSR in Zimbabwe with one group in favour of such reforms and the other totally opposed to these reforms. The study seeks to examine these divergent perceptions in an attempt to come up with favourable recommendations to address the debate at hand. Research carried out in the past has mainly concentrated on reforming the security sector following the 1990s Eastern Europe examples which were initiated by Western democracies. Other research work such as that by Mcfate (2008), Isima (2010) and Jackson (2011) has also focused on a more state-centric approach to security where arguments have been raised to capacitate the SS instead of reforming it.

An important reason for this study also came as a result of growing concern and awareness of how the issue of SSR is fixed on the Eurocentric model. This concern has created friction between those who are in support and those who are opposed to SSR as mentioned above and outlined below. The most pertinent issues being debated on SSR, is that the army should not be partisan and it must be restricted to its core duty of defending the nation against aggression. When countries undertake SSR, the main objective would be to enhance military professionalism. Professionalism within the military is a key aspect to any SSR process especially in peace building efforts as it has a huge bearing on both state and human security. Professional security institutions therefore play a critical role in the SSR process. In Zimbabwe, there has not been an integrated approach to SSR as a key element of both state and human security. The quest to have an African approach in

solving African problems in order to have sustainable peace and stability is rather incoherent (Williams, 2000:6). It is the need for a consideration of other approaches other than the neo-liberal one that concerns this study.

## **1.2 Purpose of the Study**

SSR is an area that has been dealt with yet, in Zimbabwe a consensus on how it should be carried out remains under researched. It is actually of great concern that if nothing is done in this field, the country will remain heavily polarized in the political sphere. Every country's future and prosperity can be guaranteed through a strong security sector that is accountable, democratic and is non-partisan. As noted by Clare Short in Bellamy (2003:106) SSR should support the establishment of structures of proper civilian control over the military; help in training members of the military in international humanitarian law and human rights; strengthen national parliamentary oversight of the security apparatus; support civilian organizations that might act as watchdogs over the security sector and support the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants. This study focuses on the perceptions on people's understanding of implementation and feasibility of Security Sector Reform in Zimbabwe's Harare Metropolitan Province with an aim of coming up with a coherent approach to SSR.

### **1.3 Statement of the problem**

Zimbabwe's SSR exercise started the time the Southern African state attained independence in 1980. It is therefore the argument of this study that SSR is usually or mostly carried out after a war or civil strife and not or rarely in a state that is enjoying peace. This study will therefore analyse the divergent perceptions which have characterised and compromised the SSR debate. At stake is the perception whether SSR can make Zimbabwe's SS more efficient and effective or it will weaken Zimbabwe's SS making it vulnerable to regional and international predatory states.

Hence, the primary concern of this research is to scrutinize how issues of SSR have been lobbied, perceived and received in Zimbabwe. However, a problem seems to have arisen owing to uncoordinated and incoherent opinions on what constitutes SSR. Divergent approaches on how to tackle the issue of SSR have emerged. This gap needs to be filled.

### **1.4 Objectives**

The objectives of the study are to,

1. Examine whether the call for SSR in Zimbabwe can be regarded as a case of full local ownership
2. Explore Zimbabwe's SSR debate through an analysis of the different points of view.
3. Establish and recommend whether the implementation of SSR could bring good governance, rule of law and democracy.

4. Determine the rationale behind calling for SSR by the local civic organisations, political parties and the international community.

## **1.5 Research Questions**

1. What are the divergent views of actors in the SSR debate?
2. To what extent is the call of SSR justified in the case of Zimbabwe?
3. How is the call of SSR in Zimbabwe affecting the local communities?
4. How can the implementation of SSR bring good governance, rule of law and democracy?

## **1.6 Hypothesis**

In this thesis I propose the hypothesis that the perceptions on security sector reform in Zimbabwe are based on divergent views either to weaken security institutions or strengthen them.

## **1.7 Importance of the study**

Many scholars who use the Western liberal model of SSR say that Zimbabwe's SS lacks professionalism. These African scholars agree with Edmunds' assertion that effective and democratic civilian control of the security sector is a key component of any process of democratization. This is clearly seen in research papers, articles, journals and also books

written by the likes of Martin Rupiya (2009), Knox Chitiyo (2009), Sabelo Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2002) and many others.

The importance of this study is that the results of this analysis may enable governments and those undertaking policy studies in Africa to come up with viable professional military ideas which will help address some of the problems encountered so far in carrying out security sector reforms. It will also help in complementing various approaches that African governments would want to introduce, as well as serve as the basis for more research on how best to initiate reforms in countries born out of a liberation struggle.

This study is also valuable because it contributes immensely to the discourse and analysis of SSR and it is through such critical analysis that SSR can be improved and redesigned as to suit the needs of different societies and environments. The idea of a one size fits all SSR approach needs to be done away with. This thesis also adds to the literature on Zimbabwe's SSR which is mostly Euro-centric. To my understanding, SSR has not been adequately critiqued from a realist perspective. Daniel Bendix and Ruth Stanely (2008) have observed that a number of analysts question whether Sierra Leone's SSR process can be regarded as a case of full local ownership. Therefore, this study is among the few works establishing and making a crucial input to the knowledge base on SSR ownership.



Finally, the research is essential for the reason of educating security personnel on how best they can address issues of Professionalism.

### **1.8 Assumptions of the study**

The study assumes that the implementation of the SSR in Zimbabwe will de-militarize and democratize the security sector. The researcher further assumes that SSR will improve civil-military relations. It is also assumed that the implementation of SSR in Zimbabwe will improve good governance, rule of law and democracy. Calls for SSR in Zimbabwe will weaken its security sector making it vulnerable to predatory states in the anarchical international system.

### **1.9 Delimitations of the Study**

The study is primarily focused on the Zimbabwean SSR as a case study for the period 2000 to 2013. It will focus mainly on Harare Metropolitan Province.

## **1.10 The Limitations of the Study**

The subject of this study was too wide for a thorough treatment within the limitations of a Masters dissertation. This implies that certain issues were not given the detailed analysis they deserved. While this study examines SSR, it was mainly concerned with the perceptions surrounding the call for reforms rather than with issues to do with security ethics.

Hans Morgenthau (2006) observed that states are the most important actors in the international system. As such issues of security and national interest are very central to state existence. Information on state security may not be easy to access. Anyone familiar with the political scenario in Zimbabwe, especially on military security information would readily be aware of the potential hazards of security sector research. The risks are real, numerous and sometimes very dangerous.

For the purpose of this study, security sector will be limited to defence, law enforcement, prisons and intelligence services. Despite all these limitations this did not deter the researcher who did all one could do to carry out the study i.e. giving questionnaires and interviewing members of the military undertaking postgraduate studies at various Universities in Harare, those at the Zimbabwe defence staff college and serving and retired contacts in the army, police, the quasi militia groups and some civilians. The

researcher also works for one of the SS institutions and this made it easier for her to get access to security sector institutions.

### **1.11 Definition of key terms**

This section looks into the working definitions of the terms that will be used in the context of this study. The terms include the following:

#### **Politics**

In the context of this study politics means power struggles for dominance in a political system.

#### **Security**

In this study security means the protection of the people, as well as the, state and its government from espionage, sabotage, subversion, acts of foreign interference or terrorism, both within and outside the state.

#### **Security Sector**

Security sector is a term that includes defence, law enforcement, corrections, intelligence services and institutions responsible for border management, customs and civil emergencies.

## **Security Sector Reform**

In this study this term refers to the restructuring and improvement of sections of the public sector engaged in the provision of both internal and external security. These include the defence forces, intelligence services, police and the prison service.

### **1.12 Conclusion**

This chapter introduced the research study as a whole by giving a glance at the critical issues herein. It has been established in this chapter that SSR in Zimbabwe is shrouded in divergent perceptions. The issue of interpreting SSR as a threat to national security at the national level has been briefly outlined. Thus, the next chapter focused on the literature review.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.0 Introduction**

Literature review is the focused attempt to get more familiar with what has been said and done on your problem area from documented information. There is growing literature on Zimbabwe's SSR. Most of this work can be found in journal articles, monographs, summaries and reports. This chapter will begin with a theoretical framework within which SSR can be analyzed and viewed then it will proceed to look at a brief background of SSR, divergent perceptions of SSR in Zimbabwe, SSR and democratization, SSR ownership. All will be looked at within the theories of realism and idealism (liberalism).

### **2.1 Theoretical Framework**

Any adequate analysis of SSR requires a fundamental understanding of the paradigms underlying the views expressed with respect to the nature of the security sector. Two broad contrasting theories of realism and idealism can best help explain how the security sector is perceived in the international system as well as in Zimbabwe. The research discusses these two divergent perspectives with respect to security, military leadership and governance. The two views are equally scientific and informative; each looks at the nature of SSR from a certain paradigmatic viewpoint; and together they provide a more balanced view of the impact of SSR in Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular.

The purpose of this paper is not to look at SSR using a single idea but rather recommend that various perspectives may be drawn as to deepen our understanding of the issue at hand as well as to provide a more balanced understanding of the phenomenon under consideration. It can be argued that the process through which compliance with SSR is being proposed by civic groups, opposition political parties and some Western countries in Zimbabwe can be perceived to be rather faulty and very suspicious, therefore, the relationships between the nationalist leadership and civil society remain tensed as will be analysed in the case study.

Idealism can be defined as the “freedom for the individual” as it believes that humans are good natured beings. Its core ideals stress individualism, human rights, universality, freedom from authority, right to be treated equally under the protection of law and duty to respect and treat others as “ethical subjects” as well as freedom for social action. (Doyle, 1983: 206-207) Fukuyama, (1992: 42) points out that closely connected to these individual freedoms is the concept of representative government as well as the importance of the ownership of private property, right to free economic activity without state interference. Idealist scholars such as Kant (1675) focused on harmony between people overseen by institutions such as judiciary and the representative form of the government where leaders exercise their authority with the consent of “free people existing in a political order” (Kant, 1675).

One of the followers of idealism, Woodrow Wilson, placed the blame for war on power politics, the scheming of secret diplomacy, and the sinister interests of undemocratic leaders. Idealism also came to prominence after the First World War when the President of the United States of America, Woodrow Wilson laid down the foundation for the League of Nations. This liberal gesture by Woodrow Wilson in fact held its foundations in Kant's concept of Perpetual Peace which laid down three articles of peace, the first of which stressed that the constitution of the countries must safeguard the essential freedoms of their citizens (Williams, 2006:25).

A central proposition for idealism lies in the democratic peace theory. The democratic peace theory takes its foundations from Kant's work and builds towards the conclusion that democracies rarely fight with each other. Idealists argue that democracies are inherently peaceful states which do not go to war easily and between two democracies, the occurrence of war has been a rather rare occurrence. It has been stated that, the assumption that democracies hardly ever go to war with each other is "as close as anything to an empirical law in international politics" (Levy, 1989: 88). The frequency of war meant that the rights and freedoms of individuals were continually threatened by aggressive states. In Kant's (1795) view, it was the duty of all individuals and states to bring about the abolition of war by embarking on a progressive goal towards perpetual peace. Small and Singer (1976) note that the premise of Kant's work is that peace is not a natural condition in world politics and that, through the application of republicanism and liberty, politics should exist to maintain a peaceful order of republican states

established through civil constitutions and abiding by international laws. Easley (2004) also points out that the democratic peace theory is concerned with how liberal institutions within a state encourage and participate in free debate, in theory removing the capacity of leaders to follow ambitions outside of the public interest. Russett (1993) adds that the decision to go to war taken within a liberal democracy must first pass through several constitutional institutions that place constraints on the ability to take quick, single-minded decisions. Hence, the liberal democracy is deemed rational and (in theory) allows the public to effectively control the decision to go to war. This idealist perspective implies that major decisions which have a bearing on security sector institutions should also be carried out with the consent of the citizens. Proponents of SSR see this as a democratization of the security sector. Such idealist arguments are quite relevant to this study. The security sector needs to be democratized as to make it more accountable to the people. Idealists are more interested in human security than state security.

However, critics of idealism also argue that, “certain countries at the forefront of efforts to promote SSR, such as the Western countries, are also leaders in the international arms trade (Smith 2001:15).” Very often traditional suppliers of defence equipment are also traditional suppliers of overseas economic aid. This raises the distinct possibility that countries advocating and possibly funding SSR programmes may also be attempting to sell state-of-the-art equipment to the very same nations. It can also be concluded that the response to 9/11 and the terror attacks that followed in Europe and elsewhere, suggest



that when faced with extreme and unexpected violence, the tenets of democratic governance, accountability and transparency are not absolute, even among the major proponents of democracy. What has been witnessed over the years is the willingness of Western democratic states to make decisions that undermine and erode the guiding principles behind the call for SSR.

Realism on the other hand, is a political theory that traces its intellectual roots to the ancient Greek Historian Thucydides and his account of the Peloponnesian wars between Athens and Sparta (431-404 BC), and especially the sixteenth – century political thoughts of the Italian theorist Nicollo Machiavelli as well as the seventeenth century English historian, Thomas Hobbes. (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff: 1980:17) Thomas Hobbes (1985) put forth the view that man operated in a state of nature where no law existed above him to prevent him from acting immorally or according to a specified set of rules. This state of nature shaped human nature which according to Hobbes was characterized by “competition, diffidence and glory” amongst humans (Hobbes, 1985: 185). For realists, every state functions to garner safety and as there is no power to keep states moral, they indulge in competition which often results in “war of all against all” (ibid). Realist thinking was formalized by Morgenthau (2006) who outlined six principles of political realism. He stated that realism held its foundations in human nature, thus further cementing Hobbes’ hypothesis. By examining his six principles of political realism, his main points are that states are the primary actors; national interest is

hard to define but the minimum goal is survival, and national interest is defined, however, in terms of power. Morality is once again irrelevant since there are no universal moral principles which can be applied at all times. Morgenthau (2006:9) argues that, international politics is governed by states which pursue their natural interests by pursuing power.

Realists believe that, as all states exist in a state of anarchy in the international arena of politics, they all pursue self interest and try to acquire power to secure them and ensure their survival in a system where no other state or authority will come to save them if they fail to do (Waltz, 1979: 104). Theorists such as Waltz (1979) argues that “because some states may at any time use force, all states must be prepared to do so-or live at the mercy of their militarily more vigorous neighbours”, however this does not apply that there is constant warfare and conflict amongst states in the state of anarchy but as Mearsheimer (1994) explains that there is not constant war but “relentless security competition with the possibility of war looming in the background”. In such a situation, no one state can trust another therefore cooperation is limited and unstable when it occurs. States function on a zero-sum principle because they are present in a structure which compels them to seek security which results in competition between states and creates the possibility of state’s cheating their way out of an alliance to gain more power and security (Mearsheimer, 1994: 11; Waltz, 1979: 106).

