

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The study critically explores the dimensions of human security and developmental challenge in Zimbabwe, particularly in Buhera South Constituency, through the adoption of nonviolent resistance by the opposition political party, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The concept of human security came into prominence in policy and peace-related discourse, after 1994 following the commissioning of a study by the United Nations (UN) on the new dimensions of security. The resultant report marked the beginning of the use of the term Human Security. Essentially, it marked a change from the traditional state “centric notion of security approach that had prevailed to encompass seven key individual centric components, namely: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security; personal security, community security, and political security” (UN, 1994: 24-25). Human Security is, essentially, about protecting the vital core of humanity to enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment. It means protecting fundamental freedoms that are the essence of life. It entails protecting people from severe and widespread threats and situations. Human security means building on people’s strengths and aspirations and “creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity.” (CHS, 2003: 4). “Human security complements state security, strengthens human development and enhances human rights” (CHS, 2003: 2).

The concept of human security is developmental in orientation. Human security is based on enhancing people’s capabilities to qualitatively improve their lives. The practice of violence in politics is inimical to the basic concepts of development as it threatens the livelihood of the people and what the government should seek to protect. Violence is anti-developmental in nature. Human security aims to be “developmental in a holistic sense, recognizing that

qualitative improvement to lives must be constructed around not only the notion of people as economic producers and consumers, but also as cultural producers and consumers" (Abatutu, 2005: 107). Violence leads to human insecurity which arises from "existing structures of power that determine who enjoys the entitlement to security and who does not. Such structures can be identified at several levels, ranging from the global, to the regional, the state and finally the local level" (Thomas, 2001: 160). Development "contributes to human security by tackling the long-term structural causes of conflict and by strengthening the capability of societies to deal with conflict in a peaceful manner" (Lodgaard cited in Chillers, 2004: 18). The concept of human security, therefore, includes an obligation on the state to provide a facilitating environment for equality and individual participation through democracy, adherence to human rights and the participation of civil society (Chillers, 2004: 18).

Human security is value-centric which relates to security, stability and sustainability of development. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) helps to show how violence affects development by defining human security as, including within its conceptual ambit, "protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life" (UNDP, 1994: 23). In the Zimbabwean context the notion of violence in politics affects the core values of development. Through violence, the people in Buhera South, a district in the Manicaland Province of Zimbabwe, suffered from life deprivations. However, to counter this violence the MDC party employed the principle of nonviolence resistance.

This study adopts the concept of nonviolent resistance as an analytical framework for understanding post-colonial violence, human security, and development in Zimbabwe. This is conducted through examining the role of the MDC in the democratisation process in Zimbabwe after 1999. The MDC has morphed into different factions having split twice

in 2005 and 2014, respectively. However, this study uses the Movement for Democratic Change Tsvangirai's (MDC-T) faction which remained the bigger faction after the splits. In the process, the study identifies factors that promote violence in Zimbabwe and makes recommendations for steering Zimbabwe towards violence free politics. The practice and the discourse of non-violent resistance are neither new nor unique to Zimbabwe.

The study critically explores the use of the concept of nonviolent resistance as a political strategy in Zimbabwe. Since colonialism in 1890 Zimbabwe has had a chequered history, one that has been dominated by violence. During the years of colonialism, the minority white government sought to enforce their rule on the Zimbabwean landscape using violent and exploitative means. While colonisation was brutal, the local people including the Shona and the Ndebele, among others, responded through violence in 1893 during the Anglo-Ndebele War, during the 1st Chimurenga (war of liberation) from 1896 to 1897 and between 1966 and 1980 during the 2nd Chimurenga which culminated in the achievement of independence from British colonial rule in 1980. Between 1897 and 1966 the Rhodesians enforced their rule through the use of brute force on their subjects. The armed struggle in Zimbabwe from 1966 culminated into Zimbabwe's independence in 1980. During the armed struggle there was internal violence against opponents within the liberation movements. Violence became the backbone of the state formed in 1980. The policy of reconciliation enunciated by the new Prime Minister Robert Mugabe in 1980 became just but a hollow political tool for appeasing white capital than for achieving and attaining human security.

