

**IMMIGRANTS' PERCEPTIONS OF SMART SANCTIONS ON
ZIMBABWE**

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an award of a degree
of Master of Management in Security Studies

2018

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DECLARATION

I Thabo Petrus Motaung declare that this dissertation, submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an award of a degree of Master of Management in Security Studies, is entirely my own work and that all sources used have been acknowledged in the text and references

Signed: _____

Date: _____

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As I reflect on the journey that I have travelled in this exploration, I am indebted to the mercy and grace of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has led me thus far. I'm also humbled by the contribution of the following people in helping me finish this race:

Dissertation Committee

To my supervisor, Prof Anthoni Van Nieuwkerk, thank you very much Sir for your guidance, from the hours you spent looking at my proposal and then advising me every step of the way, resulting in this product. A high five to all the academics who served on the proposal defence committee, I express my heartfelt thanks and appreciation for your comments and inputs that were vital towards focusing this project in the right direction. A special thanks also goes to the Wits School of Governance (WSG) lecturers and staff at the Academic Delivery Unit (ADU). Thank you very much.

Participants

I was never destined to finish this race alone. I'm truly humbled and indeed indebted to all my participants who sacrificed their time to share with me their views and experiences of smart sanctions in Zimbabwe during the last decade. Your experiences epitomised human [in]security and may the international community use these experiences towards re-examining policy options in the international relations discourse.

Colleagues and Friends

The time I spent out of the office and also missing as many meetings of the *Evening Star Lekgotla* was not in vain comrades. Thank you for your understanding.

Family

Without doubt, this project would have been impossible without the support of my family, chief of whom was Dibakiso, my dear wife. Thanks to you love and our crew, Neo and Tshepo for the long hours that you've enabled me to work uninterrupted in the evenings and on weekends. Love you all!

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ABSTRACT

Despite South Africa experiencing an influx of about 2,5 million migrants from Zimbabwe at the same period that smart sanctions were imposed on carefully selected officials of the Zimbabwean government and other business entities, lived experiences of smart sanctions from these immigrants had not been explored and thus remain unknown. A qualitative case study was undertaken where interviews were conducted with adult male and female participants with the aim of understanding the underlying causes for the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa. Whereas the conceptual framework was focussed on relationships between smart sanctions and human security, the contextual framework was underpinned by the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants on their lived experiences when smart sanctions were deployed in their country. To this end the study's theoretical framework was rooted in human security as contemplated by the United Nations' (UN) Human Development Report of 1994. Data analysis revealed that **poverty, unemployment, inflation** and **collateral damage** to citizens at household levels represented the human security risks that drove the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa mainly between 2001 and 2009. As a consequence, the 'precision' and 'selectiveness' which embodied the adoption of smart sanctions as a policy alternative by the international community was repudiated.

Key words: immigrants, human security, smart sanctions, migration, perceptions, Zimbabwe

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 OVERVIEW

This chapter serves an important purpose of providing the reader with a background to the study and is divided into eleven sections. The first section provides the background to the study and is followed by the problem statement. A justification of why the study is important then follows. The purpose of the study is then presented, followed by research questions. After the study's research objectives have been unpacked, the reader is introduced to the study's proposition, followed by delimitations. Of fundamental importance is that the study's conceptual framework is also articulated in this chapter. An outline of the rest of study in terms of chapters is then presented, followed by a concluding paragraph.

1.2 BACKGROUND

The origin of smart sanctions against Zimbabwe can be directly linked to the violent land reform program by the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) led government of former President Robert Mugabe (Chingono, 2010b; Portela, 2014). The international community led by the United States (US), the United Kingdom (UK), the European Union (EU) and other governments in the global North responded by imposing targeted, restricted or smart sanctions on Zimbabwe in 2001 and 2002 respectively (Chingono, 2010b; Grebe, 2010; Portela, 2014). However human security risks, being the analytical lens through which this case study is conducted, arise when communities have little or no access to resources that are vital to their survival like food, water, security etc (Drezner, 2011; Puchala, 2014).

In their examination of migration patterns Crush, Williams and Peberdy (2005) have alluded to a legacy of forced migrations in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. These authors also alluded to findings that highlighted an increase in the number of unaccompanied Zimbabwean children that entered South Africa in 2003 to work in the Limpopo farms as a result of the economic crisis and drought in Zimbabwe. Some of the recent studies have attributed the increased migration of Zimbabweans to political violence as well as politically-induced economic catastrophe (Rutherford, 2011). These observations are important for this research mainly due to estimates of about 2,5 million Zimbabwean immigrants that have sought refuge and are currently living in South Africa (Makina, 2012).

There are also some observations that the ‘exodus’ of Zimbabwean migrants became an incremental occurrence from 2001 that reached its peak in 2009 (Manik, 2014). It is necessary therefore that a case study be conducted amongst these immigrants in order to establish the reasons behind an upsurge in migration patterns that also coincided with the imposition of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe. It is equally important to state that whilst the case is smart sanctions [on Zimbabwe], the focus is on the lived experiences of immigrants during the years between 2001 and 2009, being a period when these sanctions were imposed on Zimbabwe. Thus the case is bounded on time primarily because South Africa also started experiencing an increased influx of immigrants during this period. Figure 1 below shows migration trends from 2001 to 2009 where only a year earlier, (2008) xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals drew the world’s attention on South Africa.

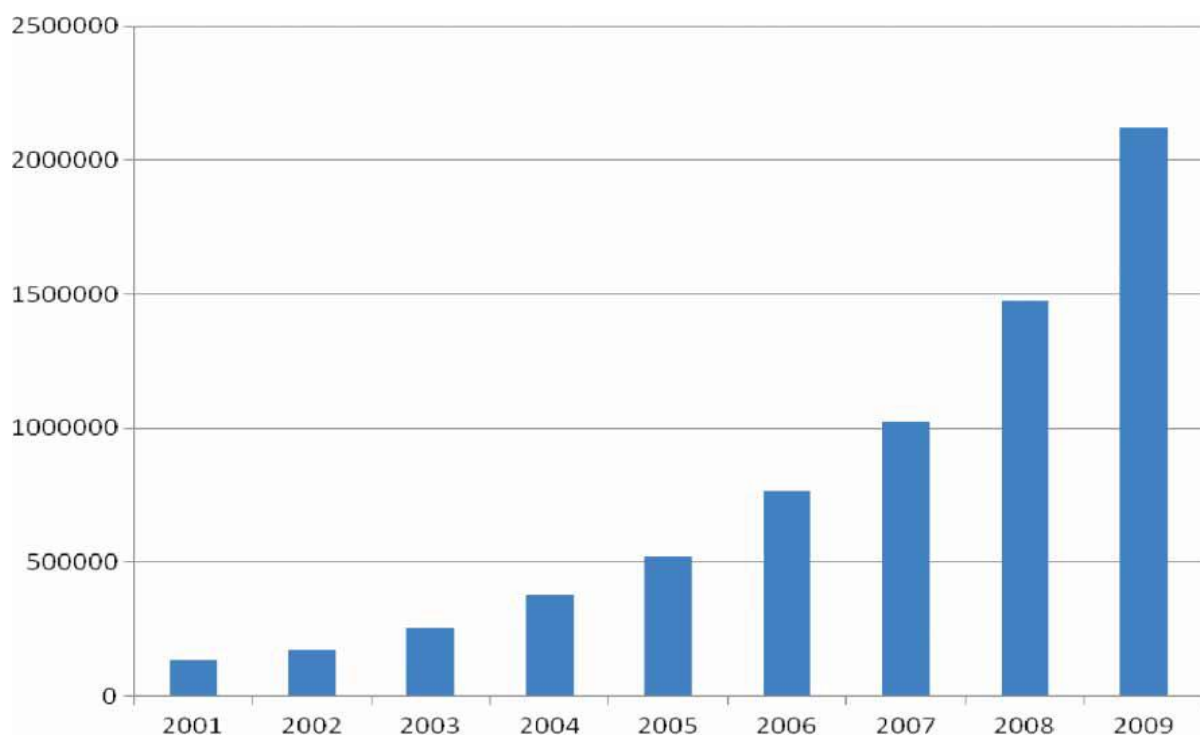


Figure 1.1: Trends of Zimbabwean population in South Africa

Source: UNDP (2010) cited in Makina (2012, p. 368)

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Perceptions that are based lived experiences of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe from its immigrants that are located in the Gauteng Province and other parts of South Africa have not been explored and therefore remain unknown. Smart sanctions have been described as instruments of foreign policy that are “designed and implemented in such a way as to affect only those parties that are held responsible for wrongful, unacceptable, illegal or reprehensible behaviour” (Clark, 2013, p. 1232). Examples of this type of sanctions include travel bans, assets freeze on targeted individuals, their families and businesses and or denial of access to international financial institutions and markets. Previous studies showed that smart sanctions were developed and adopted primarily to protect innocent civilians from collateral damage that led to the suffering of the innocent as characterised by humanitarian crises and human security risks (Drezner, 2011; Puchala, 2014). Yet in spite of studies that show that Zimbabwean citizens were internally displaced and others having migrated in huge numbers into the neighbouring countries at the same period that smart sanctions were deployed, little has been done to explore the perceptions of these immigrants of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe. Until the voices of those communities that have experienced smart sanctions are known, economic sanctions will remain a ‘blunt instrument’ as innocent civilians continue to experience human security risks, leading to internal displacements and mass migrations. It is for this reason that a qualitative case study was undertaken to explore the perceptions of the Zimbabwean immigrants of smart sanctions on their country. In an effort to achieve the study’s objectives, the seven human security dimensions were used as analytical lenses through which this exploration was undertaken.