Realists value national security above all other things and that military strength makes them safe. Most realists see a strong security sector as inevitable and any reforms that are not in line with security sector autonomy and efficacy as very unlikely (Morgenthau,1980). Their assumptions are entrenched on the nature of the international anarchic system which they argue does not enable unjustified security reforms and they accept a preponderant security system. Realists believe that the abolition of weapons is not practical. Charles Kegley and Robert Wittkopf (1985) argue that most nations are reluctant to engage in arms limitations in an atmosphere in which trust of their adversaries is lacking, and such trust is unlikely to be fostered as long as those adversaries remain armed. This might in turn, make any country unwilling to reform its security sector since scholars like Ken Booth (1991) and Patrick Morgan (2007) have pointed out that realists see states as preoccupied with their own physical safety and autonomy, in an international system defined by anarchy. This paper will also test the applicability of this theory to the Zimbabwean case.

However, critics of realism such as Keohane and Martin (1995), Doyle (1983) and Nye (2004) argue that it is not clear whether or not large security sectors and huge arms deposits promote national security or provoke costly arms races and military budgets. Questions that these critics ask are that: are states more prone to act aggressively when they are strong or weak and are interests of states better served through military might or cooperation?( Doyle, 1983;Nye, 2004).

## **2.2 Brief Background of SSR**

The concept of security sector reform was first put forward to a larger public in a speech by Clare Short (1998), first Minister for International Development in the newly-created Department for International Development (DFID) by the Labour government that came to power in Britain in 1997. The need for comprehensive reform of the ‘security sector’ had been identified earlier, but it was the speeches by Short (1998, 1999), and the policy statements by her department (UK DFID, 1999, 2000, 2002) that made ‘security sector reform’ prominent as a term and as a concept (Brzoska, 2003:3, Williams 2000:3, Hendrickson 1999:9-10, Law 2011:2).

The United Kingdom’s (UK) development minister, Clare Short, identified five key areas of SSR that DFID intended to promote. They were:

- supporting the establishment of structures of proper civilian control over the military;
- training members of the military in international humanitarian law and human rights;
- strengthening national parliamentary oversight of the security apparatus;
- supporting civilian organizations that might act as watchdogs over the security sector;
- supporting the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants.(Bellamy, 2003:106)

It was after the Cold War in the late 1990s that most European state armies were downsized, military expenditure declined and the role of the military was reduced and defence expenditures were placed under increasing scrutiny for transparency (Sugden, 2003:7). The argument was that the allocation of these resources to the social sector, namely the areas of health and education would better serve the interests of the people (Lala, 2003:7). The end of the Cold War is widely perceived in the literature as the root of SSR (for example, Ball, 2001; Hendrickson, 2001). The origins of SSR lay in the growing recognition within the 'development' or 'aid' community that development and security are interdependent (Bellamy, 2003:101). SSR as a concept "came to be used, first by the authors from the development economics school. They were concerned about the negative effects of the unreformed security sector to the development of the economies in the developing and less developed countries. The implicit assumption of the development paradigms has been that the promotion of social development and economic growth automatically enhances peace and stability" (Yusufi, 2004:2). Duffield (2001:16) observes that, "there has been a noticeable convergence between security and development to the extent that they are now seen as interdependent." SSR has, in the past, been conventionally addressed by development departments (Fitz-Gerald, 2003:1). For some time the UK has seen security as a major part of its development focus and as a major threat to human security (Jackson, 2011:1803).

Egnell and Halden (2009:28) point out that SSR is a concept that was "coined in development policy circles and has received growing attention in wider political and

policy-oriented circles over a number of years. SSR is an important concept as it provides an amalgamation of the previously separated fields of security and development studies.” One of the manifestations of this recognition is the increasing involvement of donor governments and development practitioners in SSR security, particularly in the UK (Smith, 2001: 15). There has been increasing recognition by the donor community including the OECD (OECD), the World Bank (WB), the UN and the European Union (EU) that, in the absence of security, key development objectives and structural stability cannot be achieved. The reform of the security sector is now increasingly seen as a means of promoting sustainable peace and development (Lilly et al, 2002:1).

The growing literature on SSR has over the years embodied many themes which are broad and diverse. The literature of the origins of SSR can be traced to some of the following works: Bendix and Stanley (2008); Law (2007) Ball (2001); Lilly et al, 2002. There is also a diverse range of SSR themes which include conflict prevention, conflict management, conflict resolution, peace building, Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration[DDR] (Greene, 2003; Ebo, 2005; Luethold, 2004; Rubin, 2006, Call and Cousens, 2008); development and poverty alleviation (Abrahamsen and Williams, 2006:2; Bendix and Stanley, 2008:8-9; Smith, 2006; van Veen, 2007) democratization and good governance (Ebo, 2005:3; Lilly et al 2002, Ball, 2005; Knight, 2009; Hernandez, 2005).

Hendrickson and Karkoszka (2003:4) hold that “despite the fact that security sector reform is moving up on the international agenda, it remains a new area of activity. There is still no consensus on how to define the concept of security sector reform or on what the objectives and the priorities for international assistance should be.” This is highlighted by the various definitions and aims of SSR coming from academics, epistemic communities (think tanks), and security and development practitioners. SSR is referred to as the reform process of security institutions and organisations with the objective of improving efficiency and democratic control (Sugden, 2006:2). According to Greene (2011:2), SSR ranges from relatively modest reforms in one or more security sector agency (army, border guards, etc) or its governance (Ministry of Defence, Financial Oversight, etc) to the thorough transformation of much of the security sector and its relationship to government and society. Belloncle (2006:2) is of the view that “SSR aims to address a double deficit, that of security and democracy. The concept aims to 'transform the security institutions so that they play an effective, legitimate and democratically accountable role in providing external and internal security for their citizens.” Omotola (2006:3) in concurrence with Belloncle also points out that:

The whole idea of SSR is to reposition the security sector in such a way as to adequately equip it to provide security to the state and society in an effective and efficient manner, and in the framework of democratic civilian control. In other words SSR is to allow for a good governance of the security sector predicated upon the ideals of efficiency, equity and accountability.

The Department for International Aid (DFID) sees SSR as a comprehensive programme tackling a wide range of activities from governance issues to technical assistance with

the objective of increasing accountability and transparency of security sector institutions (DFID, 2002: 18). For the OECD, SSR means transforming and integrating the security system to operate in a manner consistent with democratic norms and the tenets of good governance (Mcfate, 2008:7).Horn et al (2006:109) argue that reforms of the security sector are based on the premise that a professional and accountable security apparatus is a pre-condition for the stable development of state and society.Other definitions of SSR can be found in the works of Hendrickson and Karkoszka, (2002); Wulf, (2004); Ball, (2004); Brzoska, (2003) and Law, (2011).

### **2.2.1 UN definition of SSR**

In January 2008, the UN secretary-general (Kofi Anan) released a report entitled “Securing Peace and Development: The Role of the United Nations in Supporting Security Sector Reform.” The report was significant in that it was the UN’s first clear articulation of a definition of the security sector and the objectives of security sector reform (Mcfate: 2008). The preparation of the report was done after broad consultation with member states, regional organizations, research centres, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), UN field missions, and other stakeholder groups. The UN report describes SSR as a process of assessment, review, and implementation, as well as monitoring and evaluation, led by national authorities, which has as its goal the enhancement of effective and accountable security for the state and its peoples without discrimination and with full respect for human rights and the rule of law. It is founded on a number of core principles:



- SSR will be undertaken only on the basis of a national decision, a Security Council mandate, or a General Assembly resolution;
- SSR must be anchored in national ownership;
- The United Nations' approach to SSR must be flexible and tailored to each specific context; and
- The United Nations' role in SSR will remain modest, while member states and their organizations will remain the leading providers of assistance in this area (Mcfate, 2008:9).

It must be noted that over the past years, the UN has made steady progress in putting forward its plans for support to national SSR actors, but much more remains to be done.

### *2.2.2 African Union Policy Framework on SSR*

In 2010, the African Union came up with a policy framework on how SSR is to be carried out on the continent. In the Policy Framework (2010:6), SSR is referred to as:

The process by which countries formulate or re-orient the policies, structures, and capacities of institutions and groups engaged in the security sector, in order to make them more effective, efficient, and responsive to democratic control, and to the security and justice needs of the people.

According to the AU Policy Framework (ibid), SSR is sometimes expressed as security sector governance, security sector transformation, security sector development, security sector review as well as security and justice reform. The major principles of SSR

articulated by the AU Policy Framework (2010, 7-11) which are relevant to this study are as follows:

- **African solidarity and African partnerships:**

This policy is predicated upon the principle of African solidarity, as enshrined in the Constitutive Act of the African Union, and forms the basis of engagement in SSR for the African Union, the RECs and Member States. Recognizing the role of an increasing number of Member States in the provision of SSR support on the continent, Member States are encouraged to make use of this African support to advance African solidarity and partnership in SSR processes.

- **SSR and regional integration:**

This policy recognizes the linkages between an effective and democratically governed security sector and peace and security which are essential for regional integration in Africa. In particular, as part of the continental integration agenda, this policy is inspired by the Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in the Area of Peace and Security between the African Union, Regional Economic Communities and the Coordinating Mechanisms of 2008, which makes these regional mechanisms the building blocks of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). The regional cooperation in the area of peace and security will endeavour to include cooperation in security sector reform processes.

- **National ownership, national responsibility and national commitment:**

A Member State that undertakes security sector reform activities may do so on the basis of a national decision, and any SSR process will be based on national ownership. A core component of national ownership will be the elaboration by a broad range of national stakeholders of a national vision for security and for security sector reform. However, national ownership also entails national responsibility and commitment. National ownership cannot be viable or realistic if the financial burden for reform is borne exclusively by external actors and partners. In advancing national ownership, therefore, the AU encourages

Member States implementing SSR to commit some national resources to the process.

- **National vision and parameters for external support for SSR:**

External support for SSR will adhere to a nationally defined vision of security and security sector reform. Where such a vision has not yet been coherently articulated, external partners may seek to support the development of such a national vision. At the same time, national actors need to share the responsibility of ensuring that external support advances a national vision and need to be willing to (re)negotiate external assistance if it is not consistent with nationally-defined goals and objectives.

- **SSR will be context specific:**

The current African security sectors are a result of very diverse backgrounds that have also been affected by different historical experiences. SSR processes need to be tailored to the unique histories and cultures of each national context while at the same time conforming to the framework of the rule of law, international law including international humanitarian law and internationally-recognized human rights. There will not be one-size-fits-all.

- **Informal and customary security providers and traditional justice actors:**

In many, but not all contexts in Africa, informal, customary and traditional security providers offer critical support to the State in delivering security to the population. Thus, to ensure their conformity with legal norms, rule of law and human rights, informal and customary security providers and traditional justice actors need to be integrated into the SSR process, where appropriate. In this regard, SSR processes on the African continent may need to engage a broader range of actors than is typical in other contexts.

- **SSR as part of a broader democratization and reform process:**

SSR is an essential but not a sufficient condition for lasting peace and security and therefore it may need to be part of a broader democratization and reform effort. SSR may need to be integrated as early as possible in peace processes and

it may also form an essential element of conflict prevention, early recovery, peace-building and sustainable development, including poverty reduction. In post-conflict situations, SSR and DDR may be intrinsically linked and may complement each other.

- **SSR and good governance:**

SSR will adhere to basic good governance principles, including accountability and transparency, and be undertaken within the broader framework of the rule of law, non-discrimination and respect for human rights. In this regard, SSR will be part of the continuous review of security institutions.

- **SSR and gender:**

SSR will adhere to the principles of gender equality and women's empowerment as enshrined in the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003), the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004), the Solemn Declaration on a Common African Defence and Security Policy (2004 ), the Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development Policy (2006), the African Union Gender Policy (2009), the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325(2000), 1820 (2008), 1888 and 1889 (2009), as well as to other relevant gender instruments of the RECs and of Member States. The entire SSR process will, therefore, include women-specific activities, gender awareness and responsive programming, and aim to bring about transformative possibilities for gender equity within the security sector.

- **Coordination of SSR assistance:**

Coordination of SSR assistance is ultimately a national responsibility. When and where national authorities lack the capacity for coordination, the RECs, the African Union and/or the United Nations may, where appropriate, partner with national authorities to facilitate coordination of SSR assistance and to build national capacities for the Member State to eventually assume a lead coordination role.

The AU Framework Policy on SSR attempts to give a true expression of SSR on the continent by calling for a genuine recognition of the importance of African actors actually ‘owning’ these processes and of providing the necessary resources with which they can achieve the objectives that are, explicitly and implicitly, at the heart of the security sector reform discourse. The African Union definition of SSR puts more emphasis on local ownership.

## **2.3. Case studies of SSR in Africa**

### **2.3.1 SSR in Rwanda**

Rwanda implemented SSR after the 1994 genocide. The physical infrastructure was degraded; the morale of the population was traumatized leading to massive human rights abuse that triggered the need for SSR. According to Call (2007) the well planned genocide that rocked the country paralyzed both the judiciary and the police force. On the priority list of reform was the Rwandan National Police (RNP) which was to be professionalized through in-service training. This included monitoring the police for any form of misconduct or corrupt tendencies. Culprits would be removed from the RNP (Nambi, 2010). The RNP was also reformed through gender sensitivity which entailed the inclusion of women in influential posts within the force. (UNIFEM: 2010). Because of the genocide, Rwanda was incapable of funding its SSR process. All the funding was therefore from external sources which included UNDP, with a budget of US\$1 million, the World Bank with US\$20.8 million and USAID with US\$10.6 million (UNDP 2010).

### **2.3.2 SSR in Democratic Republic of Congo**

The SSR initiative was marked by the end of the civil war and the signing of the Global and Inclusive Peace Agreement in 2002. This agreement led to the creation of a National Army as well as disarming ex-combatants from the civil war that had rocked the country. Implementation of SSR was imminent especially after the end of the civil war. The country had little money to finance the security reforms and so the whole exercise was financed solely by international organisations from 2003 to 2010. International organisations provided both material and monetary resources in the following manner; UNDP administered a US\$52 million trust fund to oversee the provision of equipment for the national police (International Workshop, 2007: 3). The largest budget ever authorized by the UN Security Council, amounting to US\$1.35 billion for the period from 1 July 2009 to 30 June 2010 was disbursed to assist the DRC government in the development of a national SSR policy, as well as encouraging the development of sub-sectoral reform plans for defence, police, justice and prisons” (GFN SSR, 2008). Despite these concerted efforts on SSR, a number of challenges continued to stall the whole process chief among them the increased number of so-called ex-combatants who continued their banditry activities in gangs and militias.