The years after independence marked a continuation of violence. Beginning in 1982, the Gukurahundi military campaign in Matabeleland, the 1990 electoral violence on Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) members, as forms of violence, were unleashed on

citizens, trade unionists and other opposition supporters. The Gukurahundi in Matebeleland and Midlands provinces was a war targeted mainly on PF ZAPU and its supporters. Mugabe accused Nkomo and other ZAPU leaders of harbouring dissidents and threatening to take over power through unlawful means. However, the hunt for dissidents led to indiscriminate killings of mainly the Ndebele ethnic population. In his entire reign Mugabe was a prisoner of his declaration in 1976 that 'The gun which produces the vote should remain its security officer, its guarantor. The people's votes and...guns are always inseparable twins' (Mugabe, 1981: 100). The formation of the MDC in 1999 reproduced the Mugabe ideology of violence as he unleashed the state security machinery, the ZANU-PF Youth militia and the war veterans on members of the MDC. The MDC in turn at times used the policy of nonviolent resistance to counter this violence. This study argues that violence affects human security and negates development.

The theory of nonviolent resistance has gained prominence in the fight against established dictatorships. Mohandas K. Gandhi and Dr Martin Luther King Jr. are regarded as the foremost brains behind the nonviolent resistance movements through their work and practice in modern society. There are notable examples of nonviolent resistance throughout the world. The practice had been going on even before Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. Sharp (2005: 4) who notes that "from the late eighteenth century to the twentieth century, the technique of nonviolent action was widely used in colonial rebellions, international political and economic conflicts, religious conflicts, and anti-slavery resistance". Various scholars have been influential in shaping the nonviolent discourse in the modern world, including Tolstoy, Sharp (2005), Shock (2013), Thoreau (1849) and others. Tolstoy particularly "attacked the hypocrisy of religion" (Christoyannopoulos, 2010). Throughout history, campaigns of nonviolence have been done sporadically dating back as far as 449 BC when the Roman Plebs

organised a general strike (Shock, 2013: 278), to the 2010 Arab Spring in Egypt, Tunisia and Syria and the recent Black Lives Matter movement in the USA.

Shock (2013) lists some notable examples of “Nationalist struggles, such as Hungarian resistance to Austrian rule from 1849 to 1867, Finnish resistance to Russian rule from 1899 to 1906, and the Egyptian general strike against British occupation in 1919. These were sustained efforts to promote political transformation through collective nonviolent resistance”. Nonviolent resistance was also used in some labour struggles in Italy in 1904, Spain in 1919, and Britain in 1926. Strikes were a potent weapon wielded by the working-class (Shock, 2013: 278).

The advent of the nationalist struggles for independence in Africa and other colonised territories in the world, provide notable examples of the use of nonviolent means to ending colonialism and oppression. As mentioned earlier, history of non-violence in Zimbabwe can be traced back to the Shona passive resistance against the invading pioneer column in the 1890s. This passive resistance by the people of Mashonaland was the hallmark of non-cooperation with the white settlers. However, in 1896 the 1st Chimurenga marked a violent response to colonial rule. Thus, in 1896, the Shona and Ndebele fought the British South Africa Company (BSAC) settlers resulting in their defeat and a further intensification of oppressive rule.

Through trade unions such as the Railway Workers Union led by Benjamin Burombo in the period 1947-1959, workers engaged in job stay-aways to fight for improvement of workers conditions. In between the 1897-1980 Chimurengas, the Rhodesians intensified their oppressive rule using legal instruments such as the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 which legislative pieces, greatly disenfranchised Zimbabweans

through land alienation. Faced with these discriminatory laws and segregatory Rhodesian rule, Zimbabwean politicians began to form fully-fledged political parties demanding majority rule. However, the parties were routinely banned. The ANC, NDP, ZAPU and ZANU were all banned upon formation by the Rhodesian government. This laid the basis for revolts. The 1948 workers' strike laid the basis for the development of the first viable working-class organisations, starting with the Southern Rhodesia Trade Union Congress (SRTUC) formed in 1954 and led by Joshua Nkomo. In 1957 the African National Congress (ANC) was formed. This was a working-class-based mass movement that drew most of its leaders from the labour movement, with Nkomo as its president (Gwisai 2002: 6). Nkomo later became the architect of African nationalism in Zimbabwe because of his contribution to the formation of the African National Congress (ANC), the National Democratic Party (NDP) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU).

The formation of ZAPU in 1960 signalled a drift towards militarism. ZAPU's split culminated in the formation of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in 1963. The two parties morphed themselves into military outfits, namely: The Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) and the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) respectively. The military transformation was a last resort to ending the colonial rule. This resulted in a protracted war which lasted nearly 14 years, ending in 1979 with the Lancaster House Agreement. The war of independence was fought through a multi-pronged approach which attracted a wide spectrum of people. The freedom fighters used both diplomatic and military means to fight the war. The Lancaster House conference and the formal agreements of 21 December 1979 charted the course for the transition from white minority rule to black majority rule in Zimbabwe. Under the agreement the parties agreed to a ceasefire and elections to be held in 1980. They also agreed to a new constitution.