1.4 JUSTIFICATION

It appears there is limited research, if at all, on the lived experiences of Zimbabwean immigrants of smart sanctions on their country. So a research is important to highlight the indiscriminate nature of economic sanctions in general whilst exposing its actual but unintended consequences on the general population, relative to the intended targets. Focus was be placed on how the deployment of smart sanctions against carefully selected individuals manifested into human insecurity for the Zimbabwean population as a whole. To this end, the study used human security as both the theoretical and analytical framework to highlight the indiscriminate nature of a smart sanctions policy decision and the resultant hardship on the civilian population. The

conclusions of this research will be most beneficial to governments, especially diplomats and foreign policy practitioners as members of international community in developing policy options that will protect innocent civilians whilst achieving the desired outcomes in terms of punishing delinquent rulers at the same time. The UN, as the primary guarantor of human rights as well as international peace, security and stability will also find the results / findings of this research beneficial. Equally important is that the study will contribute to the body of knowledge by providing empirical findings on human security studies in the international relations discourse.

1.5 PURPOSE STATEMENT

The purpose of this research was to explore perceptions of smart sanctions amongst Zimbabwean immigrants that are located in the Gauteng Province and other parts of South Africa. Ultimately, the goal of the research was to understand and describe the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants on smart sanctions in order to determine the underlying issues behind their influx into South Africa in between the years 2001 and 2009. This was achieved by undertaking a qualitative case study where semi-structured interviews were conducted with adult male and female participant immigrants from Zimbabwe.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Arising out of the problem statement as well as the purpose statement, the main research question in the research is this: **What are the underlying causes for the influx of Zimbabwean migrants into South Africa between 2001 and 2009?** To help unpack this question, the following secondary questions are asked:

1.6.1. What is the political impact of smart sanctions on citizens at household level?

1.6.2. What is the socio-economic impact of smart sanctions on citizens at household level?

1.7 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Consequently, the study's secondary objectives are to;

1.7.1. To determine the political impact of smart sanctions on citizens at household level.

1.7.2. To determine the socio-economic impact of smart sanctions on citizens at household level.

1.8 PROPOSITION

Human security risks followed the deployment of smart sanctions against Zimbabwe and affected citizens at household level, causing internal displacements and the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa between 2001 and 2009.

1.9 DELIMITATIONS

The goal of the research is to understand and describe the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants on smart sanctions in order to determine the underlying causes behind their influx into South Africa in between the years 2001 and 2009. In this regard, the targeted population was about 2,5 million Zimbabwean immigrants that have migrated and have settled in South Africa. However, the study was confined to those immigrants that are located in the Gauteng Province. The scope of the study was focussed on ascertaining whether citizens at households were affected by smart sanctions or not. Their perceptions were deemed vital towards explaining pertinent human security risks to citizens at household levels, an occurrence that could have led to internal displacements and mass migrations into neighbouring countries.

It follows then that only those individuals that identify themselves as Zimbabwean immigrants were targeted by the researcher for semi structured interviews as part of the research. Equally important is that participants were consenting adults of both sexes who could speak and understand English. However the Zimbabwean diplomats, their staff at their Embassy and their families were intentionally excluded from the study. This was mainly because in the context of this research, such participants can be seen as part of the 'establishment' in Zimbabwe and could therefore provide biased information that seeks to maintain the status quo in favour of the ruling ZANU-PF government. In the same vein, visiting students and immigrants that declined consent for participation in the study were also excluded.

1.10 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Human security is the main theme in this study. The focus on human security is motivated by observations and some studies that found collateral damage to innocent civilians, humanitarian crises or human security risks in the international discourse (Drezner, 2011; Puchala, 2014). Taking account of the reaction of civil society, human rights groups humanitarian agencies around the world following the Iraqi sanctions of 1990, the researcher is of the view that human security could have been the driving

force behind the exploration of smart sanctions by the international community. This is mainly because the Iraqi sanctions, widely hailed as the most comprehensive in history, saw the mortality rates of Iraqi infants ranged between 100, 000 to 227, 000 between 1991 to 1998 (Drezner, 2011; Oskarsson, 2012). Thus in an effort to reduce collateral damage, smart sanctions were developed and adopted as the “precision-guided munitions of economic statecraft” or [economic] “smart bombs” (Drezner, 2011, p, 96; Shagabutdinova and Berejikian, 2007, p.61).

Following the violent land reform program of 2000, human rights violations by the Mugabe led Zanu-PF and the suppression of political freedoms, the international community resolved to deploy these newly acquired precision weapons of economic statecraft, also called smart bombs against Zimbabwe’s ruling elite and other selected individuals and businesses in 2001 and 2002 respectively (Chingono, 2010b; Portela, 2014). Thus, the purpose of this research was to explore perceptions of smart sanctions amongst Zimbabwean immigrants that are located in the Gauteng Province and other parts of the country.

Considering that a carefully identified and selected group of individuals were the intended targets of smart sanctions, the objectives of the study are focussed on determining the political as well as the socio-economic impact of smart sanctions on citizens at household level. These objectives are motivated by studies that found an incremental influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa at around the same period that smart sanctions were imposed on Zimbabwe. Statistics also show a gradual increase from anything of less than 100 000 immigrants in 2001 to reach a peak of about 2,5 million by 2009 (Makina, 2012). It is for this reason that the main research question in this research is: **What are the underlying causes for the influx of Zimbabwean migrants into South Africa between 2001 and 2009?**

An analytical examination of the main research question points to an existence or presence of two variables that played themselves out during the Zimbabwe sanctions episode. On the face of it, it appears that smart sanctions is an independent variable whilst human security risks to citizens at household levels became a new norm following the withdrawal of development aid by the EU (Hove, 2012). In this scenario, human security risks on citizens is the dependent variable. Against from this

background, it is the study's proposition that human security risks followed the deployment of smart sanctions against Zimbabwe and affected citizens at household level, causing internal displacements and the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa between 2001 and 2009.

Furthermore, a careful analysis of the study's main research question and its proposition would perhaps arrive at a conclusion where there is also a 'push factor' that may account for the exodus of the 2,5 million Zimbabwean migrants between 2001 and 2009. In addition, the study's proposition is also consistent with conclusions of some migration studies where authors have alluded to a legacy of forced migrations in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region (Crush, Williams and Peberdy, 2005). Also interesting towards the attainment of the study's objectives is that some of the recent studies have attributed the increased migration of Zimbabweans to political violence as well as a politically-induced economic catastrophe (Rutherford, 2011).

However, the researcher argues that there is a knowledge gap in current literature in as far as the voices of those communities that have migrated from their countries of birth following the deployment of economic sanctions is concerned. It is against this background that an interpretative and descriptive case study that was analysed through qualitative methods was explored. In broad terms, this exploration on immigrants' perceptions of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe was be guided by the following questions being posed to each migrant participant:

- Why did you leave Zimbabwe?
- Can you share any memories or experiences that you and or your household had in the last decade, especially the period between 2001 to 2009?
 - Can you please explain how you and or household were affected?
 - Probes: Would you say there were some risks, if so, what were they?
- Please share your experiences with regards to access to basic needs like food, water and security.
 - Probe: How were you or your household's access affected?

- Others have said that sanctions in your country were designed to affect only the selected individuals in government and some businesses, what are your views?.
 - Probes: Are there any further details?.
- Could the scarcity of goods and other basic services be linked to your migration into South Africa?
- Probe: How?, please elaborate.