### **2.3.3 SSR in Sierra Leone**

Sierra Leone’s state security infrastructure had become totally dysfunctional at the end of the civil war. In 1999, the UN set up the UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) to

assist in the implementation of the Lomé Peace Accord (1999) and the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration plan. UNAMSIL, with its 17 000 troops, completed its mandate in 2005 and was succeeded by UNIOSIL, established by the Security Council to help consolidate the fragile peace (Conteh, 2007:86-87). Following the end of the civil war, the UK's DFID earmarked 20 million pounds to carry out SSR from 1999 to 2002. The SSR programme, mainly funded and managed by DFID, had the following objectives: the creation of effective, affordable and democratically accountable security institutions; effective reconciliation, justice and reintegration of ex-combatants; and the reduction of regional threats to Sierra Leone (Bendix and Stanley, 2008:20). SSR ownership in this case was heavily skewed in favour of the British government.

#### **2.3.4 SSR in Liberia**

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) signed in Accra in August 2003 marked the end of the 14 year old Liberian civil war and created the framework for reform in the transitional period between 2003 and 2005 (Adedeji, 2007:78). Part Four of the CPA agreement was devoted to security sector reform. Liberia's SSR agenda was outlined in the CPA of 2003. The CPA gave powers to the international community and specifically requested the USA to play a leading role. The responsibility for the implementation and funding of SSR in Liberia was shared among various UN agencies, the US government and the Liberian government (Bendix and Stanley, 2008:20-21). SSR ownership in this case was totally under American control.

## **2.4 Divergent Perspectives on SSR**

### **2.4.1 Zimbabwean Academics on SSR**

Zimbabwean academics, just like in other African countries, have of late been researching, debating as well as writing extensively on SSR. The work can be found in academic journals, monographs, summaries, reports, magazines and media articles.

Academics like Muchabaiwa and Rupiya (2008) argue that the purpose of SSR is to create institutions that are responsible for policy formulation instruments and implementation of activities that comprehensively address the security interests of a state and its society. They believe that security sector reforms should urgently take place as to create an impartial and professional security sector.

Arguments have also been raised in support of the defence forces which include the following sources: (Mabasa Sasa 2012: *Old men talking, young men dying*, Herald Newspaper, Tawanda Maodza 10 June 2011: *Zimonline*, Tendai Moyo July 2011, *Hypocrisy*, The Zimbabwe Guardian Newspapers). Most of those who criticise the call for reforms within the SS have raised questions on whether civic groups are sincere in calling for SSR or they have an ulterior agenda.

### **2.4.2 Mass Media and SSR**

The mass media is important in transmitting political attitudes and values in any state. Joseph Ranney (1998) has called this transmission of political attitudes and values,



political socialization. He defines it as the developmental process by which people acquire their political orientations and patterns of behaviour. Newspapers, radios, televisions, magazines and the internet constitute an important source of information on politics and public life. Almond et al (2008) point out that access to information has become an important political commodity in the contemporary world. Tendai Chari also suggests that all media is propaganda. He claims that: ...it is easy to see obvious propaganda from “enemies” while veiled propaganda in our favourite media is not easy to unmask. It is taken for granted.

Claude Mararike (1998) totally rejects the notion of a free press pointing out that journalists and the whole editorial board write what the owner of the media wants. He observes that, owners of the media are in most cases interested in a political agenda. Their reasons for setting up newspapers are to promote their political agendas and those of their friends or particular groups of people... there can be no thing as ‘independent’ or ‘free’ media. All media serves particular view points and interests.

Bloomer and Wray (2006) argue that in newspaper reporting, the lexical choice of a journalist can reveal the ideological standpoint from which he/she is writing. To illustrate that, they provide the following examples: Is the gunman described as a *terrorist*, a *guerrilla*, or a *freedom fighter*? In short, one needs to understand why certain words have been chosen and not others. In order to guard against bias coming from only one source in a newspaper it is therefore imperative that this study takes a multi-perspective approach to the SSR discourse as disseminated by various media outlets.

Previous studies have established that although the media provides information to different societies it can also cause a series of tensions and conflicts among the different groups in a given state. As observed by Chomsky et al (2011) and Mararike (1998) it is natural that the media will always exhibit different positions with respect to whose views and interests it is serving. The discourse on SSR in Zimbabwe requires one to include all the divergent views coming from local as well as international media outlets.

From the fore-going discussion it can be noted that both the print and electronic media are heavily divided over SSR in Zimbabwe. These divisions have in a way created political polarization between the public and private media. The public media or government controlled media is conservative as it defends the status quo on SSR. The private media or independent papers are totally in support of SSR. The major argument is that these reforms will create transparency in the SS paving way for good governance. SSR is seen by the private media as the only way to make the security sector more transparent, accountable and non-partisan. Both public and private media need to be objective in the way they look at security issues. Democratization of the security sector is necessary and so is a strong security sector.

### **2.4.3 Political Parties and SSR**

For a clearer understanding of SSR in Zimbabwe it is also imperative to have an overview of the security sector discourse as outlined in statements made by the elites

who lead the three political parties in the inclusive government. The political announcements propounded by these elites are a genuine reflection of their party's position regarding SSR. These declarations make the discourse on SSR more interesting as they reveal political struggles on policy implementation within the inclusive government.

Political struggles have shown to be at the centre of SSR discourse within the political parties' framework. ZANU PF wants to maintain its hold on power by insisting on the maintenance of the status quo in relation to the security sector (Rupiya, 2008, Nyakudya, 2008, and Mhanda, 2010). It argues that beyond their present service, these men and women also served in the ranks of the two liberation armies, Zanla and Zipra. They are greatly honoured in defending Zimbabwe's freedom as well as keeping the peace. Above all, the security sector is also credited by ZANU PF of having brought peace to other nations which were in danger or needed assistance and their good record is there for all to see. However, the two MDC formations see the security sector as an extension of the ZANU PF political party. Bratton and Masunungure (2009) argue that after the 2008 Presidential elections the security sector orchestrated a nationwide campaign of violence and intimidation as to ensure Mugabe's victory in the June run-off elections. Edmunds (2002) notes that security sector actors themselves are often also politicized, and used to play or being used to play a key partisan role in domestic politics. He further posits that the security sector is likely to have been a key instrument of authoritarian control, and as a result turns to be tied to the old regime in relation to both ideology and its own

interests. In short, ZANU PF has on several occasions used the security sector to hold its grip on power (Muchabaiwa (2011), Rupiya (2008) and Makumbe (2002)).

#### **2.4.4 The Zimbabwean Security Sector and SSR**

The ideological perspectives of the late General Zvinwashe, General Chiwengwa, Rtd Brig General Tapfumaneyi, various colonels and President Robert Mugabe drive towards a strong nationalistic and political philosophy that resists foreign interference in local politics, elections, governance and institutional reforms. Tendi (2013:1) notes that the Zimbabwean military has been ... increasingly involved in party politics since 2002. Realists have always stressed that states should never entrust the task of self-protection to international security organisations or international law, and should resist efforts to regulate international behaviour through global governance. However, scholars like Sachikonye (2011), Makumbe (2002) and Chitiyo (2011) view such statements as patronizing the military in order for the President to remain in power. David Zounmenou (2002) also argues that the security sector across the African continent has been both a source of legitimacy and a guarantee of political sustenance for most Governments.

#### **2.4.5 Civil Society Groups in Zimbabwe and SSR**

Civil society groups in Zimbabwe which include, Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition, Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR), Transparency International, Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN), Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP),

Institute for a Democratic Alternative of Zimbabwe (IDAZIM), Zimbabwe Liberation Platform (ZLP) and a plethora of other civic groups have insisted that the security institutions must be reformed. These groups argue that the present situation in which the security and defence forces of Zimbabwe find itself in is attributed to the long and difficult years of the national liberation struggle (1966-1980) and also a deficiency of professionalism and well governed security structures. Political struggles have proved to be at the core of the whole discourse of SSR in Zimbabwe. The civic groups are seeking for a democratization of the security sector through the adoption of a legislative framework which will create favourable conditions for professionalism and good governance within the sector.

#### **2.4.6 European Union and the United States of America's stance on SSR**

According to Duffield (2001:74) following the end of the Cold War, security of the individual rather than the state became a priority for the international community rather than the state. This was mainly because war and conflict had become topical in the development discourse. This led to the "securitization of development," in the sense that lack of development is perceived to be a result of insecurity. This idea was first mooted in the UK's Department for International Development (DFID). This was because the UK through DFID was key in shaping SSR related thinking in Sierra Leone and Uganda. From then on the idea has been multilateralized, first within the framework of Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and

Development (OECD-DAC) and then within the multilateral framework of the European Union and the United Nations.

It must be pointed out that by 2010 there was no coherent SSR concept in Europe. Denmark and other European countries did not have an SSR policy position though there is a particular European approach that has emerged. In Europe SSR is ‘holistic’ in scope and ‘politically sensitive’ in approach. (Albrecht et.al: 2010: 74). They posit that SSR must be developmental and focus must be on the governability of a country’s internal and external security institutions and democratic accountability. However Ball, Goodfellows and Putzel (2006) observed that many development agencies across Europe are still reluctant to engage in implementing security related activities that would involve interfacing with armed forces and intelligence services. At an OECD DAC plebiscite held in Ottawa in 1997, emphasis was put on strengthening budgetary decision making processes in recipient countries.

According to Omitoogun and Hutchful (2006) the “developmental approaches” to military expenditure and performance was further advanced at a DFID meeting in which it emerged that policy formulation, budgeting and implementation in the defence sector should be handled in the same manner as in other areas of public sector. This entailed that there must be transparency, accountability and comprehensiveness on issues to do with the security sector. This new approach was dubbed the “process” or “governance”

approach in which sound good governance practices and sound financial principles with security issues would be fused in the security sector (Brzoska, 2003: 7).

There is no US government doctrine, best practices, or even common terminology concerning SSR. This is primarily due to the inherent difficulty in implementing SSR programmes and the lack of a clear SSR policy within the US administration (Mcfate, 2008:11). Meharg et al (2010) point out that the US actually relies on more articulated European models of SSR. The United States' SSR agenda is heavily aligned with the agendas of the UN, OECD, and the EU, which contributes to an overall cohesive SSR strategy within the international community (ibid: 18). Isima (2010:334) points out that:

The UK, for instance, has a far richer understanding of SSR than the US and has made more progress in integrating this knowledge into its international development assistance. Instead of a holistic SSR model, the US has preferred traditional security (more military) assistance — usually the train-and-equip model — even though there are indications that this is likely to change in the future.

The US has always viewed SSR as training and equipping foreign forces which in a way is not comprehensive reform since SSR covers various aspects such as, “ensuring the safety of citizens as the primary goal of state security policy; greater emphasis to be placed on the role of civilian actors in formulating and managing security policy; and different means of achieving security objectives must be acknowledged” (Hendrickson and Karkoszka, 2001:178). The US SSR model was largely developed for post-conflict

and post-authoritarian environments featuring favorable political conditions for reform (Mackay et al, 2011:1).

## **2.5 Rationale for SSR**

In the event that the security sector becomes dysfunctional or has collapsed altogether and thereby highly incapacitated to provide security to the state and its people in an effective and efficient way, and equally deficient in its governance, then there is a strong and inevitable need for the reform and reconstruction of the security sector (Omotola, 2006:3). After-conflict amalgamation of former conflicting parties into the military, police, prisons and other security sector institutions is a second reason for SSR. This can be seen in the integration of the Zimbabwe National Liberation Army, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) and Rhodesia Front (RF) into the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) in 1980, the creation of the South African National Defence Force in 1994 and the integration of RENAMO and FRELIMO military personnel into the new Mozambican Defence Force in 1992 (see: Lala, 2002:5-7; Williams, 2004:4; Nathan, 2004:5).

The recruitment procedure should also aim to integrate minority ethnic groups into the security forces or improve the gender representation among personnel (Lily et al, 2002:7 ;). A third rationale for SSR may include enhancing the efficiency or effectiveness of the security sector to meet the needs of national security or policing policies and adapting the security sector to changes in national security needs and policies (Greene,



2011:2).A fourth *raison d'être* for SSR is the observance of good governance and democratic oversight. Good governance in the security sector implies that the sector is guided by the principles of democratic governance and takes a peace building approach to security (Ball, 2004:509, Ginifer, 2006; Lilly et al 200).

A fifth justification for SSR concerns post-conflict reform. Since 1993, the security sector has required development or reform as part of the post conflict reconstruction effort, and conflict prevention programmes, following coalition intervention, in Bosnia, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan and Iraq. In these countries the Western powers intervened to 'stabilize' and to help 'rebuild the infrastructure and institutions', to varying degrees, to allow the rule of law, accountability in government and economic growth to proceed (Fuery, 2005:2;Mackay et al, 2011). A sixth basis for SSR is linked to state building. SSR is a fundamental element of state building (the designing of a state's political institutions) since the provision of security and justice sit at the very centre of what states are.(see: Jackson: 2011:1803; Wolf, 2011:1778; Marquette and Beswick, 2011; Menocal, 2011).

## **2.6. SSR and good governance**

Martinusz (2004) points out that the problem of SSR took a new turn with the collapse of Communist systems and regimes in Central and Eastern European countries and security conditionality was brought forward in a bid to influence a Western preferred security sector structure .The Western European countries and the Americans preferred

the democratization and liberalization of the perceived heavy-handed security mechanisms and institutions of the former East European countries. This was done as a way of ridding them of a communist oriented security sector in favour of a more liberal one that would in the process abide to democratic tenets of good governance.

The above assumption is also shared by Germann and Edmunds (2004) who observe that if a society is emerging from conflict , then the security sector will have to undergo a fundamental role change from one structured around the demands of conflict in which it is likely to have played a central role to one more suited to a peacetime environment. Bendix and Stanley (2008) note that Sierra Leone's state security infrastructure had become totally dysfunctional at the end of the civil war, and even before the war it had been marked by its failure to control the country's territory and its conspicuous in serving the ruling elites rather than the security interests of the people. Zimbabwe's security sector institutions as pointed out by Chitiyo (2011), Nyakudya (2008), Rupiya (2012) and Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2010) need urgent reforms due to their partisanship to the elites in ZANU PF. In such situations reforms are very necessary as pointed out by Germann and Edmunds.