The elections were held as agreed during the Lancaster Conference. The elections therefore symbolised a decisive paradigm shift to legitimacy, with power moving from whites organised under the Rhodesian Front (RF) banner to blacks under ZANU. As per the Lancaster House constitution, elections became the hallmark of the electoral process in Zimbabwe. In 1980, soon after being sworn to office, the newly elected Prime Minister, Robert Gabriel Mugabe, announced the policy of reconciliation in the following statement:

We are called to be constructive, progressive and forever forward-looking, or we cannot afford to be men of yesterday, backward looking, retrogressive and destructive.... If yesterday you hated me, today you cannot avoid the love that binds you to me and me to you... The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten... (De Waal, 1990: 48-9).

In the name and spirit of reconciliation and forgiveness, all the grievances of the past were supposed to be forgotten.

While reconciliation was pronounced as the very essence of statesmanship, there were divisive undercurrents in the nascent but fractured unity government. As articulated by Eldred Masunungure (1999), "Zimbabwe as a state came into being in 1980 but Zimbabwe as a nation did not." There was outright and unapologetic building of the state as a ZANU-PF and Shona dominated political formation where other political actors like PF-ZAPU that drew most of its support from Matabeleland and Midlands regions had no dignified space, and the Ndebele were an inconvenience that had to be dealt with. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009: 12) argues that "from the very day of achievement of independence, the triumphant Shona-dominated ZANU-PF leadership displayed a unique desire to build a party-nation and a party-state that excluded other political formations, crafted around and backed by ZANU-PFs war-time military wing (ZANLA) and Shona historical experiences."

The Matabeleland crisis that hit the post-colonial nation-building project was sparked off by ethnicity and the integration of military forces. The crisis began in the ranks of the military, and it involved open exchange of fire between the triumphant Shona-dominant ZANLA and the Ndebele dominated ZIPRA in Connemara (Gweru) and Entumbane (Bulawayo). This set in motion a reign of state terror in the Matabeleland and Midlands regions in the period 1982 to 1987. As Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009: 14) avers, the violence was somehow an inevitable consequence of the way nationalism had evolved and how the nationalist armies had been formed. This is how he snuggly puts it:

To some extent, we accept the notion of the inevitability of a violent post-colonial civil war pitting the former liberation movements and their former armies against each other. But there is need to posit that the inevitability of violence was underwritten by incompatibilities of Ndebele and Shona particularities. The violence was in a way symptomatic of the failure of a smooth blending of major ethnicities into a new national identity called Zimbabwe. The net effect of this was that violence was the only invitation card by which the Ndebele were invited into a Shona-imagined nation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 14).

In this analysis, Ndlovu-Gatsheni shows the shaky ground on which the nation state was born in 1980. While independence produced a tribalised nationalism, the unfolding years later proved that tribalism was not the only inherent problem in post-independence Zimbabwe politics and power dynamics. In 1982, the Ndebele became victims of political violence but after 1990 ZANU-PF violence became national and victims transcended tribal lines. In short, the Gukurahundi period became “necessary for the purification of the rest of the nation from the undesirable elements” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 14). In essence the way the Ndebele were treated was an attempt at ethnic cleansing. A Commander of the 5th Brigade named Jesus summed it up by bringing to the fore the following:

You are going to eat eggs, after eggs hens, after hens’ goats, after goats’ cattle. Then you shall eat cats, dogs, and donkeys. Then you are going to eat your children. After that you shall eat your wives. Then the men will

remain, and because dissidents have guns, they will kill the men and only dissidents will remain. That's when we will find the dissidents (CCJP, 1997: 96).

The conduct of the military during Gukurahundi served as a direct warning to future opponents of the regime. This betrayed the regime's lack of hesitancy in eliminating opponents.

The Gukurahundi ended after the signing of the Unity Accord on 22 December 1987 between Prime Minister Mugabe and the ZAPU leader, Joshua Nkomo. In the words of Sisulu (2008: 494) "the Unity Accord completed what the Gukurahundi had failed to do". It has been observed that "the Unity Accord was a surrender deal by Nkomo to ZANU-PF hegemony, accepting to play a second fiddle as Senior Minister and later Vice President under Robert Mugabe" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 30).