1.11 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Having broadly introduced the reader to the research problem and objectives of the study in the current chapter, i.e. Chapter 1, the review of literature in Chapter 2 will be primarily focussed on exploring some theoretical underpinnings of the concept which will inform the reader about smart sanctions, relative to human security. An exploration of literature in this regard will bring the reader's attention to some of the major assumptions and debates on smart sanctions in the international relations discourse. Inspired by the works of Kaempfer & Lowenberg (2007), this exploration will cover the history of sanctions, traditionally known and deployed as comprehensive sanctions right up to the adoption of smart sanctions by the UN and its members states by the end of the Cold War. This would be followed by a discussion on the reasons or rationale behind the imposition of smart sanctions on President Robert Mugabe and other members of the ruling ZANU-PF led government. It was against the imposition of smart sanctions against these carefully selected and specific individuals that human security risks to the rest of the population that the study found a research problem.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

The methodological approach to the study is unpacked in this chapter to inform the reader about the methodological choices that the researcher will use and justifications for these choices. In this chapter the reader will be introduced to the manner in which the study will go about in conducting this exploratory case study, from the research paradigm, the design of the research, data collection, sampling, participants and sites. Equally, the method that will be employed to analyse data will be outlined as well as issues of validity and reliability. Ethical considerations and most importantly, the significance of the study as a unique contribution to the broader body of knowledge is also discussed in this chapter. This is then followed by a concluding paragraph.

Chapter 4: Presentation of Results/Findings

The study's results will be presented in this chapter. These will be empirical results stemming from the lived experiences of sanctions by Zimbabwean immigrants. It is out of these results that a holistic picture for analysis will be created as the results / findings will be measured against a human security driven analytical framework.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This chapter interprets and discuss the results / findings relative to the problem statement, purpose statement and the study's working hypothesis. This chapter also integrates empirical results, i.e immigrants' perceptions (Chapter 4) with the analytical frameworks (Chapters 1 and 2) that have been created. This chapter also discusses the relevance of these findings to the current and other studies where applicable.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

The envisaged last chapter of the study then proceeds to conclude with brief summaries of some of the main headings whilst also providing recommendations for future research.

1.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter has introduced the reader with the background to the study. This was achieved by providing the problem statement, justification for the study, the purpose statement as well as the study's research questions. The researcher's proposition, delimitations as well the conceptual framework were also articulated in this chapter. A Chapter Outline that demarcates the rest the study was then provided. The next chapter will review literature that is available in the study of economic smart sanctions and its relationship, if any, with human insecurity for the people of Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the literature available in the study of economic smart sanctions and its relationship with human security. This review commences with the provision of the contextual and theoretical frameworks through which the results were analysed. Within this review, some of the major assumptions and debates on sanctions are highlighted. The chapter then focuses on the history of smart sanctions which is then followed by the Zimbabwean sanctions episode. By synthesising and evaluating the work of previous researchers on smart sanctions, the researcher aims to provide a structured, meaningful discussion and analysis of smart sanctions and also to facilitate an understanding of key concepts of human security. Against the background of theory and literature provided, study's contribution to the body of knowledge is discussed, followed by concluding remarks. Thus, a logical starting point is to provide a definition of smart sanctions and its history in the international peace and security discourse.

2.2 CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

The contextual framework is built on an acknowledgement that there are valuable lessons to be learnt about human behaviour by understanding the defining features of the broader context within which that behaviour occurs (MacFarland & Ployhart, 2015). The context in this study is rooted on the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants on their lived experiences of smart sanctions on their country in order to determine the underlying causes behind their influx into South Africa between 2001 and 2009. This is important because Johns (2006) also cited in MacFarland & Ployhart (2015), defines context as "...situational opportunities and constraints...as well as functional relationships between variables".

It is therefore important that a study of economic [smart] sanctions needs to derive context from individuals and communities' lived experiences in order to understand how collateral damage or the 'suffering of the innocent' occurs when economic sanctions are deployed in the international relations discourse (Drezner, 2011; Puchala, 2014). This is mainly because scholars and policy makers develop their understanding about the effect of a policy decision based on the impact that policy has on the targeted country or individuals within the targeted country. It is important

therefore to recognise especially the socio-economic hardship that ensued and affected the general population mainly because of the presence of smart sanctions and human security as the two main variables that played themselves out during the deployment of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe.

In the context of this study, smart sanctions come across an independent variable whilst human security risks to citizens at household levels can be seen as a dependable variable. In this regard, immigrants' perceptions are of fundamental importance towards determining the existence of a cause and effect relationship between smart sanctions and human insecurity to citizens at household levels. This is because until the perceptions of those communities that have experienced smart sanctions are known, economic sanctions will remain a 'blunt instrument' as innocent civilians continue to experience human security risks, leading to internal displacements and mass migrations. It was for this very reason that the ultimate goal of the research was to understand and describe the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants on smart sanctions mainly because constructivists believe that reality is socially constructed (Neuman, 2013; Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012).

2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theory of human security has largely informed this dissertation. It appears there is a consensus amongst scholars that as a theoretical construct, human security owes its existence to the 1994 UNDP Report (Breslin, 2014; Caballero-Anthony, 2015; Harmourtziadou, 2017; Gómez & Gasper, 2012; Gasper & Gómez, 2015; Singh, 2014; Singh, 2016). This is a report that was centred on broadening the scope of security analysis and policy by turning the focus from [the traditional] state/territorial or national security to the security of the people as suggested by Gómez & Gasper (2012) or by focusing the solutions to insecurity in "development, not arms" (Breslin, 2014, p. 243). Harmourtziadou (2017) further asserts that rather than the state and its borders, human security puts the individual, the citizen, the civilian at the centre of understanding security.

However, the main driver behind the UNDP's 1994 report appears to have been dissatisfactions amongst scholars and practitioners around the traditional conceptions of security that can be traced from the Cold War era when the major powers of the world entrusted the security of their populace and by extension, of the world, to a balance of power amongst the states (Singh, 2014). During this era, the concept of security was underpinned by the realist perspective in international relations that focussed on the state as the referent object of security.

Scholarship suggest that this approach to security was based on the presumption that, in a typical Hobbesian fashion, "if the state is secured, then so too are those that live within it" (Kanti, 2000, as cited in Singh, 2014, p. 176). The same author went to postulate that, something which the idealist perspective in international relations would see as a fallacy, the Cold War type of security was premised on the anarchistic balance of powers, the military build-up of the former superpowers and on the absolute sovereignty of the nation state. It is argued however that with the fall of the Berlin Wall, it became clear that citizens were not necessarily safe despite the macro-level stability created by the east/west military balance of the Cold War (Singh, 2014). This conclusion was driven by a contention that despite citizens "not [having] suffered from a nuclear attack, they were killed by "...environmental disasters, poverty, disease, hunger violence and human rights abuse" (Singh, 2014, p. 176).

It was against the realisation of the existential threats that citizens faced that a charge was led towards challenging the traditional state-centred approach as it failed its primary objective of protecting the individual (Singh, 2014). Central to scholars and practitioner's arguments was a need to refocus global security from "preoccupation with national and bloc security" to human security as the latter was about the security of individuals and communities in which they live as opposed to the security of the state (Kaldor, 2008 as cited in Wheeler, 2011, p. 40). During the initial stages of developing the human security concept, Singh (2014) highlighted some of concepts that emerged in the charge against the traditional notion of security. These concepts included:

- Cooperative security.
- Comprehensive security.

- Societal security.
- Collective security.
- International security.
- Human security.

It is clear that human security surpassed all the other concepts primarily because it made the individual and not the state, societal nor community, as the referent object of security (Singh, 2014). It is also apparent that human security received a favourable consideration for further development because it is focussed on protection of individuals from pertinent day to day challenges like threats from disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards (UNDP, 1994, p. 22 as cited in Wheeler, 2011). Citing the UNDP's 1994 report, the same author had went on to outline the main characteristics of human security:

- The concept is universal [as] it applies to all people.
- Human security is interdependent, [meaning that] when one person or community experiences insecurity, it affects the collective.
- Human security is easier to insure through early prevention rather than later intervention.
- Human security is people centred [as] it is concerned with how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercise their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities and whether they live in conflict or in peace (Wheeler 2011, p 39).

Against this background, human security emerged not only as discourse but also as a theoretical perspective and an operational framework for solving foreign policy problems on the one hand and domestic policy issues on the other hand in the post-Cold war era (Gasper & Gómez, 2015). This was mainly due to an appreciation that a human security approach reorients the focus of security towards the basic needs of ordinary people (Gasper & Gómez, 2015). Others have observed that key tenets of human security are centred on broadening the scope and focus of security on the individual as the referent object of security (Caballero-Anthony, 2015). For Breslin (2015), the objective of attaining individual 'freedom from fear and want' was the basic thrust of the human security agenda. Most profoundly, it has been stated "human security means freedom from violence and from the fear of violence, from extreme

impoverishment, pollution, hunger, homelessless, ill health and illiteracy” (Harmourtziadou 2017, p. 57).