Abrahamsen and Williams (2012) note that the broad aim of the on-going Security Sector Reform (SSR) process is to ensure effective management, transparency and accountability of the security sector, so that it does not threaten democracy, human

rights or other development goals. African countries in general and Zimbabwe in particular are perceived as facing societal instability, inequality and corruption which are attributed to unprofessionalism in the security sector. Idealists, as pointed out in the introductory section, emphasize that the major reason for coming up with SSR is to avoid the danger of security sector unprofessionalism, a lack of good governance within the security institutions, and the constant threats posed to the citizens by the security sector augmented by poor civil-military relations.

## **2.7. Ownership of SSR**

Most of the security institutions in Africa and their ideologies have been imported from the West rather than emerging from Africa's own dynamics and processes. The international communities such as NGOs, civic societies, human rights groups have been calling for democratization of the security sector as part of the peace building process. However, there has not been an integrated local approach on how best to deal with issues concerning the security sector.

Edmunds (2002), Bendix and Stanley (2009) and McLaurin argue that while models of security sector organization from other countries may be useful as reference points for particular security sector programmes, it is unlikely they will be successful if they are used as rigid blueprints for reform. In this respect the local process of developing appropriate democratic security sector arrangements can be at least as important as the policy end-point itself. It can be argued that imposing an externally generated blueprint

for security institutions avoids domestic security sector planning processes which in themselves are a fundamental part of any country's national security and sovereignty. It can also be claimed that if the SS improvements are not driven from within the local context then they are more likely to remain superficial and will not tackle the underlying problems of the sector in the SADC region. Often, of course, reformers will be hard to find in the security sector itself, particularly if it perceives that its interests and that of the state will be threatened or damaged as is the case in Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

Bredow and Germann (2003) argue that with regard to the principal objectives concerning the security sector as propounded by Western policy practitioners on emerging democracies it would be short-sighted to aim at currently governing liberation political parties only. In an intended system of alternating governments it is finally the society as a whole that has to be convinced of the advantages achieved by related reform programmes. Donors will have their own view of what a recipient's policy should be and they tend to see security sector in their own myopic view ignoring genuine concerns of the SS in the process. As noted by Chalmers (2001), "it is much more difficult to get a government to genuinely believe in the reform in its own right, to participate in its design and to be ready to continue it when external threats are explicit." This might be one major underlying reason why certain sections in the SADC region view the Western and civic groups in security sector issues with a lot of suspicion.

SSR in Africa has not yet realized its potential of local ownership. Given that security reforms go to the heart of sovereignty, local ownership of such reforms seems even more compelling. However, despite the lip service paid to local ownership, there is little agreement on the meaning and scope of the concept. Local ownership requires that solutions to SS problems be developed locally.

There is a need to consider a local approach when dealing with issues to do with SS as to avoid undermining a state's sovereignty. What is clear from the available literature is that most of the academic work on the SS in Africa is characterised by Western ideas that do not address some of the problems the Southern African region is currently facing. A gap that still exists in this body of literature is a lack of an appreciation of the application of local views in complementing the Euro-centric model of the SS. Scholars like Naison Ngoma (2006) and Robert D McLaurin (1988) both articulate the deficiency of the European model in addressing security sector concerns in Africa and they have recommended for the inclusion of an African oriented view of the structure of the security sector. McLaurin argues that:

those schooled or trained in the West have applied (and continue to apply) the fruits of the exposure of Western concepts and techniques of national security planning but have not cared, or have not taken the time to query the relationship between the nature and environment of their own society and state, on the one hand, and the nature and environment of national security on the other.(McLaurin 1988:265).

This means that priority should also be given to local views, opinions and interpretations on how best reforms within the SS should be carried out. What is needed is a local model grounded on local African experiences, traditions, institutions and heritages.

## **2.8. Conclusion**

Quite a number of issues have been raised and discussed in relation to security sector reform theoretical framework in this chapter. It has been revealed in this chapter that the issue of SSR in Zimbabwe is very controversial as highlighted in the divergent views of various stakeholders involved in the discourse. It is true, that the discourse on SSR cannot be tackled by merely looking at it using one paradigm; rather, the debate on SSR needs a multi-dimensional approach as to be more applicable to the various demands of all the stakeholders concerned. Thus, the current research employs various approaches in order to bring out an understanding of the dynamics inherent in the SSR discourse. Hence, the thrust of this study was based on the divergent perceptions surrounding SSR in Zimbabwe. The next chapter looks into the procedures that were followed in collecting data for the research study.

## **CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter describes the methodology and research methods of investigation for this study. This chapter occupies a significant place in the whole research because of the role the methodology adopted played to provide the data needed. Some sub-headings chosen for the guidelines include: research design, population, sampling procedures, research instruments, data presentation and ethical considerations.

### **3.1 Research Design**

According Schvaneveldt and Adams (1991:39), “research designs are plans that guide decisions as to when and how often to collect the data to gather, from whom and how to analyse the data.” They go on to say that the specific meaning of research design refers to the types of study which include cross-sectional studies, time-series analysis, case studies and experimental designs. The first three designs are known as designs for description while the latter is a design for experimentation. In this case study, the researcher used the qualitative and quantitative descriptive design methods, in particular, the case study. The decision to choose the descriptive design was driven by McNabb’s (2010:35) statement that “They provide a wealth of information, which is easy to understand and interpret.” The case study was intended to answer in most cases the “how” and “what” questions which are quite significant in this study. The distinctive need for case study arose out of the desire to understand the dynamics behind the call for

security sector reforms. This research design constituted of qualitative research that was used in collecting data. The researcher chose to use qualitative research method because it is fit for the type of research being carried out. Through qualitative research we can explore a wide array of dimensions of the social world, including the texture and weave of everyday life, understandings, experiences and imaginings of our research participants, and ways that social processes, institutions, discourses or relationships work, and the significance of the meanings that they generate. McLeod notes that, “The primary goal of qualitative research is to develop an understanding of how the world is constructed.” He further points out that the world can be viewed from different perspectives. Thus qualitative research aims at knowing how particular individuals or groups understand the world. It may be argued that people already have an understanding of the world based on their norms and values. However, such knowledge is far from being coherent and consistent. Qualitative research aims at providing formal statements and conceptual frameworks that provide new ways of understanding the world. The qualitative research method then seems appropriate for the purposes of this study, aiming at developing a consistent and coherent knowledge of how SSR are understood among various stakeholders in Zimbabwe.

Despite the above mentioned strengths of qualitative research, it also has its weakness. Among other things, the qualitative approach has been blamed for being subjective since it is based on several interviewees’ opinion. In addition, it has also been argued that there is no systematic way for analyzing data collected using the qualitative techniques,



hence it's subjective. Further to this, it has also been noted that if respondents are given open ended questions, the data analysis process is time consuming and expensive.

### **3.2 Population**

This refers to a group of individuals that have one or more characteristics in common that are of interest to the researcher (McBurney: 1994). The population for this study was composed of officials from the Ministry of Defence, Ministry of State Security, Ministry of Justice Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, civil society groups, academics, diplomats, political analysts, political parties (national level) and media practitioners. The government ministries were chosen because they are directly linked to the whole discourse of SSR. In addition, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also has a direct bearing towards the debate on SSR.

On the other hand, civil society groups such as Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition, Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights, Transparency International Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe Election Support Network, Heal Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe Heritage Trust and Zimbabwe Liberation Platform form the target population of this study. Media institutions which included those from the public, private and foreign media also form part of the target population. The targeted population also included diplomats from the USA, UK, China, Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, South Africa and Botswana.

Academics from the Department of Political Science at the University of Zimbabwe, Centre for Defence Studies were also interviewed. This is because their expert views about SSR were needed for the success of this research. As Strategic Studies and International Relations experts, there is no doubt that their contributions are highly valuable to this research.

### **3.3 The sample and sampling procedure**

A sample is a small proportion of a population selected for observation for observation and analysis (Jackson: 2011) According to Jackson, sampling is done haphazardly; rather, it is done in a systematic random way. In this study, the researcher used a combination of both the non-probability and probability sampling techniques. For non-probability samples, purposive sampling was used, while the stratified sampling was used for probability sampling.

The Researcher used purposive sampling to select government institutions which have a direct link with the security of the state. In this study the researcher purposively sampled diplomats from selected embassies, government officials from selected ministries, academics, political analysts, civil society groups and political parties because the researcher felt that these people are conversant and articulate with SSR issues. According to Graziano and Raulin (2000), purposive sampling means “selecting participants for their ability to provide rich information.” It allows the researcher to

carefully select cases that can typify or shed light on the subject of study. The purposive sampling technique was chosen because it sought to identify people who, because of their experience or contacts, have special insights into the research question. Purposive sampling has got various strategies each linked to the purpose of the study and these are: extreme sampling, intensity sampling, homogeneous sampling, heterogeneous sampling among others (Bell, 1993). The researcher selected homogeneous samples for this study because it deals with participants who have similar characteristics. In my case, organisations, institutions and individuals who were selected for this study have an in-depth knowledge of SSR and by limiting the sample selection to individuals who met this criteria, the researcher was better able to focus on the central issue of SSR that was relevant to all of them.

Although purposive sampling is the most appropriate for qualitative studies, it also has its weaknesses. In purposive sampling, there is an element of subjectivity since the researcher forms a view to the preferred characteristics of respondents. It may not be possible to extent the research findings to a different research population in the same way as natural science research. Despite these shortcomings, purposive sampling remains the most suitable for this study.

After the above sampling was done, quota sampling was employed in which the number of the participants was pre-determined. The researcher had to do this because the limited time (from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 31<sup>st</sup> of March was reserved for Data collection) and limited

resources could not allow her to work with a large sample; hence she had to work out a number manageable for the study in advance.

Having done the quota sampling, stratified sampling was used to select respondents from various institutions, organisations and groupings. Males and females were put in separate groups. The researcher had prepared the black and white cards which she asked them to pick from a container. Those who picked up the black cards automatically became part of the sample study. The sample size was a total of 50 respondents. The sample consisted of 30 research participants from civic groups, political analysts and academics, media houses and embassies, 10 key officials from the security sector institutions, 5 key members from political parties and 5 key informants from the other stakeholders such as civic groups and embassies. The study used a simple random sampling and purposive sampling designs.

### **3.4 Data Gathering Methods**

The researcher used three main sources to collect data: interviews, questionnaires and documents. This was done to address the potential problem of construct validity. It is argued that in case study research there is often a failure to develop a sufficiently operational set of measures, therefore the collection of data is based on subjective judgements. A notable consequence of the subjective nature of information is that informants' views tend to be diverse and at times contradictory, reflecting differences

not only in what individuals know but also how the nature of the response depends very much upon the circumstances in which one is asked to divulge information.

This evidence is resolved by having multiple sources of evidence to provide converging lines of inquiry that can then be taken as reliable. Adding on to the same point, Jackson (2011) argues that strict and rigid adherence to a single method when doing fieldwork “become like confinement in a cage.” Therefore by implementing different methods of data collection intended to increase the authenticity of facts gathered, since the different methods complement each other. Furthermore, any findings or conclusions are likely to be much more convincing and accurate if they are based on several sources of information.

### **3.4.1 Interviews**

The researcher generated data through semi-structured interviews which were conducted between 17 and 31 March 2014. As an attempt to understand the discourse on SSR, interviews were the best method of generating data. Interviews were one way to capture people’s knowledge through interactive talking and discussions as to excavate facts from which to construct my arguments. Designing the semi-structured interviews enabled the researcher to investigate not just how and why respondents present their views but also to understand different and sometimes contradictory layers of meaning. Graziano and Raulin argue that semi-structured interviews may yield much more than those that are fully structured if conducted well. For a researcher whose intention was to investigate

and understand the politics behind SSR, using semi-structured interviews seemed to be a good option to comprehend the expressions, opinions and attitudes of individual experiences of various respondents.

All the interviews were conducted in conversational form, in what has been referred to as the interactive–relational approach. McBurney (1994) points out the effectiveness of the interactive–relational approach in interviewing as compared with the purely fact finding approach which he regards as lifeless rather than effective because it ignores the dynamics between the interview and the interviewee. His opinion is that, by developing an interactive and relational stance, it is possible to access information that would not emerge through formal and structured questioning alone. Such an approach is very necessary in interviews which look at sensitive issues of state security. In the interactive-relational approach the interviewer establishes a relationship with the interviewee and this facilitates the giving out of information that would otherwise not have been divulged. Interviews provide the opportunity to obtain and produce data through dialogue, argumentation and at times consensus. Information is immediately corrected or verified and qualified answers are obtained.

The limitation of this type of interview is that it can consume a lot of time because the interviewee has to understand the questions well. An interviewer who will be writing may have to repeat from time to time. Again, interviewees may suffer from faulty

memory, lack of insight, and an inability to articulate. To overcome this inability the researcher designed questions which could be understood easily.

### **3.4.2 Individual Interviews**

For the individual interviews the researcher also used my cell phone to record the proceedings, with the consent of the interviewees. Ten adults, six males and four females, were interviewed with their informed consent. They were intentionally chosen for the position they hold in government or in the organization they are employed. These individuals' perceptions are taken to be representative of the institutions they work for. Therefore, their opinions were of paramount importance for this research. Interviews with them were designed as a quest for further explanation to throw light on key issues brought up by previous respondents. It was also done to follow up and explore questions suggested by gaps or contradictions in the previous interviews carried out on various institutions, organisations and groups. As a result richer answers and valuable insights were obtained which might have been missed by other methods.

### **3.4.3 Questionnaires**

In an attempt to capture qualified, focused and specific answers on SSR, the researcher used a simple questionnaire. This method was incorporated after a suggestion made during a class presentation of research instruments on the 11<sup>th</sup> of March in which it was suggested by one of the participants that the researcher makes use of simpler questions

in gathering the information that she needed. These questionnaires were targeted at specific individuals who were representative of the various institutions, organisations and groups. Because the researcher was aware that some people might find it very uncomfortable to discuss state security related issues in interviews, questionnaires were provided to fill in the gap so that such people could have the opportunity to put down their views without fear of being recognised by others.

The questionnaire was designed only to reflect the thoughts, concerns and attitude of those officials who were under study. A mixture of open-ended and closed questions was used. While open-ended questions allowed the participants to elaborate on their views, closed questions provided precise attitudes to the subject of study. The use of both open-ended and closed questions was intentionally put in place to maximise the outcome of this research method. According to Jackson (2011) questionnaires are most used when there is a desire to gain information from a large sample of people. The questions used as mentioned above were both closed and open ended.