Constitutional Amendment Act (No.7) of 1987 created an executive presidency with Mugabe assuming the post of Executive President and Nkomo becoming one of the two national Vice Presidents. Pursuant to that was the need by ZANU-PF to create a one-party state which was vehemently opposed by Edgar Tekere culminating in the formation of Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) which contested in the 1990 elections. Mugabe had hoped to consolidate power in the aftermath of the Unity Accord through the creation of a one-party state.

After 1990, economic conditions in Zimbabwe began to deteriorate such that the government was running budget deficits. Mugabe had to go to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) to seek budgetary support. The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) adopted created social and economic problems which gave rise to opposition to Mugabe's regime. These measures had serious implications for the welfare of ordinary Zimbabweans. ESAP led to sudden shrinkage of public service jobs as the government

was advised to privatise state owned enterprises. It further caused a continuous decline in workers' income through devaluation of the currency. Company closures and employee layoffs became regular occurrences following the liberalisation of the economy. Hospital fees, tuition fees skyrocketed beyond the reach of the ordinary citizens. Student demonstrations and industrial actions became the order of the day. All these occurrences became the catalyst for the mushrooming of strong opposition politics in the country.

The call for better wages and working conditions from workers became even more acute. The 1996 public sector strike brought the country to a standstill as nurses, doctors, public service workers and teachers withdrew their services. Confronted with such a situation, the Zimbabwean government responded by waging an undeclared war against its people (Dzimiri, *et al.*, 2014: 231). The ZANU (PF) government assumed that its power was being challenged and as result it unleashed military violence on its citizens. The state security forces used brutal force on protesters which soured relations between the military and the civilian populace. This discontentment culminated in the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999. The MDC quickly became a powerful opposition political party against the ruling ZANU-PF. Its support base grew among university students, the working class and urban dwellers who acutely felt the pain of the deteriorating economic situation. To maintain its stranglehold on power, the ZANU-PF government used the repressive state apparatus against the opposition.

While violence has been an endemic aspect of ZANU-PF's rule since independence, things took a drastic turn after the formation of the MDC. Buhera South constituents witnessed an unprecedented wave of violence after the formation of the MDC. The MDC recorded increased violence during the 2000 Parliamentary elections in which a ZANU-PF member Kumbirai Kangai narrowly defeated the MDC candidate. It

can also be argued that political violence in Buhera began on 15 April 2000 when MDC's Tichaona Chiminya and Talent Mabika were petrol bombed by ZANU supporters after a meeting in Murambinda (BBC April 2000). This incident flared up violence in Buhera South as the ZANU-PF leadership intensified its targeting of opponents. There have been politically motivated deaths, displacements and violence in Buhera South Constituency since then. The 2008 elections in which Joseph Chinotimba of ZANU-PF lost to Naison Nemadziya of the MDC marked the climax of political violence in the constituency. In all this, the MDC always preached the practice of nonviolence as a panacea to the political problems facing the nation.

Where peace and security are compromised, development suffers. Since colonialisation violence has become one of the most popular means of resolving conflict and subduing opponents in political contests among human beings. Violence has proved destructive leading to loss of life, destruction of property and environment and animosity among survivors. This has negatively affected economic and political progress. Violence has proved to be anti-developmental in character and orientation. States which have been embedded in conflict have seen the destruction of economic, political and social fabric. Development has regressed in those states. In the Zimbabwean polity violence has been a dominant feature in the political discourse. The research analyses how violence has been used in politics since the dawn of colonialism and how this violence has compromised human security and affected development. It is argued herein that the onset of colonialism in 1890 ushered in the beginning of political violence which has become cyclical to date. The liberation struggle which was fought to eliminate oppression ironically entrenched violence as an instrument for the enactment of power and oppressing opponents. Since 2000, the ZANU-PF led government has resorted to violence against its political opponents especially supporters of the main opposition the MDC and civil society. Violence has been a dominant

practice of resolving conflict for a considerable period thereby stalling economic, social and political progress. Non-violence means of resisting oppression has been adopted by the MDC in its fight against ZANU-PF for political space. Nonviolent means of conflict resolution has the potential to bring about sustainable peace and development and progress among Zimbabweans. Non-violent resistance is a step towards attaining human security and development.