The table below provides a tabulated comparisons between state and human security.

State vs Human Security			
Type of security	Referent Object	Responsibility	Threats
Traditional	The state/nation	Integrity of the state	Interstate war, revolution, civil war or civil disobedience
Human	The individual	Integrity of the individual	Poverty, pollution, homelessless, ill health etc

Table 1.1: Comparisons between state and human security

However, the development of a human security framework was not an easy one due to the existence of pertinent questions like; Whose security?, Security as perceived by who?, Security of which values?, Against which threats?, Secured by who?, To what extend? and By what instruments? (Gasper & Gómez, 2015). It is no wonder that the UNDP’s 1994 report highlighted the following seven dimensions, which also serve as a framework for a human security analysis:

- Personal security
- Political security
- Economic security
- Community security
- Environmental
- Health security
- Food security

Thus the broadening of the scope and focus of security was further enhanced by 2003 report from the UN Commission on Human Security (CHS). The CHS was established in 2001 in response to the late former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan’s call for a world “free of fear” and free of want” (Harmourtziadou, 2017, p. 57).

In terms of its “Human Security Now” report of 2003, the CHS stated that human security is [intended] to:

protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment...it means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks for survival, livelihood and dignity (Harmourtziadou, 2017, p. 57).

Thus, emboldened by the UNDP’s 1994 report, the seven dimensions of human security as presented by Gasper & Gómez (2015, p. 103) and further detailed by Singh (2014, p.176), are summarised and presented on the table below.

Analytical framework		
Type of security	Definition	Threats
Personal	Protection from physical violence	Violence from or by the state, other states, sub-state actors, domestic abuse or self, crime
Political	Freedom of speech and access to basic human rights	Suppression of human rights by the state, militarisation
Economic	Access to basic income or finances	Poverty, unemployment
Community	Right to freedom of identity, race, gender, religion etc	Oppressive practises from the group, ethnic violence
Environmental	Access to healthy environment	Unavailability of safe and clean drinking water, polluted air due to deforestation, desertification
Health	Protection from diseases	Absence of healthcare facilities, epidemics and pandemics, poor nutrition, unsafe lifestyles
Food	Access to food, ensuring healthy diets	Famine, poverty, hunger, unhealthy diets, malnutrition etc

Table 1.2: Analytical Framework

2.4 UNDERSTANDING SMART SANCTIONS

2.4.1 Definition of smart sanctions

In order to understand smart sanctions, it is important to conceptualise this phenomenon primarily because smart sanctions exist within the realm of economic sanctions. In the absence of a universally accepted definition Portela (2014), this study identifies with the description of sanctions as actions that are taken by one or more countries to threaten or disrupt trade relations with another country with the purpose of persuading the country in question to change its policies or behaviour (Bapat, Heinrich, Kobayashi & Morgan, 2013). As a policy instrument, smart sanctions have been acknowledged as the most viable option to military action or war (Oskarsson, 2012). Literature further provides that multilateral economic sanctions or 'wars without bullets' in the post-Cold War world period became an acceptable alternative to military action (Oskarsson, 2012).

Arising out of the paragraph above is an indication that sanctions can be imposed unilaterally, i.e by one country and or multilaterally by two or more countries. Equally important is the need to acknowledge the different terminologies that have been used to describe sanctions, being the phenomenon that is being studied. The need for such acknowledgement is mainly because some scholars have used the term 'smart' to describe this policy tool (Drezner, 2011; Shagabutdinova & Berejikian, 2007). Grebe (2010) uses the term 'targeted sanctions' and 'restrictive measures' whilst Wallenstein & Grusell (2012) have interchangeably used both 'targeted' and 'smart' sanctions to describe the same phenomenon. Similarly, the existence of diverse interpretations for smart sanctions was also noted by Chingono (2010b) who alluded to an ongoing battle concerning the 'lingo' that is used to describe sanctions against Zimbabwe. However for the purposes of this study, smart or targeted sanctions as well as restrictive measures shall mean one and the same thing.

Remarkably, contemporary literature compares smart sanctions with precision (Drezner, 2011) and selectiveness (Shagabutdinova & Berejikian, 2007). This comparison is largely owed to a description that targeted sanctions are "precision-guided munitions of economic statecraft that are designed to hurt the elite supporters of the targeted regime whilst imposing minimal hardship on the mass public" (Drezner, 2011, p. 96). In a similar fashion, smart sanctions are compared to 'smart bombs' in

an effort to denote a situation where they are directed to concentrate on specific targets whilst avoiding damage to the unintended objects (Shagabudinova & Berejikian, 2007).

Perhaps the most direct but profound definition is the one that describes smart sanctions as instruments of foreign policy that are “designed and implemented in such a way as to affect only those parties that are held responsible for wrongful, unacceptable, illegal or reprehensible behaviour” (Clark, 2013, p. 1232). In relation to desired outcomes, literature suggests that smart sanctions apply pressure on the leadership whose behaviour is found to be in conflict with the acceptable norms of the international community (Portela, 2014). Furthermore, scholars and theorists agree that the ability to separate or isolate individuals who are the objects for sanctions is the single most distinctive feature of smart sanctions, as opposed to general or comprehensive sanctions that affect the country as a whole (Grebe, 2010).

2.5 MAJOR ASSUMPTIONS AND DEBATES ON SMART SANCTIONS

The following are some of the major assumptions and debates around smart sanctions as a policy instrument, relative to their deployment to targeted countries, including Zimbabwe:

2.5.1 Smart sanctions are the precision weapons of economic statecraft

Some of the major assumptions and debates on smart sanctions are rooted in selectivity and accuracy. These assumptions can be found in the arguments of the proponents of smart sanctions like Portela (2014), Drezner (2011) as well as Oskarsson (2012) who argue that smart sanctions are directed at the leadership or elites whose behaviour is deemed objectionable. In this regard, proponents argue that smart sanctions reduce collateral damage to the broader or general population. Others like Shagabudinova and Berejikian (2007) indeed affirm these assumptions with statistical evidence that perhaps confirmed their hypothesis that smart sanctions were more effective than traditional sanctions that were exemplified by the [comprehensive] Iraq sanctions of 1990.

On the other hand, opponents argue that even smart sanctions are not immune to collateral damage. This is mainly because in relation to smart sanctions against Zimbabwe, it has been said that sanctions were not targeted in that the impact had

actually extended to the unintended audience (Chingono, 2010a). Therefore assumptions on the accuracy of smart sanctions are fundamental to the study's objectives that are centred on ascertaining on whether or not the broader population was affected by smart sanctions.

However, what appears to be a limitation on the part of the proponents of smart sanctions is that whereas the design and intentions of this policy tool appear to be noble, there is no absolute guarantee that only the intended targets will be affected. An example is the Syrian sanctions since 2011 where 'restrictive measures' to force President Al Assad to 'step aside' and allow for a peaceful and democratic transition included a ban on Syria oil and petroleum products (Seeberg, 2015). By implication, such a ban unintentionally affects the broader civilian population who should benefit from social security programmes that may include but not limited to health and welfare services. As literature will show later in this study, the word 'precision' could be a misnomer as it becomes the general population that gets affected and not only the targeted individuals when trade sanctions are deployed.

2.5.2 A change of behaviour is the primary objective

Another assumption that is fundamental to security studies is one that concerns the political ends of the sanctioner or sending party/s. A case in point is an assumption by Shagabutdinova and Berejikian (2007) that smart sanctions are imposed to ensure a speedier change in a sanctionee's behaviour. In a study that has been credited as the most comprehensive time-series cross-national data over the period 1972-2006, it was found that about 49% of economic sanctions on partly-free or undemocratic states were imposed with an intention to promote democratic freedoms (Chingono, 2010a).

This assumption appeared to be accurate and relevant in relation to Zimbabwe as it was pointed out that the EU had imposed sanctions in order to "to change the politics and behaviour of the targeted persons" in Zimbabwe (Grebe, 2010, p. 12). He went on state that the US' objectives were embodied in the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Act (ZDERA) or ZIDERA that was passed in order to assist Zimbabwe in democratic transition and to revitalise the collapsed economy (Grebe, 2010).