The researcher found out that questionnaires were cheap and easy to administer. The researcher was also able to collect large quantities of data from a considerable number of responses over a relatively short period of time. The researcher distributed most of the questionnaires by hand, and this made the responses rate high and allowed the researcher to collect the questionnaires immediately afterwards, ensuring a degree of anonymity and independence as respondents expressed their views freely without influencing each



other or being influenced by the researcher. The biggest handicap that the researcher observed about questionnaires is that there is no chance to probe the respondents if they give either an inadequate or interesting answer, or to provide explanations to the respondents of questions which they do not understand. For those questionnaires that were not returned there is a chance that some chose not to respond because they were opposed to the subject being surveyed; others did not respond maybe because they did not feel safe to do so.

### **3.5 Data validity and reliability**

#### **3.5.1 Validity**

Berg (2009) defines validity as that quality of a data-gathering instrument that enables it to measure what it is supposed to measure. It is the extent to which a research instrument can measure what it is supposed to measure. Chiromo (2006) goes on to explain content validity of a measuring instrument as the extent to which it provides adequate coverage of the investigative questions guiding the study. According to Jackson (2011) validity is the “extent to which a test measures what it is supposed to measure and also the appropriateness with which inferences can be made on the basis of the test results.” In order to incorporate validity in this study, the questionnaires were pre-tested in a pilot study. The questionnaires were then corrected and adjusted so that they focus on relevant areas of the study.

### **3.5.2 Reliability**

Leedy and Ormrod (2010) define reliability as “the extent to which a specified procedure such as a measure yields consistent observation of the same facts from one time to another”. To ensure that the research instruments are reliable and valid the researcher formulated questions that covered the content of each objective. The questionnaires were pretested in an effort to reveal ambiguities, conflicting items that are not relevant to the purpose of the study. Straightforward questions were asked to avoid ambiguity. Related questions followed each other in sequence. The aim was to ensure coordinated responses. Reliability results were achieved by administering the same questionnaire many times to the same class of respondents but at different organizations and making necessary adjustments until the similar results were obtained.

### **3.6 Data collection procedures**

The questionnaires were hand delivered to the respondents who were given a week to complete the questionnaires after which they were collected in person by the researcher. The contact details of prospect respondents were obtained and used to get hold of the respondents after they finished completing the questionnaire. Appointments were made first with those who were interviewed.

### **3.7 Data presentation and analysis**

The researcher is going to use charts and graphs to present and analyse data collected. Data is going to be sourced from various sources and will be presented in graphs. Tables are going to be used to represent information solicited from the secondary sources.

### **3.8 Document Analysis**

With respect to documents the researcher collected material from primary and secondary sources which included Acts of Parliament on security sector institutions, the local newspapers, political magazines, journals and the internet. These sources of evidence were used to corroborate, augment and complement information from other sources. The researcher sought to investigate whether the understanding of SSR as reflected in the documents was consistent with the contemporary understanding of the discourse as reflected in the interviews and responses from the questionnaires and interviews.

The researcher considered document review as a vital data collection for this research because newspapers and political magazines provide latest primary data on SSR issues. This is within the context that SSR has become a very topical issue in Zimbabwe especially after the 2008 Presidential and Parliamentary elections. For instance, the debate on SSR has been published by public, private and foreign news-papers with each media stable taking a divergent view point on what constitutes SSR.

The researcher also made use of the internet to access latest published journals and articles during the data gathering process. This is because the internet contains a wealth of contemporary information. In addition, the issue of SSR has generated a lot of debate since several people continue to share divergent views about the subject. As such the internet has thus become the boiling pot of all those various views.

### **3.9 Research Instruments**

A structured guide was prepared by the researcher for the key informants so as to enable the smooth gathering of data. The interview guide contained key questions for the interviewees so as to ensure complete coverage of all relevant aspects during the interview process. Three interview guides were prepared for this study. One was used for security sector personnel, another one for academics and political analysts and another for embassies and civic groups. This was done to allow triangulation of data and participants. In addition, the interview guide was also prepared so to assist the researcher at the data interpretation and analysis level.

### **3.10 Ethical Considerations**

Research ethics is an area of growing significance that cannot be ignored. According to Berg (2009), ethics assist researchers to deal with ethical dilemmas that arise in research. This section provides the steps that were taken by the researcher to ensure that respondents were treated fairly and equitably and were informed about all aspects which were relevant to them. Ethics were also considered so as to protect the rights of the

participants in the research process and to report results fairly and accurately. In the interest of research participants' the following ethical considerations were taken into account.

### **3.10.1 Informed consent**

Consent was sought from all the research participants before they were interviewed so as to ensure their rights. The researcher visited the research participants well before the actual data gathering exercise and kindly sought their consent to participate in the study. At the same time, the researcher also fully explained the purpose of the study to research participants. This was aimed at ensuring that the research participants were made fully aware of the nature of the research and their role in it. In addition, the researcher also prepared an information sheet detailing the scope of the research. The research information sheet was then distributed to all prospective respondents so that they could clearly understand the purpose of the study.

### **3.10.2 Anonymity**

Since the issue of the SSR is highly debatable and politically sensitive in Zimbabwe, the researcher took every effort to ensure anonymity and confidentiality of all those who participated in this research. As part of ensuring anonymity, no names were used to refer to contributions made by participants in this study. However, some of the participants

actually permitted the researcher to use their names in reference to what they had contributed during the research study.

### **3.10.3 Interview ethics**

During the interview, the researcher clearly explained that she would be noting down the issues emanating from the discussion. This was done to remove the suspicions that usually emerged when a respondent discovers that his/ her contributions are being recorded.

### **3.10.4 Referencing**

The researcher cited every material that was used in writing this research. Some of the information in this research was collected from newspaper articles, journals, books and the internet. This was done in line with the academic requirements of Africa University.

## **3.11 Conclusion**

This chapter has concentrated on the research design, population and sample. It has also dealt with data collection tools highlighting their strengths and limitations as well as the designing of these tools. The employment of these tools in collecting the data was meant to produce quality reliable results. The chapter also considered some ethical considerations that were observed during data collection.

## **CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter is going to look at the findings of the research. The findings from questionnaires, interviews and secondary documents will be analysed following research objectives and research questions. Secondary documents will be used to compare and contrast findings from interviews and questionnaires. A discussion that seeks to harmonize the findings and the literature review will also be carried out. The discussion will further attempt to fill the knowledge gap identified in relation to the discourse on SSR in Zimbabwe. Data collected will be illustrated using tables and pie charts.

### **4.1 Demographic information of participants.**

Information was collected from security sector personnel, civil society, representatives of political parties, political analysts, security sector analysts, public and private media, diplomats and other government officials. Some questionnaires were distributed to officials whom the researcher was not able to meet due to a number of reasons .Some questionnaires were also sent to civic groups, embassies and media houses to cut travelling costs. Table 1 illustrates the interviews target population and responses.

Table 1: Interview Responses

<b>Target group</b>	<b>Targeted response</b>	<b>Actual response</b>	<b>Response Rate %</b>
Security Sector Personnel	5	4	80
Civil Society	5	4	80
Political Analysts/Academics	4	3	75
Print Media	4	4	100
Diplomats	4	3	75
Political Parties	3	3	100

Questionnaires were then distributed in an attempt to make up for the targeted participants who could not be reached for interviews. Table 2 illustrates the distribution of questionnaires and the response rate.

**Table 2: Responses to Questionnaires**

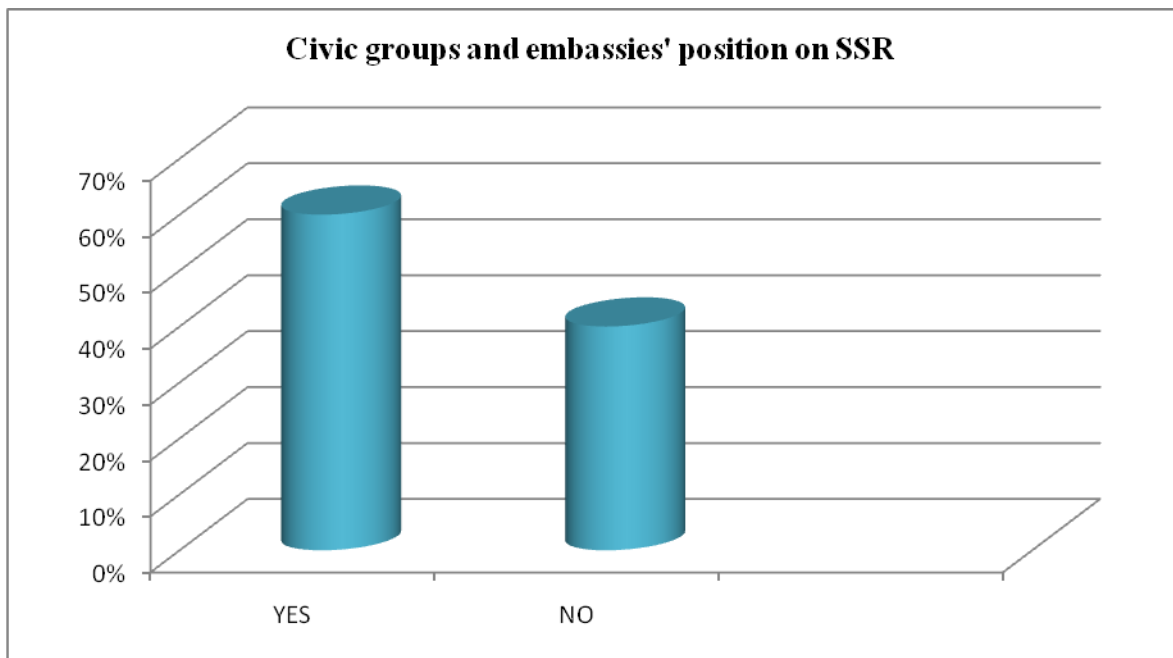
<b>Target population</b>	<b>No of questionnaires distributed.</b>	<b>Questionnaires returned</b>	<b>Response Rate %</b>
Security Sector Personnel	10	8	80
Civil Society	20	17	85
Political Analysts/Academics	5	3	60
Print Media	5	4	80
Diplomats	5	4	80
Political Parties	5	5	100



## 4.2 Divergent views on SSR

The field of security sector reforms has brought a lot of heated debate especially at the conceptual level where there is misunderstanding on what really constitutes SSR. The concept is viewed by others as foreign yet others see it as inevitable and necessary. Divergent viewpoints on SSR gathered from research interviews and questionnaires will be analysed below.

### 4.2.1 Civil groups and embassies' position on SSR



**Figure 1: Civic Groups and Embassies' Positions on SSR**

Information gathered from civil society groups and embassies is presented in the table above. A good 60% of the respondents were in favour of carrying out SSR in Zimbabwe

while 40% were opposed to such a move. Divergent reasons were given by various respondents on why such a move should, or should not be carried out. It was interesting to note that the majority of those who supported the idea comprised of civil society groups which are mostly funded by Northern countries as well as all Western embassies. The evidence from the field seemed to be consistent with the earlier findings in the literature review that civic groups are interested in a democratic security sector that respects individual rights. The reasons given by these groups were almost similar revealing that there was some sort of communication on the subject matter between them. This evidence can be corroborated by the visits the researcher made to the offices of three civic groups where she was lucky to read some Western magazines at the enquiry desk which had some content on SSR. The 40% who objected to SSR gave various reasons which can be classified as being moderate and radical. African diplomats with the exception of a few were opposed to such reforms citing various reasons which will be discussed below. Asian and East European informants were also against SSR.

An informant from a civic group highlighted that the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) continues to enforce the law in a partisan manner and the culture of impunity for police who are perpetrators of human rights violations, remain intact. He further pointed out that the police have failed to investigate, arrest, and prosecute known and or identifiable perpetrators of politically motivated violence. This sentiment is prevalent in most questionnaires which were sent to civic groups and some Western embassies. In related studies, Rupiya (2009), Hendricks and Musavengana (2010), Nyakudya (2009) and

Chitiyo (2009) have also pointed out that Zimbabwe's security sector is aligned to ZANU PF political party. A key Western embassy informant also pointed out that those charged with elections management, must be completely impartial in discharging their duties. The security sector is viewed by most of the civic groups interviewed as being partisan and loyal to one political party as substantiated by its composition of former freedom fighters and regular recruits who joined after independence and whose allegiance is mainly centred on ZANU PF. In response to one of the questionnaires a respondent from the civil society groups wrote that ZANU PF has been saying all along that there is no need for security sector reforms, yet statements made by the security sector have been pro-ZANU PF and this negates the refusal of security sector reform. A Western embassy staff member also argued that agreed SSR must be guaranteed and underwritten by SADC and the AU. Zimbabwe alone cannot engage in effective SSR as those implicated hold the reins of power and have proven to be unwilling to reform. In contrast to the above arguments, an informant from one of the African embassies clearly highlighted the actual relationships which exist between Zimbabwe's security forces and the majority of the outside world. He pointed out that:

*The Zimbabwean security sector is constantly on demand for peacekeeping missions because they have developed and sustained a proven record and reputation for discipline, professionalism, competence and accountability, yet the image which the MDC formations, civic groups and some Western diplomats view the security sector their allies in civic groups is that these forces are "armed political animals" who should be disbanded and reconstructed with the help of outsiders.*

The Zimbabwean Minister for State Security, Sydney Sekeramayi and the former Defence Minister Emmerson Mnangagwa have been on record saying that the security sector is highly professional and it does not need any reforms. An African staff embassy member posed a question that, “Did (Barack) Obama call for reforming the US army before getting into office? Every leader who gets into office has to embrace the people who are there. The security sector reform is a process and it takes time.”

The civic groups and Western countries are seeking for reforms within the security sector which will in a way create favourable conditions for professionalism and good governance. These sentiments are similar to Omotola’s (2006) recommendations that SSR should allow for a good governance of the security sector predicated upon the ideals of efficiency, equity and accountability. However, some embassy staff argues that the call for SSR seems not to be genuine but merely an attempt to usher in a government that can serve their national interests without much hindrance from the security sector. From the findings, it can be seen that the calls for SSR being proposed by civic groups and some Western countries is an attempt to bring in a sense of accountability and good governance within Zimbabwe’s security sector. Ball, (2004:509), Ginifer, (2006) and Lilly et al (2002) also note that good governance in the security sector implies that the sector is guided by the principles of democratic governance and respect for human rights.

#### 4.2.2 Print-Media views on SSR

Previous studies on SSR have paid little or no attention at all to the utility of the media in providing useful insight into the various views of different political players in the security sector discourse. The media exposes how power and dominance relations are negotiated and also the ideological orientations of those involved in the SSR discourse. Interviews carried out and the responses coming from the questionnaires clearly show subjectivity in the way public and private media personnel look at the issue of SSR.