The primary objective of the study is to critically examine the dynamics of human security in Zimbabwe which has led to a lack of development in Zimbabwe through analysing the concept of nonviolence as a political strategy and its impact on conflict resolution and development. This is done through examining both the rhetoric and practice of non-violent resistance as a political strategy in Zimbabwe using the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) party in the Buhera South Constituency as a case study. Other secondary objectives include the following:

1. To explore the link between human insecurity and development in Zimbabwe.
2. To examine the impact of the adoption of non-violence resistance as a political instrument to achieve peace in Zimbabwe.
3. To examine the impact of both the discourse and practice of non-violent resistance within the Movement for Democratic Change party in attaining peace and development in Zimbabwe.
4. To evaluate the extent to which non-violent resistance has transcended the condition of oppression in Zimbabwe.

The research seeks to answer the following questions:

- (1) What is the impact of human insecurity and conflict on development?

- (2) To what extent has the adoption of non-violence resistance as a political instrument helped to achieve peace in Zimbabwe?
- (3) What conditions led to the necessity of adopting the discourse and practice of non-violent resistance in Zimbabwe?
- (4) To what extent has the MDC's non-violence resistance succeeded in transcending the conditions of oppression and/or violence in Zimbabwe

This study is significant and holds immense intellectual purchase because it explores the dynamics of human security and development in Zimbabwe through analysing the concept of nonviolence and its impact on conflict and development. The study carried extensive document analysis of MDC policies and programmes during the period 1999-2017. History has shown that conflict, violence and wars are enemies of development. Examples in most African countries have shown that resource rich countries like DRC, Liberia, Libya and Sierra Leone are struggling due to unending conflict over resources, dictatorship and political intolerance. The research presents new insights into nonviolence and conflict transformation in Zimbabwe. There is lack of clarity in the nexus between nonviolent resistance and conflict transformation in the African context. The topic reveals the complex nature of conflict management, human security and development especially in areas with questionable democratic tendencies. This helps development practitioners in coming up with development goals within the context of political intolerance. The research hopes to benefit development practitioners, conflict managers, students of politics, diplomats, academia, international organizations and institutions, political parties in Zimbabwe and across the continent through creating an understanding of the nexus between nonviolent resistance and conflict transformation.

Studies on the impact of violence and conflict on development need to be carried out. Zimbabwe needs to have a clearer analysis of how pre-

colonial, colonial and post-colonial violence has affected development. In the case of the post 2000 period, government propaganda has focused on sanctions as an anti-development propaganda. However, this study unpacks how violence has impacted on development. The study uses the nonviolent approach to understand how this method impacted the Zimbabwean conflict. Studies on nonviolence need to be carried out if the current problems facing Africa and Zimbabwe are to be fully developed and understood. The development of the nonviolent resistance discourse is part and parcel of the democratic development of any country. On the African continent this is crucial as it facilitates the active participation of the citizenry in the total development of the continent.

This thesis focuses primarily on MDC and its non-violent resistance politics since its formation in 1999. The study is confined to Zimbabwe from where data on nonviolent resistance will be drawn. Interviews were conducted with selected individuals who have borne the brunt of violence with the intention of understanding their experiences and the coping mechanisms they have adopted. The researcher conducted interviews and distributed questionnaires in Buhera South constituency of Manicaland Province which bore the brunt of violence since the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change in 1999. These provided useful information on the efficacy of nonviolence as a tool to counter political violence. The thesis was largely qualitative using qualitative research methods such as interviews, focus group discussions and document study. Due to the nature of the Zimbabwean problem and for purposes of this study, population is drawn across the length and breadth of Buhera South Constituency with special focus on hotspots of political violence. The sample size for the research was fifty respondents. The sampling procedure used was the snowball sampling.

The researcher acknowledges some limitations to the study. The initial challenge was to define the concept of human security. The definition was not easily understood by participants as there was conflation of state security and human security. Most participants initially thought that national security overrode human security. Most participants were of the view that the needs of an individual are subservient to the general security of the state. This misnomer came from the ZANU-PF propaganda which put the liberation struggle as the antidote to the needs of the people.

The sensitivity of the topic made people a little curious as to the motive of the research. In societies which are predominantly police states suspicion always creeps in. Most participants thought the researcher was an agent of the regime as very few studies have attempted to find the nature of violence and how it has affected development in the focus area. The COVID19 pandemic also presented challenges in accessing some communities due to the lockdown measures used to contain the disease. The use of electronic communications, the WhatsApp platform and cell phone calls mainly addressed some of those limitations. However, some members also faced data challenges, network connectivity and power challenges.