However, if the political ends of the US were a change of behaviour, then the provisions of the ZIDERA appear to be inconsistent because this act was passed...”to assist Zimbabwe in democratic transition...” (Grebe, 2010, p. 9). In this regard, the Zimbabwean government could be justified when it argues that if the motive was to put pressure on the targeted officials, the impact of the ZIDERA might have overstretched and neglected the virtual protection of ordinary citizens (Chingono, 2010a, p. 71). Literature suggest that such an argument could have been premised on the provisions of the ZIDERA that provides not only for the refusal or vote against an extension of any loan, credit or guarantee to Zimbabwe; but also that it provides for the rejection of any move towards the cancellation or reduction of debts owed by the government of Zimbabwe to the US or any of the international Financial Institutions (IFIs) (Grebe, 2010).

Coupled with the withdrawal of developmental aid by the EU and the UK, Zimbabwe’s former Minister of Information, Jonathan Moyo’s interview with the *Cable News Network (CNN)* in 2002 was quoted as having said;

It is very clear that what we are now dealing with is organised economic terrorism whose aim is clear and is to unseat a legitimately elected government which has decided to defend its national independence and national sovereignty... it is a shame for such a mighty region, for a whole continent to descend on a small country in such a personalised manner...(Chipanga and Mude, 2015, p. 299).

The researcher acknowledges that whilst the statements and assertions of scholars like Chingono (2010b) and Chipanga and Mude (2015) are found be thought-provoking, cognisance is also taken that none of these scholars have reconciled the prevailing circumstances in Zimbabwe with human security. Similarly, none of them mention preventive measures that would be applied to ensure that the broader population are protected from the effects of the ZIDERA nor collateral damage following the withdrawal of development aid. As a consequence, none of these scholars have measured the perceptions of the general population. It is for this reasons that an attempt shall be made to address this gap through this study.

2.5.3 Sanctions are not effective

Paradoxically, the question of whether sanctions are effective has appeared to baffle not only scholars and practitioners alike but also politicians as well. This paradox comes to mind in recognition of a statement by former Prime Minister of the UK, Tony Blair who was quoted as having said:

We work closely with the [Movement for Democratic Change] MDC on the measures that we should take in respect of Zimbabwe, although I am afraid that these measures and sanctions, although we have them in place, are of limited effect on the Mugabe regime. We must be realistic about that. It is still important ... to put pressure for change on the Mugabe regime. (Grebe, 2010, p. 12).

Similarly, former Russian Defence Minister, Sergei Ivanov once remarked, "I know of no instances in world practice and previous experience in which sanctions have achieved their aim and proved effective" (Vines, 2012, p. 868).

As a measure on the effectiveness of sanctions, it has often been stated that "prompt significant concessions or movement in the target's policy positions" is an indication of the effectiveness of sanctions (Grebe, 2010, p. 10). It stands to reason therefore that the effectiveness of smart sanctions against Zimbabwe should be measured against the stated political objectives of the US, the UK and the EU as the sending parties. In this regard, Portela (2014) advanced the notion that sanctions in Zimbabwe were successful in undermining support for Mugabe [and the ZANU-PF] as evidenced by signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) that included the participation of the opposition in the new government.

Similarly, the formation of the coalition government, commonly known as the Government of National Unity (GNU), was seen as an indicator of the effectiveness of sanctions by others like (Chingono, 2010a). In its 2007 report, the International Crisis Group, 2007 was also enthusiastic when it reported that "...targeted sanctions on senior regime figures are working...ZANU-PF leaders cite their personal financial situations as motivation for wanting Mugabe out" (Portela, 2014, p.18).

On the contrary, there are those who hold the view that sanctions were not effective against Mugabe and his government. This is because in the first instance, Mugabe had remained the president of Zimbabwe until his removal in November 2017, 16 years after smart sanctions were first imposed on him and others in the ruling ZANU-PF. Secondly, there are arguments that in an effort to neutralise the effects of economic pressure following the withdrawal of developmental aid, Zimbabwe adopted a “Look East Policy” that saw her reaping the benefits of economic relations with countries from the East; most notably Iran, Iraq, India, Malaysia, North Korea, China, Indonesia and Singapore (Chipanga & Mude, 2015).

Most noteworthy is that the effectiveness of targeted sanctions against specific individuals was also questioned those that have observed that targeted persons could even evade travel bans by travelling to Asia or Arab countries by (Grebe 2010, p 21). The latter observation then calls for the following question; are countries in Asia (the East) and those in the Arabian Peninsula affiliated to the UN and if so, are they not duty bound to comply with and enforce global norms as espoused by the UN?

Questions that arise out of the observations and arguments above perhaps characterise the nature of the international political system that has been described as ‘anarchic’. This is primarily because as opposed to pursuing a common purpose of bringing the guilty to account, it is argued that states appear to be acting in self-help and advancing their own interests (Vrabic, 2014). Consequently, the latter represent a challenge for the UN, being an organisation that must act as ‘a glue’ that keep nations together and when so required, it must also be an opposite end of a magnet that must keep these nations apart from one another.

In this regard, the anarchic international system also taps into power relations within the international system in general and the UNSC in particular in the sense that whereas the West (EU) is seen to be imposer of sanctions and mostly working alongside the US, the East (where Russia, India and China are geographically located) appear to be taking the opposite direction as observations suggest that sanctioned countries would turn to them. Examples of countries that turned to the East after sanctions were imposed on them include Zimbabwe, Libya, Syria and Cuba.

Thus an international peace and security dilemma can be found in this question: Given its current configuration, is the UN Security Council (UNSC) effective in fulfilling its mandate of maintaining international peace and security? Having highlighted what could be a grey area in the international system, this study can only recommend further investigations on this aspect as the current study is focussed on establishing the underlying causes for the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa as its primary objective.

2.6 THE HISTORY OF SMART SANCTIONS

It was mentioned that earlier when defining the phenomenon under study that smart sanctions exist in the realm of economic sanctions. The practise of economic sanctions, traditionally applied as general or comprehensive, can be traced back to ancient Greece with the imposition of a trade embargo by Athens on its neighbour Megara in 432 BC (Kaempfer & Lowenberg, 2007). With history having recorded that the trade embargoes against Megara provided the basis for a 27-year Peloponnesian War, the practice of economic sanctions with the aim of advancing a country's national interests or to compel a behavioural change in another country has been a regular feature of international relations. Other examples in the pre-World War I era include Napoleon Bonaparte's Continental System against Great Britain in 1806 as well as Thomas Jefferson's Embargo Act of 1807 (Kaempfer & Lowenberg, 2007).

An assumption is made that in line with ethos of the post-World War 1 (WW1) international system, civilians were also considered as legitimate targets. This assumption is based on the literary provisions that the likelihood that sanctions may impact on the general population was predictable even during the formation of the League of Nations (Kaempfer & Lowenberg, 2007). A case in point is an occasion where former US president Woodrow Wilson had argued that "an absolute isolation" can bring a[ny] country to standstill (Kaempfer & Lowenberg, 2007, p. 864). In this regard, the predictability of sanctions could be deduced in this speech by the former US president;

"No goods can be shipped in or out, no telegraphic messages can be exchanged ...there shall be no communication of any kind between the peoples of the other nations and the people of that nation... It is the most complete

boycott ever conceived in a public document, and I want to say with confident prediction that there will be no more fighting after that. There is not a nation that can stand that for six months” (Kaempfer & Lowenberg, 2007, p. 864).

Ironically, the imposition of sanctions against Italy in 1935 by the League of Nations appeared to be insufficient to change her behaviour and deter the attempted conquest of Abyssinia, the current Ethiopia (Strang, 2008). Many scholars agree that the post-WW2 period, commonly known as the Cold War era, saw economic sanctions being imposed only on two occasions by the newly established UN that replaced the League of Nations. These sanctions were against Apartheid South Africa and the former Rhodesia, the current Zimbabwe (Drezner, 2011; Gordon, 2015; Kaempfer & Lowenberg, 2007; Peksen & Drury, 2009).

However, the post-Cold War era of the 1990s saw economic sanctions becoming more popular (Oskarsson, 2012). It is no surprise therefore that Drezner (2011) as well as (Peksen & Drury, 2009) are amongst those that assert that smart sanctions owe their origins in the post-Cold War explosion of economic statecraft. In fact, other scholars went as far describing the 1990s, i.e the period between the end of the Cold War and the turn of the century, as the ‘sanctions decade’ following observations that out of only two (2) sanctions resolutions that were passed between 1945 and 1990 as indicated above, the UNSC had imposed sanctions in about twelve (12) times t about a dozen countries (Drezner, 2011; Peksen & Drury, 2009).