The general view coming from the interviews and questionnaires administered is that there is a high degree of polarization concerning the issue of SSR. Those in the public media did not hide their mistrust of SSR while those in the private media were fully in support of SSR. This resonates quite well with what was put across by Chomsky and Mararike (1998) when they pointed out that:

*Owners of the media are in most cases interested in a political agenda. Their reasons for setting up newspapers are to promote their political agendas and those of their friends or particular groups of people... there can be no thing as 'independent' or 'free' media. All media serves particular view points and interests.*

From the foregoing discussion it can be noted that both public and private media houses have an agenda to defend the interests of those they sympathize with. From observations during the research it can be noted that the media actually seeks to affect the operations of government and individual politicians to act in accordance with their own interests.

Both the public and private media are made up of individuals who share some political, economic and social goals and they also try by any means possible to influence some politicians who hold public office. In the UK, Rupert Murdoch and his media empire had such influence on many British politicians and parliamentarians. Many people tend to ignore the power that media houses wield especially when it comes to setting of political agendas.

The divergent views coming from the public and private media can best be analysed by looking at the responses coming from some of the individuals interviewed. During an interview, a staffer<sup>1</sup> in the private media openly said:

*The violence and brutality which engulfed the country over the 2008 period was organised, co-ordinated and controlled by sections of the security sector and aided and abetted by a complacent and compliant police service, rendering the niceties of the Electoral Act and any other legislation designed to ensure free and fair elections completely irrelevant. It is patently obvious that if a repetition of this electoral debacle is to be avoided in the next elections, the security sector needs to be reined in. This implies security sector reform.*

Contrary to such claims a journalist<sup>2</sup> in the public media had this to say:

*The so called SSR being called for by Western funded opposition parties are also a ploy to weaken the security of the targeted countries making it easy for a Western engineered military coup to take place. The purpose of “reforms” is to persuade or force a country to adopt laws which undermine its own interests.*

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<sup>1</sup>Interviewed 9 April 2014, Harare.

<sup>2</sup>Interviewed 6 April 2014, Harare.

The public and private media are heavily divided over SSR. The public media or government controlled newspapers do not hide their opposition towards SSR as seen in the completed questionnaires as well as in several of their publications on the issue. The private media or independent papers are totally in support of these reforms. The major argument propounded by these media outlets is that these reforms will create an impartial SS. However, the study argues that both private and public media should come up with objective recommendations on SSR which suits Zimbabwe's cultural and political concerns. This is consistent with the arguments brought forward by Naison Ngoma (2006) and Robert D McLaurin (1988) that the European SSR model is deficient in addressing security sector concerns in Africa and they have recommended for the inclusion of an African oriented view of the structure of the security sector. It must be noted that without undermining the European democratic view on SSR, both public and private media should also give priority to African views, opinions and interpretations on how best SSR should be carried out on the continent.

#### **4.2.3 Political parties' position on SSR**

Questionnaires administered to the major political party representatives and also interviews carried out clearly show a huge gap on what each political party understands about SSR.

An MDC-T activist<sup>3</sup> pointed out that,

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<sup>3</sup>Interviewed 3 April 2014, Harare.

*“Fundamental to the survival of the Mugabe regime has been a partisan and politically active security sector that has violated human rights particularly in relation to elections and political activism.”*

These results are similar to the arguments raised by Edmunds (2002) that security sector actors themselves are often also politicized, and used to play or being used to play a key partisan role in domestic politics. The security sector is likely to have been a key instrument of authoritarian control, and as a result turns to be tied to the old regime in relation to both ideology and its own interests. The same idea of a partial security sector have been raised by scholars such as Masunungure (2008), Sachikonye (2011) and Chitiyo (2011). The same sentiments were echoed by an MDC-T Honourable Member of Parliament (MP) James Maridadi<sup>4</sup> (Honourable Maridadi was more than willing to be referred in person in this research) pointed out that:

*The security sector has gone too much into politics to the extent that there is a thin line between government and political party. It is difficult to separate ZANU PF from government. Zimbabwe does not live in isolation therefore it must conform to some international norms – the military must not have a say in the running of an election.*

Contrary to this a ZANU PF key informant<sup>5</sup> argued that:

*Efforts to weaken the country through the transformation of the security sector are efforts being spearheaded by the West to promote neo-colonialism. Zimbabwe’s security sector does not need reforms from elements that have been busy trying to incapacitate it. That is a project by the country’s enemies who want to weaken the state.*

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<sup>4</sup>Interviewed 4 April, 2014 Harare.

<sup>5</sup>Interviewed 9 April, 2014, Harare.



Basing on the interviews carried out and the information from the questionnaires ZANU PF politicians are at times not sincere in their arguments. Evidence is abounding that in Zimbabwe, a democratic transition cannot be achieved through free and fair elections if the military, the police and other security services continue to meddle in the process. The two MDC formations have also raised complains on the structure of the Zimbabwe Elections Commission which they want to be reformed. Scholars like Makumbe and Compagnon (2002), Sachikonye (2011), Rupiya (2006) and many others argue that ZEC should be restructured in such a way that the security sector plays a minimal role in its administrative issues. The MDC politicians have a genuine concern in calling for reforms since Generals in the Zimbabwe National Army have on several occasions reiterated that they would not salute a leader without liberation credentials (Muchabaiwa, 2011). The discord that characterises the divergence of opinion on SSR can be linked to the two theories of realism and idealism. ZANU PF politicians tend to concern themselves with the realist perspective of state security. The evidence from the literature review suggests that most realists see a strong security sector as inevitable and any reforms that are not in line with security sector autonomy and efficacy as very unlikely. Their assumptions are entrenched on the nature of the international anarchic system which they argue does not enable unjustified security reforms and they accept a preponderant security system (Ken Booth, 1991; Patrick Morgan, 2007).

However, Rupiya (2006), Chitiyo (2008) and Nyakudya (2008) argue that ZANU PF wants to maintain its hold on power by insisting on the maintenance of the status quo in relation to the security sector. These arguments are consistent with the sentiments raised by Bratton and Masunungure that the security sector orchestrated a nationwide campaign of violence and intimidation in order to ensure Mugabe's victory in the June run-off elections. MDC politicians' conceptualization of SSR is strongly influenced by the idealist school of thought. Idealists are of the view that the military should embrace leadership and governance roles entrenched on democratic principles which are driven by strong relations between the military and civil society.

MDC politicians are more concerned with the idealist view of human security. Idealists emphasize that the major reason for coming up with SSR is to avoid the danger of unprofessionalism within the security sector, arms races, the heavy burden of defence spending, the security sector's constant threats to people's daily lives and poor civil-military relations. Sugden (2006) notes that under SSR security institutions and organisations should be reformed with the objective of improving efficiency and democratic control (Sugden, 2006:2). Belloncle (2006:2) is of the view that "SSR aims to address a double deficit, that of security and democracy. The concept aims to transform the security institutions so that they play an effective, legitimate and democratically accountable role in providing external and internal security for their citizens." It can therefore be argued that the discord in approach to SSR between ZANU PF and MDC politicians emanates from their different perspectives on security. ZANU

PF politicians are more concerned in maintaining the security of the state (state security) through a preponderant security apparatus while MDC politicians are interested in the well-being and security of the individual (human security) by coming up with a democratic and professional security sector.

#### **4.2.4 Academics and political analysts' views on SSR**

Academics in Zimbabwe have clearly taken a partisan approach to the discourse of SSR. From the interviews carried out it was clear that one camp was pro-MDC politics while the other also subscribed to ZANU PF ideologies. The questionnaires were quite revealing as one academic wrote that:

*There are thousands of documented cases of election related violence, murder, torture, destruction of property, displacement, beatings, harassment, intimidation and there have been hardly any arrests where the perpetrators have been state agents, ZANU PF aligned war veterans, youth militia or ZANU PF supporters in general.*

The academic continued to point out that since 2000, MDC supporters and civil society activists were arrested by police on flimsy or trumped up charges and that demonstrated double standards by the police. It is also the academic's belief that security forces play a key role in either ensuring the smooth and orderly conduct of the elections or undermining the outcome of credible elections and hence the need to have a reformed

state security sector. Dr Ibbo Mandaza<sup>6</sup> (He was willing to have his name mentioned in this research) also added his weight by saying:

*SSR is a controversial issue in Zimbabwe. The security sector has become too strong and needs to be put in line. SSR is simply a constitutional issue. SS are subservient to the constitution and politicians. SS should conform to the dictates of the constitution and follow the rules. All civil servants should be apolitical therefore the head of state should just put a stop and say no more politics in the SS, what is required is the restoration of such national issues as it was before 1980 once the politics is done they are all fixed. Prior to the current situation no army personnel or civil servant could wear party regalia. It is possible for liberation war vets not to be involved in politics and Zimbabwe can live beyond politics as a professional one should learn to do business beyond politics*

Findings from the interviews and questionnaires also show that there are quite a number of academics who have dismissed the calls for SSR referring to them in most written responses as tools for ‘regime change’. One academic<sup>7</sup> wrote that:

*The security sector is the custodian of the country which is vital in the implementation of empowerment programmes and that the purpose of the security sector is to create a peaceful environment for economic prosperity. The security sector is important in ensuring that the country’s independence, fundamental freedoms, rights and liberties of the people which manifest themselves through total political and economic independence are achieved and against this background a strong SS is necessary not SSR.*

Dr Tafataona Mahoso<sup>8</sup> (He was willing to have his name referred to in this research) pointed out that:

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<sup>6</sup>Interviewed 1 April 2014, Harare.

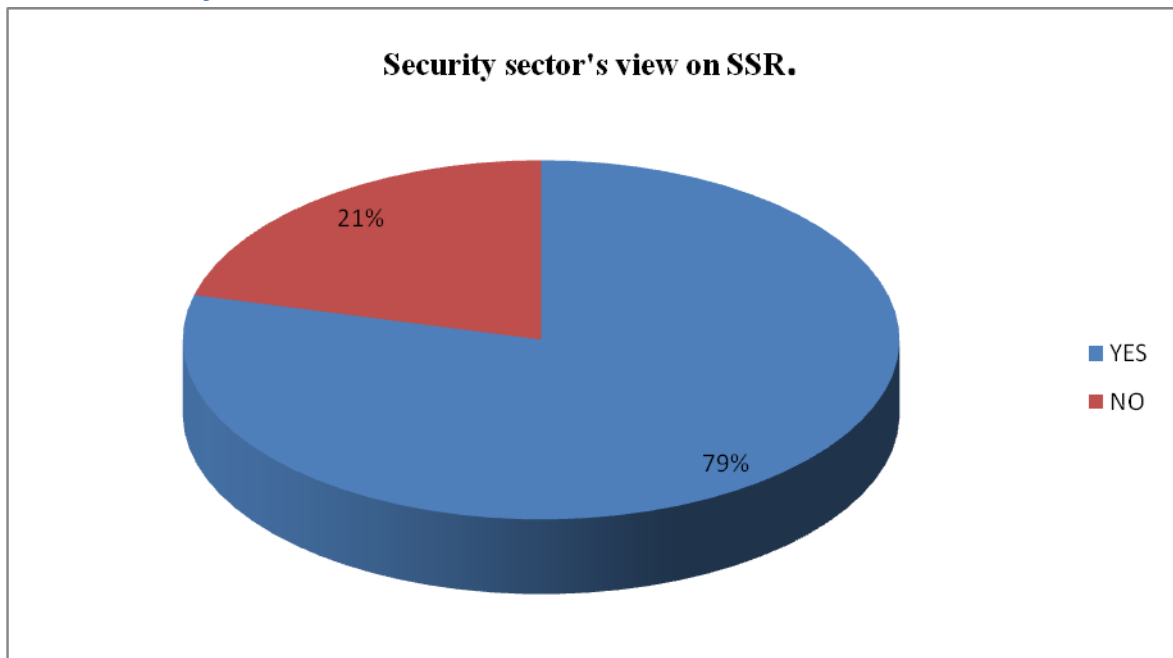
<sup>7</sup>Interviewed 7 April 2014, Harare.

<sup>8</sup>Interviewed 9 April 2014, Harare.

*SSR in the 1980s was feasible because it was meant to integrate members of three warring parties ZANLA, ZIPRA and the Rhodesian Forces. There was no controversy in the implementation of these reforms since they were meant to bring together these forces. People perceive the 1980s SSR as imperative, necessary, feasible and practical because SSR was a conclusion to the military struggle, there was a real ceasefire. Negotiations were between Britain and liberation movements and nobody disputed the necessity of SSR. British Military and Tactical Training (BMATT) came and trained these forces in order to synchronize their operations because the British as our former colonisers understood our culture better and the countries understood each other. That time the implementation of SSR was appropriate because it was dangerous for the three groups of trained people pulling to different directions .It became necessary to have one unified command .It had the support from the general public as well as leaders.*

From the research findings it can be noted that academics have taken sides on what constitutes SSR. What is interesting to note is that the whole discourse on SSR has been politicized ignoring the multi-dimensional approach in social sciences which looks at a phenomenon from different angles.

#### 4.2.5 Security Sector's stance on SSR



**Figure 2: Security Sector's View on SSR**

The above pie chart shows the percentage response in relation to SSR. Almost 79% of respondents were totally opposed to SSR being called by civic groups and the two MDC political parties. The 21% who were in support of SSR were mainly concerned about issues to do with promotion within the ranks of the SS. This shows that the 21% who called for SSR have a totally different perspective of SSR from those being called by the civic groups, MDC formations and some Western countries. In other words 100% of the security sector is totally opposed to the SSR being called by civic groups and some Northern countries.

From the questionnaires which were returned and the interviews carried out the SS showed that they were comfortable with the status quo. One key informant<sup>9</sup> from the Intelligence said that:

*The MDC formations' demands cannot be met as the security sector of Zimbabwe was created after the Zanla, Zipra and Rhodesian army were merged in 1980. The MDC formations were not there when the Zimbabwe National Army was created and Rhodesian General Peter Walls was made its first commander. It looks like these guys are allergic to any individuals that participated in the war of liberation because most of them were not there. They either ran away from training camps in Mozambique or were schoolchildren or downright Rhodesian Selous Scouts during the war. Look, there is no way we can take away the fact that our service chiefs are either former Zanla or Zipra forces. Since the two MDCs do not have armies it stands to be seen where they will get donations of trained people to balance up the equation.*

What this informant said clearly captures the sentiments of the majority of workers in the Zimbabwe's security sector. Another respondent<sup>10</sup> in the ZNA argued that:

*The world nowadays is a very dangerous place full of predatory states which prey on the weak and vulnerable. The security sector is the engine that drives world politics and economics. The rebel menace in Uganda and the DRC could have been avoided had these countries an efficient American type of security sector. America doesn't have a rebel problem because its security sector is exceptionally reliable, efficient, patriotic and formidable.*

The findings show that it is still hard to find voices within Zimbabwe's security sector who believe that the sector should embrace SSR being called for by the two MDC

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<sup>9</sup>Interviewed 4 April 2014, Harare.