Nonviolent resistance- Sharp (2013: 16) defines it as a “generic term covering dozens of specific methods of protest, non-cooperation and intervention in all of which resisters conduct the conflict by doing or refusing to do- certain things without resorting to physical violence. As a technique therefore nonviolent action is not passive. It is not inaction. It is action that is nonviolent.”

Nonviolent struggle- entails the fact that one does not capitulate in the face of threats. One does not run away. One also chooses to fight with superior weapons, not the oppressors’ violence, but psychological, moral, social-economic and political weapons with which one’s people

can be strong" (Sharp (2013) cited by Cady S (2010). Ghandi pioneered in the experimentation and use of the tactic claiming that "I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and non-violence are as old as the hills. All I have done is to try experiments in both on as vast a scale as I could."

State of nature- Thomas Hobbes in his interpretation of the state of nature proposed that "In the state of nature, first, we are roughly equal; no one is so strong that they can dominate others and overpower all resistance. Any difference of physical strength can be matched by the other person finding people to help, or by their intelligence, or by their experience. The best form of defence, the best way to get what we want, is to attack first" (Lacewing 2008a).

Negative Peace- (Galtung 1964: 2) defined negative peace as "absence of violence and absence of war" Positive Peace- (Galtung 1964: 2) defined positive peace "is the integration of human society."

Violence- is defined as an "action or practice that directly physically harms or threatens to physically harm another. Those who engage in violent action are typically armed and their actions involve shootings, bombings, armed assaults, hit-and-run attacks, assassinations, and conventional military engagements" (Gleditsch 2004).

Human security- has been defined to include freedom "from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards" (UNDP, 1994: 22). The UNDP further defined it to "mean, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life - whether in homes, in jobs or in communities" (UNDP 1994). The United Nations Commission on Human Security defined human security as,

"to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment" (CHS 2003).

Human insecurity-means the failure to protect and provide freedoms and basic necessities for the fulfilment of life needs. Where there is the "threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards" (UNDP, 1994: 22) it means there is human insecurity.

Peace building- is a notion that is closely related to human security and development. As expressed by Madenga (2016: 8) it "is the holistic process of promoting peace and justice by addressing the root causes of the conflict." Conflicts are anti-development as they tend to destroy infrastructure which usually take years to reconstruct in post conflict building process. This leads to peace agreements and in some instances Unity governments or governments of national unity. Peace in conflict resolution is realised through peace agreements.

Peace agreements- According to Nita and Ouellet (2003) peace agreements are "accords that aim to end a conflict, or to considerably alter a conflict, so that it can be more constructively addressed."

Chapter 1 is the introduction of the thesis; it presents the background to the study, carefully crafts the statement of the problem, outlines the aims of the study, rationale/significance of the study and furnishes summary of the research methodology. Chapter 2 provides a detailed analysis of the literature review. It also presents the theory of non-violent resistance and how this theory has helped the researcher to critique the effectiveness of this concept as it was deployed by the MDC in Zimbabwe. Chapter 3 presents the research design and methodology adopted in this study. It also provides the nexus between objectives, philosophical research paradigm and methodology. It explains the epistemology of research paradigm, ontology of the

paradigm and methodology in detail. Chapter 4 provides a historical overview of the postcolonial attempts at peace. It articulated the political philosophy around the Mugabe regime and its rule, the policy of reconciliation, the Matabeleland disturbances of 1982-1987 and the question of electoral violence. Chapter 5 consists of empirical data that reveals the nature of MDC's rhetoric and practice of non-violent resistance. Chapter 6 critiques the application of the politics of nonviolence by the MDC. It presents the failures and successes of nonviolence in the contest for power in politics. Chapter 7 examines the link between human security and development in Buhera South. Chapter 8 evaluates the MDC's policy of nonviolent resistance and the impact of the adoption of non-violence resistance. Chapter 9 provides the summary, conclusions and key recommendations based on the findings of the study.

This chapter has provided a comprehensive background to research context and problem. It has underlined the problem of violence and human insecurity in Zimbabwe. Human insecurity has become a developmental problem considering the effects of violence. Episodes of political violence on the Zimbabwean political arena have influenced the study to focus on the use of nonviolent resistance to confront the endemic problem. The cycle of violence must be broken, since recurring violence is inimical to national development. The chapter also outlines the research objectives and questions, importance of the study, scope and limitations of the study, and the chapter layout or structure of the thesis.