However following the imposition of economic sanctions on Iraq, rated by far as the most comprehensive in history when measured in terms of costs Drezner (2011), there were widespread criticisms across the political and civil society spectrums on the indiscriminate nature of sanctions (Peksen & Drury, 2009; Oskarsson, 2012). Two of the former UN Secretary Generals, Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Kofi Annan, have both referred to sanctions as a ‘blunt instrument’ (Drezner, 2011, p. 98). This bluntness can be attributed to questions as to whether the means (sanctions) could justify the unintended but actual ends (impact on the general population) in order to put pressure on the targeted leadership, amidst humanitarian crises where sanctions were deployed.

Interestingly, it has been noted that the concept of human security entered the international relations vocabulary from the UNDP at about the same period as the end of the Cold War (Puchala, 2014). Through its Human Development Report (HDR) of 1994, the international community was urged to appreciate that “it is time to make a transition from the narrow concept of national security to the all-encompassing concept of human security” (Puchala, 2014, p. 261). Others have also observed that the UNDP’s report has been widely credited for highlighting two major components of human security, viz ‘freedom fear’ and ‘freedom from want’ (Gomez & Gasper 2013, p. 2).

An assumption is made that it was perhaps for this reason that the humanitarian situation in Iraq was examined through the human security lenses as observed by Drezner (2011). Further and when measured in costs, it was estimated that the total value of lost revenue that was suffered by Iraq from banned oil exports amounted to about US \$130 billion, that the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) dropped by 50% whilst inflation rose by more than 5000% (Oskarsson, 2012). These estimates appear to be consistent with other studies because Drezner (2011) also alluded to the Iraqi sanctions as being the most comprehensive largely due to estimates that Iraq had lost about US \$175 billion in oil revenues.

On the same note, the cost for a family’s food for a single month increased 250 times over the first five years and child mortality rates of Iraqi infants ranged between 100, 000 to 227, 000 between 1991 to 1998 (Drezner, 2011). Nevertheless, it has been noted that even under severe sanctions, not only was Saddam Hussein able to survive but also that he had flourished relative to the general population (Peksen & Drury, 2009). It was therefore against the bedrock of the negative externalities of comprehensive sanctions that a call for smart sanctions was made by human rights groups (Drezner, 2011).

In the light of sustained criticisms, UN sanctioned conferences that comprised of scholars, civil society, practitioners and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) were convened and sponsored by individual governments to develop and propose policy alternatives for the UN (Drezner, 2011). The first of these workshops was the Swiss-sponsored *Interlaken Process I* that focused on redesigning the practice of financial

sanctions. This workshop was followed by the commissioning of a second conference (*Interlaken Process II*) that not only prepared a “how-to” manual but also developed a model for subsequent UNSC resolutions (Drezner, 2011, p. 101).

Other conferences to follow included the German-sponsored *Bonn-Berlin Process* that focussed exclusively on arms embargoes as well as travel bans. Literature further suggest that the incorporation of the Sweden-sponsored *Stockholm Process*, that focussed on developing mechanisms for improving the implementation of sanctions in the UN, completed a policy review process towards what is now known as smart sanctions (Drezner, 2011). It can be said therefore that smart sanctions are a product of an intercourse between the civil society, practitioners and scholars.

2.7 THE RATIONALE BEHIND SMART SANCTIONS AGAINST ZIMBABWE

Scholarship has provided different opinions and perceptions around the imposition of sanctions against Zimbabwe. Chingono (2010b) is of the view that the major event that marked sanctions was the pronouncement by the ZANU-PF government to legalise land reforms through a constitutional amendment. A pragmatic view is one that holds that it was agrarian reform that involved the violent expropriation of land from white farmers as well as intimidation of the opposition that can be seen as the root causes of the Zimbabwean crisis (Portela, 2014, p. 15) Another perspective holds that human rights violations by the Mugabe regime against the Movement for Democratic Change-led (MDC) opposition were the reason behind the imposition of sanctions (Chipanga & Mude, 2015).

A rather interesting perspective is provided by Grebe (2010) who alludes to a systemic political crisis that spans for over 20 years since independence. In this perspective the author argues that following independence, Mugabe embarked on implementing his own ideology which was driven by authoritarianism and that of the ZANU-PF command structure which was mainly focussed on delegitimising individualism and political opposition (Grebe, 2010). To this end, the aftermath of Operation Gukurahundi with an estimated 20 000 deaths in the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) dominated Matabele region and the subsequent Unity Accord of 1987 that “forced the ZAPU to join the ZANU-PF” are prime examples towards the enforcement of this Mugabe led ZANU-PF ideology (Grebe, 2010, p. 6).

However, an equally interesting but a different perspective on the Zimbabwe sanctions episode is one which holds that reasons for the imposition of sanctions revolve around the need to democratise and [ensure] the political emancipation of the Zimbabweans, something that must be perceived and possibly rejected as a Western sponsored ideology to re-colonize Zimbabwe as could be found in Mugabe and the ZANU-PF's rhetoric "Zimbabwe shall never be a colony again" (Chingono 2010b, p. 68). Consequently, the extent in which this perspective will play itself out in terms of looking at the Zimbabwe sanctions through the Eurocentric vis a vis Afrocentric lens remains to be seen. This is because for starters, there is already a view that the Western world supported targeted sanctions in order to "recolonise" Zimbabwe (Masaka, 2012, p. 58).

The international community's response culminated in the imposition or deployment of smart sanctions by the US in 2001 and the EU in 2002 respectively. Literature further suggest that following the failure of diplomatic manoeuvres, the EU revoked Article 96 of the Contonou Agreement that enabled it to terminate this agreement in the advancement or defence of human rights, democratic principles and the rule of law (Grebe, 2010). As a result, restricted sanctions that included a travel bans, financial restrictions, arms embargoes were imposed by the EU on Mugabe and other members of the ZANU-PF (Grebe, 2010; Portela, 2014). The expressed targets of these sanctions consisted of about 163 individuals and 31 businesses that were accused of "human rights abuses, the undermining of democracy or the abuse of the rule of law" (Masaka, 2012; Portela, 2014, p. 16). On its part, the US had passed the ZIDERA in 2001, in order to "assist Zimbabwe in democratic transition and to revitalise the economy" (Chingono, 2010b; Grebe, 2010, p. 9; Masaka, 2012).

2.7.1 The Nature of Sanctions

Having provided the reasons or rationale behind the deployment of smart sanctions, it follows that the nature of these sanctions should also be explored and established. Perhaps a credible effort to understand them is to examine the legal instruments which provide for them. In this regard, Masaka (2012) points to the US' ZIDERA of 2001 and the EU's Common Position (2002/145/CFSP) of 2002. These instruments are important because in an article that was focussed on *Assessing the Effectiveness of Targeted Sanctions against Zimbabwe*, Grebe (2010) has described the nature of

smart sanctions in his reference to the EU's 'restrictive measures' as those measures that included financial sanctions, travel bans and an arms embargo to restrict any flow of military material into Zimbabwe.

The same author went on to state that the US responded to developments in Zimbabwe by enacting the ZDERA or ZIDERA by Chingono (2010b) and Masaka (2012). In terms of this Act, the US President was not only empowered to implement travel bans and financial restrictions on those individuals identified as being responsible for political violence but "the cancellation of debt or any other kind of financial assistance through the Multilateral Financial Institutions (MFIs) [the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) was prohibited as noted by Grebe (2010:9) or "provided certain conditions are met" (Masaka, 2012, p. 60).

Another perspective is provided by Portela (2014) who appear to be in agreement with Grebe (2010) description with her own statement that under the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the EU sanctions against Zimbabwe consisted of;

- an arms embargo on non-lethal military equipment and a prohibition on technical or financial assistance related to military activities,
- a travel ban and assets freeze on members of the government and persons and entities associated with it as well as those persons whose activities undermine human rights, democracy and the rule of law,
- [the] suspension of application of the Contonou Agreement.

However, something that may perhaps come across as controversial was the implications around the suspension of the Contonou Agreement. The suspension of this agreement, the same author went on, "freezes budgetary support and support for development projects under the 9th and 10th European Development Fund except for those projects in direct support of the population" (Portela, 2014, p. 15). This aspect is fundamental to the study's objectives in that the net effect of the suspension of development aid on the populace in general and households remains the object of this study. This is primarily due to the need to establish the socio-economic impact of smart sanctions on citizens at household level.