<sup>10</sup>Interviewed 2 April 2014, Harare.

formations, Western countries and civic groups. This can be strongly attributed to victimization within the security sector institutions. During the interviews such an issue was raised by Honorable James Maridadi when he pointed out that “there are quite a number of members of the security sector who totally oppose the status quo and they want a change of the whole security system but they are afraid to say it out lest they disappear or are discharged from the security sector without any pension.” A Western embassy worker also observed that dissent within Zimbabwe’s security sector is unheard of. This can be attributed to fear of the consequences or the instant justice that will be meted on any individual who goes against the Chiefs of Staff.

During the interviews a political analyst came up with a very interesting point. He observed that loyalty of the security sector may have something to do with opportunities of looting or may be ideological, that is upholding the values of ‘Chimurenga’, land and sovereignty. Recruitment into the security sector has become a chance for self-enrichment. He went on to say that there are quite a number of those in the security sector who benefitted from looting diamonds from Chiadzwa. This is consistent with Edwards’ (2002) argument that the security sector is likely to be a key instrument of authoritarian control, and as a result turns to be tied to the old regime in relation to both ideology and its own interests. Support of ZANU PF by the security sector institutions may hinge on patronage politics, clientelism and cronyism.



The findings also show that the majority of those in the security sector are finding it hard to disassociate themselves from ZANU PF politics. Mavinga (2011) argues that Brigadier- General Douglas Nyikayaramba told a local paper that “truly speaking, ZANU PF is in me, and I am in ZANU PF and you cannot change that.” Rupiya (2008) also argues that on January 9, 2002 service chiefs who included the Chief of Defence Staff (CDS), commanders of the Army, Air force, Intelligence, Police, Prison Service, and National Parks and Wildlife appeared on national television where they declared that they would not salute or recognize any leader who did not have liberation credentials. Scholars like Sachikonye (2011), Makumbe (2002) and Chitiyo (2011) view such statements as patronizing the military in order for the President to remain in power. It can be argued that the utterances made by the service chiefs clearly show that they are aligned to ZANU PF political party. Service men need to be impartial. Tendi (2013:1) notes that the Zimbabwean military has been ... increasingly involved in party politics since 2002.

The security sector’s support for ZANU PF may be emanating from what Edmunds (2002) points out in the literature review that security sector actors themselves are often also politicized, and used to play or being used to play a key partisan role in domestic politics. This is consistent with David Zounmenou’s (2002) argument that the security sector across the African continent has been both a source of legitimacy and a guarantee of political sustenance for most Governments. These arguments are also similar to the

sentiments raised by Hendricks and Musavengana (2010) that fundamental to the survival of the Mugabe regime has been a partisan and politically active security sector that has been accused of human rights violations, particularly in relation to elections and political activism. Zimbabwe's security sector institutions as pointed out in the literature review by Chitiyo (2011), Nyakudya (2008), Rupiya (2012) and Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2010) need urgent reforms due to their partisanship to the elites in ZANU PF. In such situations reforms are very necessary as pointed out by Germann and Edmunds.

Opposition of the security sector to SSR may also be linked to realist perspectives. According to realists no state is willing to reform its security sector bearing the anarchic nature of the international system whereby the strong or military preponderant states in typical Thucididesian fashion do whatever they can and the weak suffer what they must. Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya have suffered at the hands of the strong in the twenty-first century. Charles Kegley and Robert Wittkopf (1985) point out that the realist school of thought values national security above all other things and that military strength makes them safe. The same sentiments are raised by Kenneth Waltz (1997) when he contends that the international system requires states to operate competitively or be eliminated. It cannot therefore be ruled out that Zimbabwe's security sector institutions fear that reforms might jeopardize their defensive and offensive capabilities since according to realist thinking 'in times of peace, prepare for war.'

### 4.3 Rationale for SSR

From the interviews and questionnaires which were returned respondents gave both positive and negative assumptions on the rationale for SSR. One respondent pointed out that, “SSR has become a precondition for human security, economic development and progress towards democracy, stability and peace. The statement given by the above respondent resonates quite well with Abrahamsen and Williams’ (2012) view that:

*The broad aim of the on-going SSR process is to ensure effective management, transparency and accountability of the security sector, so that it does not threaten democracy, human rights or other development goals.*

A respondent from a Western embassy pointed out that:

*The concept of SSR responds to a situation characterized by new opportunities provided by lifting of earlier political constraints on security-related development assistance in the context of the Cold War, as well as to the new challenges posed by demands for an effective development donor role in conflict prevention, post-conflict reconstruction, and anti-terrorism.*

The above respondents believe in a SS which promotes human development ,helps to reduce poverty ,and allows people-including poor people-to expand their options in life. Reform of the security sector therefore becomes an essential element in the fight against poverty. Brzoska points out that:

*First, the role of the state and its security forces directly impact on opportunities for sustainable development, since basic security is a precondition of economic development. Finally, greater participation in security policy and access to security is expected to make policies more*

*responsive to the concerns of the poor, as well as strengthening democracy by guaranteeing transparency and accountability in this most (and closed) area of policy ( Brzoska:2003:7).*

Reform of the security sector is therefore intended not simply to enhance the efficiency of the security forces, but to ensure that they conform to standards of legality, transparency and accountability. Civic groups see SSR as an important element of democratization. Despite positive attributes of SSR being given by the above respondents there are also those who are quite skeptic about reforming the security sector. A respondent from an African embassy pointed out that:

*Calls for SSR in Zimbabwe are not centred on meeting democratic requirements; rather they are based on the Northern countries' fear of a preponderant Zimbabwean security sector which will defend state security threats from within and abroad.*

Those respondents who are opposed to SSR also believe that the Western countries want to manipulate the whole exercise to their own advantage. A weak security sector they believe would be unable to protect the country from predatory states. They also argue that the West can manipulate the SS to bring regime change as happened in Ghana, Libya, Burkina Faso and Uganda. The rationale for focusing on security sector issues can either be sound, widely appreciated or can be very controversial. Because security sector problems tend to be a symptom of broader social, political and economic challenges facing poorer societies, there is a strong argument for adopting a more holistic approach to development that incorporates security sector concerns.

#### 4.4 Ownership of SSR

The pie chart below shows the response on whether SSR should be locally owned. 60% of the respondents indicated that SSR can be viable if it also takes local needs into consideration. This argument has been propounded by Bendix and Stanley (2008) that:

*There is no consistent approach to SSR, and that in practice, the concept fails to live up to its innovative potential. For this potential to become reality, the SSR dialogue needs to take voices and experiences from the global South into account, rather than merely reflect a donor perspective.*

Williams (2002) commenting on local ownership of SSR argues that:

*A rigorous and strategic indigenisation of the concept will be required on the African continent, however, if any semblance of local ownership is to be effected, and if any potential discrediting of the concept, from opportunistic and predictable political quarters, is to be avoided.*

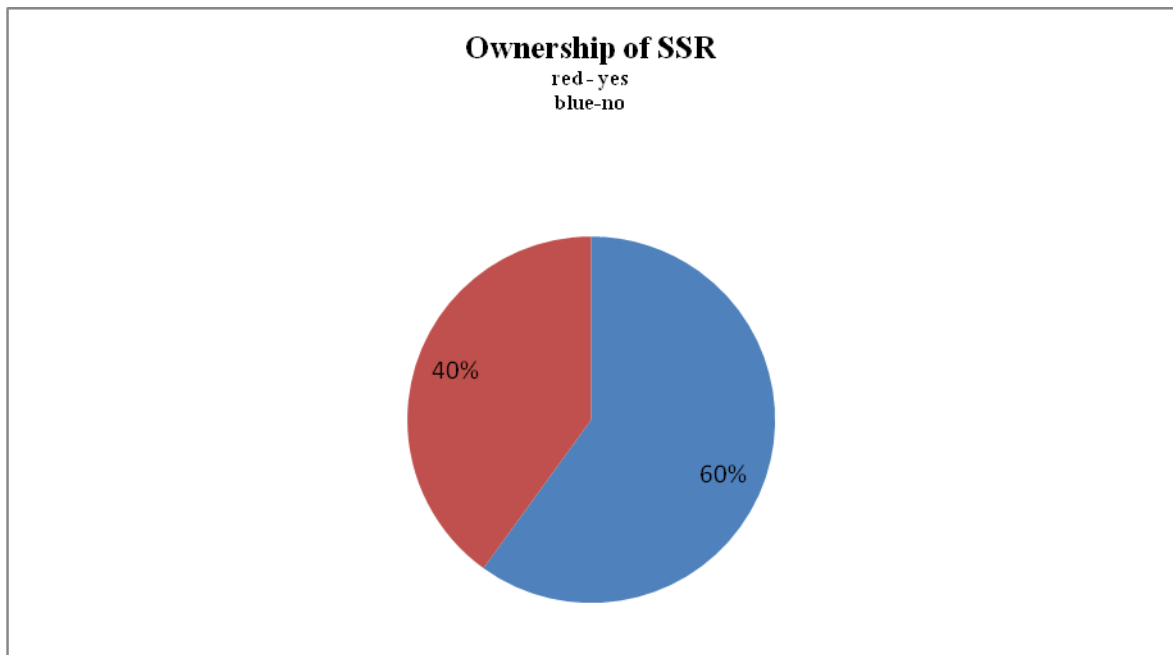


Figure 3: Ownership of SSR

Some radical theorists strongly believe that the problem faced by SSR strategists is the fact that the concept is a Eurocentric strategy aimed at weakening rather than democratizing the military. In other words it is not easy to democratize the military but rather to align them to a system of government that may be liberal, theocratic, state-centric, revolutionary, imperialistic or autocratic. The military in America is there to safeguard the tenets of capitalism or globalization while the Sino-Russian military is there to defend the revolutionary concept.

The above findings have shown the need to consider an Afro-centric approach when dealing with issues to do with SSR. What is clear from the preceding literature review is that SSR in Africa, and particularly in Zimbabwe, is characterised by Western ideas that do not address some of the problems Zimbabwe is currently facing. It appears as if it is the case that the thinking and action of African SSR scholars and practitioners is heavily skewed and fixated on the Eurocentric model. Scholars like Naison Ngoma (2006) and Robert D McLaurin (1988) both articulate the deficiency of the European model in addressing security sector concerns in Africa and they have recommended for the inclusion of an African oriented paradigm on SSR. The behaviour of the security sector must therefore be centred on African values and sensibilities that can help balance the Eurocentric ideas on SSR. This means that priority should also be given to African views, opinions and interpretations on how best SSR should be carried out. The

challenge of this study is to come up with an African SSR grounded on African experiences, traditions, institutions and heritages.

## **4.5 Conclusion**

The chapter presented, analysed and discussed the research findings. The data was mostly presented through graphs and pie charts. Key issues emerging from the research findings are that the concept of SSR in Zimbabwe is a very controversial one with neither side willing to give in to the other's demands on what type of reforms should be carried out. It has been highlighted that politics is the driving force behind the differences in approach to SSR. A combination of both state security and human security can in a way pacify the controversies which have shrouded people's perceptions of what constitutes SSR.

The SS needs to safeguard the interests of the state while at the same time it should also be concerned with democratization, professionalism, good governance and rule of law within its various institutions as well as a great respect for human security. Ownership of SSR is not also quite clear as most of the discourse on the issue is centred on neo-liberal ideas. What is also needed is a combination of approaches taking into consideration the liberation background of some of the securocrats. The next chapter gives a summary of the major findings, recommendations and areas for further research.

## **CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.0 Introduction**

The chapter serves as a summary of the whole research work. It will also come up with conclusions from the various findings of the research work as well as offer recommendations for policy makers and other stakeholders interested in the field of SSR.

### **5.1 Divergent views of the actors in the SSR debate**

#### **5.1.1 Civil society and embassies**

The civic groups and Western countries are seeking for reforms within the security sector which will in a way create favourable conditions for professionalism and good governance. However, as observed by some embassy staff (African, East European) the call for SSR seems not to be genuine but merely an attempt to usher in a government that can serve their national interests without much hindrance from the security sector. From the findings, it can be argued that the process through which SSR is being proposed by civic groups and some Western countries in Zimbabwe can be perceived to be very suspicious, therefore, the relationships between the nationalist leadership and civil society groups remain politically tensed.



### **5.1.2 Mass Media**

The public and private media are heavily divided over SSR. The public media or government controlled newspapers do not hide their opposition towards SSR as seen in the completed questionnaires as well as in several of their publications on the issue. Their major argument is that these reforms will weaken Zimbabwe's SS thus paving way for regime change. These suspicions have been clearly highlighted and articulated by most of the major columnists who contribute weekly articles to various public media outlets as well as by the editorial team. The private media or independent papers are totally in support of these reforms. The major argument propounded by these media outlets is that these reforms will create an impartial SS. The whole discourse on SSR remains politically motivated as each media stable tends to stand in defence of a political grouping it is sympathetic to. What is needed is for both the public and private media to be objective in their reporting. It is now time that both media stables start considering SSR which can be conceptualized within the African context.

### **5.1.3 Political Parties**

Basing on the interviews carried out and the information from the questionnaires, the whole issue on SSR within political parties is mostly centred on political power struggles. This resonates quite well with Machiavelli's definition of politics which is viewed as a continuous struggle for power. The two MDCs' calls for reforms are emanating more on their fears, perceived or real, of what the security sector will do if

any of the two MDC political parties happen to win in a harmonized election. On the other hand, ZANU PF may be resisting SSR as a way of maintaining its grip on power in Zimbabwean politics. The issue therefore becomes very problematic as each political party seems to be more interested in advantaging itself politically by either reforming or resisting reforms of the security sector.

#### **5.1.4 Academics and Political Analysts**

From the research findings it can be noted that academics have taken sides on what constitutes SSR. What is interesting to note is that the whole discourse on SSR has been politicized ignoring the multi-dimensional approach in social sciences which looks at a phenomenon from different angles. From mere observation it can be deduced that the issue of SSR cannot only be analysed by using the neo-liberal paradigm as there are also alternative approaches which can also help in our understanding of what constitutes SSR.

#### **5.1.5 Security Sector**

The findings show that the majority of those in the security sector are finding it hard to disassociate themselves from ZANU PF politics. A very good observation from this research is that, those who are totally in support of SSR are the ones who fought on the side of the Smith regime in the Rhodesia Front. This is quite clear in the works of Dr Martin Rupiya and also some arguments which have been raised by former Rhodesia

Front servicemen the likes of Giles Mutsekwa, David Coltart and Ian Kay. The Zimbabwean security sector has a relatively conservative view of what the SS should do and what it should not. This research has also found out that it is still hard to find voices within Zimbabwe's security sector who believe that the sector should embrace SSR being called for by the two MDC formations, Western countries and civic groups.

## **5.2 Extent to which calls for SSR are justified in the case of Zimbabwe**

From the interviews and questionnaires which were returned respondents gave both positive and negative assumptions on the rationale for SSR. One respondent pointed out that, "SSR has become a precondition for human security, economic development and progress towards democracy, stability and peace. Those respondents who are opposed to SSR also believe that the Western countries want to manipulate the whole exercise to their own advantage. A weak security sector they believe would be unable to protect the country from predatory states. They also argue that the West can manipulate the SS to bring regime change. The rationale for focusing on security sector issues can either be sound, widely appreciated or can be very controversial. Because security sector problems tend to be a symptom of broader social, political and economic challenges facing poorer societies, there is a strong argument for adopting a more holistic approach to development that incorporates security sector concerns.

### **5.3 Calls of SSR in Zimbabwe and their effects on local communities**

Some political analysts strongly believe that the problem faced by SSR strategists is the fact that the concept is a Eurocentric strategy which lacks local ownership at almost every level. The above findings have shown the need to consider an Afro-centric approach when dealing with issues to do with SSR. The behaviour of the security sector must therefore be centred on African values and sensibilities that can help balance the Eurocentric ideas on SSR. This means that priority should also be given to African views, opinions and interpretations on how best SSR should be carried out. The challenge is on how to come up with an African SSR grounded on African experiences, traditions, institutions and heritages.

### **5.4 Implementation of SSR and the issue of good governance, rule of law and democracy?**

Findings from the interviews and questionnaires show that some respondents strongly believe that reform of the security sector is intended not simply to enhance the efficiency of the security forces, but to ensure that they conform to standards of legality, transparency and accountability. Civic groups see SSR as an important element of democratization. Arguments have also been raised that it is not easy to democratize the military but rather to align them to a system of government that may be liberal, theocratic, state-centric, revolutionary, imperialistic or autocratic. The military in America is there to safeguard the tenets of capitalism or globalization while the Sino-Russian military is there to defend the revolutionary ethos.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

In this research study security sector reform has been defined as a concept that gained currency as a development agenda in the aftermath of the cold war. It refers to a host of reform interventions related to the reform of sections of the public sector engaged in the provision of both internal and external security. These include the defence forces, intelligence services, police, the judiciary and the prison service. This research does acknowledge that SSR can provide effective state and human security through democratic governance, respect for the rule of law and human rights. It has also been further noted that through civil society organizations, voices have been raised on the need to reform the security institutions so as to stem out the tide of corruption and promote development in Zimbabwe.

The research notes that the two MDC formations' major argument whether genuine or strategic is that the SS institutions have over the years been well-equipped, well-trained and well-resourced that could they be required in any event, they would no doubt maintain ZANU PF in power and, if so called upon, deploy forces against other political parties and civil society groupings deemed as subversive. They therefore suggest that issues concerning the creation of democratic civil-military relations, enhancing legislative and executive oversight over the armed forces and developing a military professional ethos consistent with the dictates of a modern democracy should be urgently considered. However, from this study it has also been observed that SSR can

make national security vulnerable to predatory states. SSR can be used more as a realist stratagem to advance the interests of foreign countries at the expense of the host country.

## **5.6 Recommendations**

Below are recommendations from this study which might help in remedying some of the shortcomings of the SSR discourse thus enhancing rather than diminishing its importance as a model that can bring in transparency within the security institutions:

Zimbabwe should contextualize SSR within the ambit of the consolidation of democracy, the promotion of human rights, good governance and the creation of a culture of accountability and transparency in the management of security sector processes. However, it should be compliant with AU principles of SSR.

If SSR is to be carried out in Zimbabwe it should allow for a much higher degree of local ownership of the process than has been the case in the African case studies highlighted in the above. The concept of SSR, despite its noble intentions and notwithstanding the fact that it is predicated on noble normative principles, is exclusively Eurocentric in origin. This should not disqualify it at a philosophical level from being introduced into the Zimbabwean political discourses. However, local input should also complement the Western model. The indigenization of the SSR to suit local needs should be considered.

To give true expression of SSR in Zimbabwe there should be a genuine recognition of the importance of Zimbabwean actors actually ‘owning’ these processes and of providing the necessary resources with which they can achieve the objectives that are, explicitly and implicitly, at the heart of the security sector reform discourse.

The concept of the ‘apolitical’ soldier should be re-examined. Even in democracies the security institutions are invariably involved in politics in varying degrees. This involvement inevitably results in the penetration of political themes and concepts into the security discourse. It should not only be inevitable that the armed forces will be ‘political’, but it is also perhaps desirable that they are so inclined. What is critical about this ‘political’ role, however, is the fact that it does not include a partisan orientation towards a certain political party. The security sector should carry their duties as prescribed and acknowledged in the country’s constitution.

The armed forces should be fully conversant with the democratic features of the system which they serve and they should also interact with any of the elected civil authorities around a range of issues critical to their national mandate.

## **5.7 Areas for further study**

1. Security Sector Reforms and democratization in Zimbabwe.

2. Civil-military relations in the SADC region: A comparative study of Zimbabwe, Angola, South Africa, Mozambique and Namibia
3. Military professionalism and the Zimbabwean security sector
4. A Critical Analysis of Professional Military Ethics in the Context of Security Sector Reform in Post Independent Zimbabwe
5. The impact of Security Sector Reform (SSR) on professional military leadership, ethics and governance in Africa



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## Appendices

### Appendix A –Clearance Letter



#### INSTITUTE OF PEACE LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

P.O. BOX 1320, MUTARE, ZIMBABWE - TEL.: (263-20) 66788/60075/60026/61611 - FAX: (263-20) 66788/61785 - E-MAIL: [iplgsec@africau.ac.zw](mailto:iplgsec@africau.ac.zw)

12 March 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN


**Re: Permission to Undertake Research for Dissertation at Africa University**

**Joyce Kamedzera** student registration number **129439** is a student at Africa University. She is enrolled in a degree program in Peace, Leadership and Governance and is currently conducting research for her project, which is required for completion of the program in June 2014. The research topic is **“Perception on People’s Understanding of Implementation and Feasibility of Security Sector Reforms in Zimbabwe: A Case Study of Harare Metropolitan Province ”**. Joyce is expected to undertake this research during the period January- April 2014 before the dissertation can be submitted to the Faculty in May 2014.

The student will share with you the results of this research after its approval by the Institute.

We thank you for your support and cooperation regarding this research.

Yours sincerely

  
**Prof. P. Machakanja**  
Director

## Appendix B -Appointment Letter

Appointment - 1130 Tuesday 1st April

**Dr ibbo Mandaza**

---

**From:** Precious Kamedzera [pdzera@gmail.com]  
**Sent:** Friday, March 28, 2014 5:07 PM  
**To:** ibbo@sapes.org.zw  
**Subject:** Request for an interview  
**Attachments:** Annexure A-interview guidepure.docx

Dr Mandaza

My name is Precious Kamedzera , a student with Africa University doing my Executive Masters in Peace and Governance is requesting for an appointment to hold an interview with you as part of data collection on my dissertation.

My research topic is : AN ANALYSIS OF THE SADC' ORGAN ON POLITICS, DEFENCE AND SECURITY COOPERATION IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN INTRASTATE CONFLICTS, A CASE STUDY OF ZIMBABWE (2000-2013).

Hereby attached is an Interview Guide questions for your perusal. I hope for a positive response from you Sir.

Regards

Precious

Precious + Joy U

Martha Mutisi #  
Security Sector Reforms:

## **Appendix C- Interview Guide for Politicians, Media and Political Analysts**

My name is Joyce Kamedzera (Student No: 129439) and I am a student from the Africa University (AU). I am pursuing an Executive Master in Peace and Governance *My focus is on 'People's Perceptions on the Implementation and Feasibility of Security Sector Reforms in Zimbabwe: The Case for Harare Metropolitan'*, done in partial fulfillment for the requirements of the Master in Peace and Governance.

I kindly ask you to respond the questions below as openly and as frankly as possible. No names or any identification marks are required. So please feel free to respond honestly. The information you are going to supply will be used for the purpose of this study only and will be treated with strict confidentiality

1. What is your understanding of SSR?
2. Do you understand the current debate on SSR in Zimbabwe?
3. Do you advocate for these reforms and why?
4. Who in your view should call for SSR implementation in Zimbabwe?
5. What could be the main intention behind the calls for implementing SSR in Zimbabwe?
6. Do you think implementing SSR in this country will benefit Zimbabwean citizens?
7. Who do you think should sponsor SSR in this country and Why?
8. Do you think SSR debate in Zimbabwe should be open to the general public and participation by local, regional and international civic bodies?
9. Do you think SSR in Zimbabwe should be a preserve of those in the Security Sector alone?
10. In your view should SSR include issues of human security and development projects vis-a-visa national security per se?
11. Do you think SSR in Zimbabwe should be a preserve of those in the Security Sector alone?
12. Do you think Zimbabwe is being pushed by the international community to carry out these reforms and why?

## **Appendix D -Interview Guide for Security Sector Personnel**

My name is Joyce Kamedzera (Student No: 129439) and I am a student from the Africa University (AU). I am pursuing an Executive Master in Peace and Governance *My focus is on 'People's Perceptions on the Implementation and Feasibility of Security Sector Reforms in Zimbabwe: The Case for Harare Metropolitan'*, done in partial fulfillment for the requirements of the Master in Peace and Governance.

I kindly ask you to respond the questions below as openly and as frankly as possible. No names or any identification marks are required. So please feel free to respond honestly. The information you are going to supply will be used for the purpose of this study only and will be treated with strict confidentiality

1. What do you understand by Security Sector Reforms?
2. As a member of the security sector what are your comments on the current debate on security sector reforms in Zimbabwe?
3. Who in your view should call for security sector reforms in Zimbabwe?
4. What could be the intentions behind calls for security sector reforms in Zimbabwe?
5. Should the security sector be partisan or remain apolitical given that most of them have liberation war credentials?
6. Who in your view should sponsor the SSRs in any country?
7. Should civilians and civil society be involved in the implementation of Security Sector reforms in Zimbabwe?

## **Appendix E -Interview Guide for Embassies/Diplomats and Civic Organisations**

My name is Joyce Kamedzera (Student No: 129439) and I am a student from the Africa University (AU). I am pursuing an Executive Master in Peace and Governance *My focus is on 'People's Perceptions on the Implementation and Feasibility of Security Sector Reforms in Zimbabwe: The Case for Harare Metropolitan'*, done in partial fulfillment for the requirements of the Master in Peace and Governance.

I kindly ask you to respond the questions below as openly and as frankly as possible. No names or any identification marks are required. So please feel free to respond honestly. The information you are going to supply will be used for the purpose of this study only and will be treated with strict confidentiality

1. What is your understanding of security sector reforms?
  
2. Do you advocate for these reforms in Zimbabwe? If yes/ no elaborate.
  
3. Do you think the security sector reform debate in Zimbabwe should be open to the general public and participation by local, regional and international civic bodies?
  
4. In your opinion do you think security sector reforms will improve working relations between the security sector and civilians?
  
5. Who do you think should push for security sector reforms in Zimbabwe?
  
6. Who do you think should sponsor security sector reforms in Zimbabwe?

## Appendix F –Questions

My name is Joyce Kamedzera (Student No: 129439 ) and I am a student from the Africa University (AU). I am pursuing an Executive Master in Peace and Governance *My focus is on ‘People’s Perceptions on the Implementation and Feasibility of Security Sector Reforms in Zimbabwe: The Case for Harare Metropolitan’*, done in partial fulfillment for the requirements of the Master in Peace and Governance.

I kindly ask you to complete the questionnaire guide as openly and as frankly as possible. No names or any identification marks are required. So please feel free to respond honestly. The information you are going to supply will be used for the purpose of this study only and will be treated with strict confidentiality.

### SECTION A. Biographical Detail of the Respondent.

Personal attributes

Indicate your sex: Male

Female

Indicate your age group

Below 25 yrs

26-30 yrs

31-35 yrs

36-40 yrs

3 and above

### SECTION B Questions

1. Do you belong any of these organization?

Political Party

Civic Organisation

Other (specify).....

2. Do you think implementing SSR in this country will benefit Zimbabwean citizens?

Yes

No

Not Sure

Other/comment(specify).....

3. Do you think SSR debate in Zimbabwe should be open to the general public and participation by local, regional and international civic bodies?

YES

NO

NOT SURE

Other/comment(specify).....

4. Do you think SSR in Zimbabwe should be a preserve of those in the Security Sector alone?

YES

NO

NOT SURE

Other/comment(specify).....

5. Do you think SSR in Zimbabwe should be a preserve of those in the Security Sector alone?

YES

NO

NOT SURE

Other/comment(specify).....

6. Do you think SSR debate in Zimbabwe should be open to the general public and participation by local, regional and international civic bodies?

YES

NO

BOTH (COMMENT)

Other/Comment (specify).....

7. Do you think SSRs will improve working relations between security sectors and non-military civilians?

YES

NO

OTHER (SPECIFY)

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

8. Do you think Zimbabwe is being pushed by the international community to carry out these reforms and why?

YES

NO



GIVE

REASON.....  
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.....

Any other comments you feel will benefit this debate of SSR in  
Zimbabwe:.....  
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.....

Appendix G -Interview Consent Forms



**AFRICA  
UNIVERSITY**

*(A United Methodist-Related Institution)*

INVESTING IN AFRICA’S FUTURE

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**INSTITUTE OF PEACE, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE**

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=====

I grant ..... permission to conduct an oral interview

With.....

I understand that the data gathered from this interview is for educational purposes only and will not be disclosed to any person other than the Supervisory authority and designated faculty at Africa University.

This authorization expires in 120 days or .....

.....  
(Signature of Interviewee)

.....  
(Signature of

.....  
(Date)

.....  
(Witness)