In this regard, there is a school of thought that holds that it was the suspension of development aid that led to the collapse of several sectors in Zimbabwe, an occurrence that risked the lives of citizens as water supply, education and health systems collapsed (Hove, 2012). Furthermore and in a pattern similar to that of the US, the EU's objectives and indeed its demands for imposing sanctions, as captured in the 2004/161/CFSP includes; improving the human rights situation, ending political violence, ensuring free and fair elections and guaranteeing basic political rights (Grebe, 2010). Interestingly, its demands and those of the US appear to be consistent with the theoretical provisions that espouses the supposition that the value of smart sanctions "lies in the targeting of political elites who have the capacity...to alter government policy" (Shagabudinova & Berejikian, 2007, p. 62).

It is against this reason that whilst it may appear that sanctions against Zimbabwe were targeted or restrictive, contestations continue depending on the lenses through which one looks at them. For example, whilst the US, UK and EU insist on having imposed targeted or restrictive sanctions respectively, the Zimbabwean government maintains that illegal and comprehensive sanctions were imposed because they are aimed at replacing the ruling ZANU-PF with the MDC (Chingono, 2010b; Freeman, 2014). In the words of Mugabe;

The MDC ... is immovably and implacably moored in the colonial yesteryear and embraces wittingly or unwittingly the repulsive ideology of return to white settler rule. MDC is as old Journal of Contemporary African Studies 351 and as strong as the forces that control it. ...It is a counter revolutionary Trojan horse contrived and nurtured by the very inimical forces that enslaved and oppressed our people yesterday. (Freeman, 2014, p.351-352)

On his part Masaka (2012) appears to be adopting a pro ZANU-PF position in that whilst acknowledging that targeted sanctions were imposed, he comes across as identifying with the ZANU-PF narrative. In his paper titled: *Paradoxes in the 'Sanctions Discourse' in Zimbabwe*, he argued that the [targeted] sanctions have not spared innocent Zimbabweans not only because they affected the economy by stopping the release of credit lines but also because they negatively affected the operations [of] the key government institutions and businesses that are crucial for the

economic wellbeing of the country. His main argument is that the entire population gets affected if those that hold the levers of the economy like senior government officials, are placed under sanctions. The same view is also held by Chingono (2010a) who stated that Zimbabwe's ability to reschedule its loan payments and also to apply for debt cancellations during the times of severe financial crisis was severely affected.

2.8 SMART SANCTIONS AND THE CITIZENS OF ZIMBABWE

Although the UNDP's report of 1994 has highlighted seven dimensions and all of them were employed for analysis and the interpretation of results; only the political, economic, community dimensions were discussed in this chapter. This is because the review of literature would be incomplete without establishing the specific role that smart sanctions played in the selected dimensions relative to citizens at household level. Coupled to addressing the study's secondary objectives, it is also because human security risks in these dimensions revolve around the [in]ability of the people to access resources that are essential to their survival and dignity (Gomez & Gasper, 2013). It is against this background that the next pages outline the selected dimensions for detailed discussion as follows:

2.8.1 Political Security

Literature has it that despite its limited scope as envisioned in the '94 HDR, political security relates to basic civil and political rights as they are directly linked to basic human rights (Gasper & Gómez, 2015). Using the US as an example, Chingono (2010b) concurs that democracy is centred on political freedoms and civil liberties. He went on to state that for the Western nations; regular free and fair elections, freedom of the press, human rights, multipartism and popular [public] participation were not only underpinning democracy but that these civil liberties and freedoms were absent in Zimbabwe. The researcher's deduction therefore is that some authors and commentators on the Zimbabwe sanctions episode are of the view that amongst other reasons, political insecurity is at the centre behind the imposition of smart sanctions.

For example Chipanga and Mude (2015) posits that human rights violations were the major reason behind the imposition of sanctions against Zimbabwe. Another view is that the pressure exerted on Zimbabwe by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to comply with its (SADC) electoral standards as "an acknowledgement of the existence of democratic deficiencies" (Portela 2014, p. 16).

Interestingly, these views appear to be consistent with some observations that since independence, Mugabe and the ZANU-PF's strategy was focussed on "delegitimising individualism and political opposition" (Grebe, 2010, p. 6).

However, Chingono (2010b) is of the view that imposing sanctions on Zimbabwe was the West's strategy of proliferating its own beliefs of what constitutes good governance. In the same vein, he cites Mugabe's popular stance that he [Mugabe] is a victim of unfair treatment despite having introduced democracy in Zimbabwe. In what could be interpreted as a compromise from his initial position, some studies suggest that following the adoption of the GPA by ZANU-PF-led government and the MDC-T (Tsvangirai), Mugabe supported a new Constitution was adopted under a new GNU (Mudyadzo, 2014; Portela, 2014).

An analysis of the provisions of the newly adopted GNU constitution, from which a new National Security Policy (NSP) was derived, demonstrates a resolve by Zimbabweans to "build a society that is free of violence, fear, intimidation, patronage and corruption and founded on democratic principles" (Mudyadzo, 2014, p. 1). A deduction is that these attributes represent fundamental values for which any threat thereof represent a human security threat to the people of Zimbabwe.

Also most notable is that intertwined with Zimbabwe's national security issues are the attendant human security risks that followed the inability of citizens to have access to resources that are essential to their survival and dignity as characterised by the scarcity of basic goods and services, extreme poverty and the delivery of health services (Chingono, 2010a). By implication, political security in Zimbabwe will perpetually remain under siege if persistent human security risks are not eliminated. Similarly the population will never be 'free from fear and want' when there is scarcity of basic goods and services and extreme poverty.

Therefore the indivisibility of national security from human security resonates with the ideals set forth Preamble to the UN Charter with the affirmation of faith in fundamental human rights...in the equal rights of men and women and most interestingly, of nations large and small (Singh, 2016). The same author further stated that reflecting on the aroused conscience of the free world, the world leaders then insisted that the

foundations of peace must be built upon respect for human rights. In a message to [US] Congress, former president Franklin Roosevelt's address is acknowledged as having laid the foundation for human rights with his Four Freedoms speech that called for 'freedom of speech', 'freedom of worship', 'freedom from wants' and 'freedom from fear' throughout the world (Singh, 2016, p. 200).

A deduction is made therefore that the requirements for political security to prevail in Zimbabwe were not available mainly due to political violence by the government (Greebe, 2010, Portela, 2014). Equally, another deduction is that there couldn't be political security and human rights when citizens experienced structural violence on top of political and economic violence (Morreira, 2010). Therefore could then these circumstances provide a justification for the exodus of Zimbabweans into South Africa? This question is important towards answering not only the main research question but also the study's proposition.

In the same vein, the government led post-election violence not only resulted in hardship for citizens but human security risks when measured against the analytical framework. This conclusion is arrived at when looking at violence to citizens which represented a violation of (personal security), the suppression of (political security) basic human rights in terms of free and fair elections following accusation of rigged elections in 2005 and 2008, the violation of freedom of identity (community) amidst Mugabe and the ZANU-PF's strategy that was focussed on "delegitimising individualism and political opposition" as posited by Grebe (2010, p. 6)

2.8.2 Economic Security

Economic security refers to the ability of individuals and communities to attain basic needs sustainably and with dignity through employment, income and housing (Gasper & Gómez, 2015). It follows therefore that the primary determinant for self-sustainment is access to economic resources including employment and the earning of an income. To this end, it has been posited that parallel to the political crisis, an "economic crisis of catastrophic dimensions" which can be attributed to corruption and the mismanagement of the economy ensued (Portela, 2014, p. 15). She went to state that the economic crisis saw Zimbabwe becoming the fastest shrinking economy ...with unemployment figures reaching about 70% and more. Thus the genesis of economic

insecurity are rooted on an individual's inability to earn a living and or to provide for their family's when the means to access them have diminished.

It is against this reason that Portela's (2014) observation appears accurate when an analysis is made on the experiences of an anthropological research participant whose statement suggests that by 2007 to 2008, "...*the country [Zimbabwe] was crazy [as there was] – no food, no water, no electricity, no jobs...*" (Morreira, 2015, p.72). In another literature-based research, there is an observation that compounding [economic insecurity] was the Mugabe-led government's failure to pay salaries to teachers, nurses, pharmacists, doctors and other unskilled workers who then flocked to neighbouring countries at a rate of about 4000 teachers per annum and with the majority migrating to South Africa (Manik, 2014; Morreira, 2015). Consequently, these migrations appear to be nullifying the 'precision' characteristic of smart sanctions as purported by Drezner (2011) and the 'selectiveness' (Grebe, 2010) as well as by Shagabudinova and Berejikian (2007).

In his paper on the Zimbabwe Sanctions: *An analysis of the 'lingo' guiding the perceptions of the sanctioners and the sanctioneers*, Chingono (2010b) has alluded to the weakening of Zimbabwean dollar and the skyrocketing inflation by 2008. He further alluded to the financial crisis that was attributable to the ZIDERA/ZDERA under which the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) like the World Bank (WB) the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the African Development Bank (ADB) were restricted from granting credit or extending any loan without the approval of the President of the United States. As a consequence, the deepening financial crisis resulted in the 'valueless' Zimbabwean dollar being suspended whilst the US dollar and the South African rand remained being accepted legal tenders (Chingono, 2010a).

Thus a combination of socio-economic security risks could be present in a situation where communities started engaging in barter trade and where "...students settled their school fees in kind by tendering valuables like sugar beans, cows, goats, wheat, maize, fertilizer, chemicals and fuels in the place of cash..." (Chingono, 2010b, p. 71). In another paper, the same author went suggested that the socio-economic problems that were experienced by Zimbabweans were characterised by "hyperinflation, the scarcity of basic goods and services, extreme poverty, brain drain...poor delivery of

health services, lack of investor confidence...etc” (Chingono, 2010a, p. 194). Having said that, a question that arises is; were there economic security risks that impacted directly on citizens at household levels? Thus, this study aimed at answering not only this question but also others that fall in the same category.

Most noteworthy is an argument that it appears convenient to blame Zimbabwe’s economic collapse on external interference whilst turning a blind eye on the ZANU-PF government’s political and economic errors in the late 1990s (Masaka, 2012). Examples in this regard are arguments that the Zimbabwean government had no viable alternatives in addressing the debt that emanated from two of the major cost drivers in the late 1990s. The cost drivers being referred to are the fiscal shocks to the national fiscus owing to the [unbudgeted for] compensation scheme for war veterans in 1997 as well as the military’s involvement in the Democratic Republic of Congo’s (DRC) conflict in 1998 which, at its height 2 years later in 2000, cost about US \$1 million dollars per day (Chipanga & Mude, 2015; Coomer & Gstraunthaler, 2011).

Also refuting the blame of Zimbabwe’s crisis to targeted sanctions is Freeman (2014) who argues that such statements are part of a ZANU-PF propaganda. On the contrary, he asserts that it would have been the enforcement of the ZIDERA/ZDERA that would have affected the general population or the larger economy except that “there has been no instances when any of the US delegates has exercised this veto” at any of the IFIs (Freeman, 2014, p. 357). It is against these arguments and counter arguments above that this question is being asked; were there economic security risks in Zimbabwe and what were the causes?. It is also against these contradictions that a substantive answer can be pursued through an empirical research where immigrants will be given an opportunity to express their experiences of smart sanctions.

The analytical framework also has economic security as one of its dimensions when analysing human security threats. It is defined amongst an individual’s inability to access basic income or finances in order to sustain him/herself. What literature has suggested is that following the political crisis, an “economic crisis of catastrophic dimensions” ensued (Portela, 2014, p. 15). Indeed this represents human (economic) security risk economic the crisis saw Zimbabwe becoming the fastest shrinking

economy ...with unemployment figures reaching about 70% and more. However, economic insecurity appears double edged because whilst the collapse of the economy was attributed to smart sanctions, it appears there was also a self-inflicted economic pain due to “fiscal shocks to the national fiscus because of the compensation scheme for war veterans in 1997 and the military’s involvement in the Democratic Republic of Congo’s (DRC) war in 1998 (Chipanga & Mude, 2015, p. 263).

2.8.3 Community/Social Security

Not only as a construct and also as a subset of human security, Caballero-Anthony (2015) describes community security as measures to protect the breakdown of communities from sectarian and ethnic violence. She further highlights that the '94 UNDP's HDR focusses on the security of ethnic minorities and indigenous groups. Of fundamental to the study is that she also categorised threats to community security to include but not necessarily limited to; discrimination, exclusion, violence from other groups and threats from the state [against its citizens]. Interestingly, the author's description of human security and its attendant threats resonates with the need to ensure that people enjoy 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want' in line with the human security discourse that, although having emerged and gained prominence in the 1990s, owes its origins in the 1940s language that was championed by former US President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, amongst others.

In as far as the community security dimension is concerned, pertinent security risks in Zimbabwe could be the inability of the citizens to have access to those resources that are essential to their survival and dignity. Perhaps Hove (2012) contextualised the community security dimension when he stated that the withdrawal of developmental aid from the EU resulted in several sectors deteriorating and risked the lives of many citizens as water supply, education and health systems collapsed. He further argued that sanctions served to “aggravate the welfare of ordinary Zimbabweans with very little achievement on the stated objectives of the embargo” (Hove, 2012, p. 72).

Although disputing assertions that targeted and restricted sanctions were cause of the economic crisis, Freeman (2014) also alludes to a situation where official aid was frozen and lines of offshore credit being cut by both the bilateral and multilateral donors. He further argues that although bilateral assistance was withdrawn, the

provision of humanitarian aid in the form of food and [medical] assistance on the HIV/Aids pandemic was advanced through NGOs with the US providing more than 1,2 billion dollars in aid from 2001 to 2013 with a food aid feeding scheme of about 1 in 5 Zimbabweans. It is perhaps on these grounds that the author may appear to be contradicted himself with the statement that “while the neoliberal macroeconomic policies [that were] promoted by the IFIs/MFIs helped provide a structural basis for the crisis, arguments attributing the blame to the UK and the wider Western sanctions are overblown and inaccurate (Freeman, 2014, p. 350).

On the other hand, Hove’s (2012) assertion that the withdrawal of economic aid collapsed several sectors, also shared by others like Kriger (2013) appears to have some credibility as Chipanga and Mude (2015) cited reports from the European Commission of 2006 that indicates that about 4,500 Zimbabwean [school] teachers quit their jobs in an occurrence that obviously affected the quality of education in the country. On the same note Manik (2014) stated that Zimbabwe had experienced socio-economic turmoil in the mid-2000s and [that] this has led to an exodus of many Zimbabwean citizens and about 4 000 teachers per annum migrating to South Africa.

Also fundamental to the study is that in an anthropological fieldwork conducted in Musina and Cape Town in South Africa, the “dual effects of the structural violence of poverty and patriarchy” were established during an interview with one of the participants (Morreira, 2015, p. 74). Therefore and although this finding does not repudiates what Freeman (2014) has said, it may go a long way in dowsing some of his contradictions.

However threats to the ‘freedoms from fear and want’ on the part of the Mugabe regime could be attributed to physical violence and human rights violations that were carried out by Zimbabwe’s security forces in 2005 for “punishing urban communities for voting against the ZANU-PF” (Morreira, 2015, p. 436). Thus her reference to Operation Murambatsvina (‘clean out the filth’) shall go down in history as an atrocity that left about 1 million citizens without shelter. The fact that Morreira’s (2015) article is based on empirical evidence from refugee seekers and migrants makes it credible as it was the migrant’s views that brought about her conclusion that conditions of structural violence in Zimbabwe warranted asylum [in South Africa]. Thus based on the

evidence at her disposal, the author contends that it was conditions such as homelessness that could have motivated the movement of Zimbabwean migrants and asylum seekers primarily due to the presence [‘fear’ and ‘want’] and paradoxically perpetuated by their own government.

Having examined different perspectives to understand the reasons behind the exodus of Zimbabweans into South Africa, it can be stated with confidence that irrespective of the justification, there was an influx of not only ordinary Zimbabwean nationals and but also professionals into South Africa. Together with other professions, this exodus saw as much as about 4 000 teachers per annum leaving Zimbabwe since 2005. It is against these statistics that the study’s objectives of establishing socio-economic impact of smart sanctions on the general population, relative to the selected individuals, are getting closer to fruition. Equally important is the possibility that these statistics could confirm or deny the study’s proposition which is: Human insecurity followed the deployment of smart sanctions against Zimbabwe and affected citizens at household levels, resulting in migrations and the influx of Zimbabwean into South Africa between 2001 and 2009.

When measuring the community/social dimension in relation to smart sanctions on Zimbabwe against the analytical framework, the impact on citizens appears to spill-over to virtually all the other dimensions. This is primarily because as personal, economic environmental, health and food insecurity were experienced with the withdrawal of aid on the one hand whilst also personal but mainly political insecurity was experienced as a result of Operation Murambatsvina (‘clean out the filth’) that was carried out by Zimbabwe’s security forces in 2005 for “punishing the urban communities for voting against the ZANU-PF” (Morreira, 2015, p. 436). But then until an empirical study is conducted to measure the lived experiences amongst the Zimbabwean immigrants, their perceptions of smart sanctions on their country shall remain unexplored and unknown. This study is aimed at addressing this gap.

2.9 KNOWLEDGE GAP IN LITERATURE

Current literature appears to be very thin, if any, on the availability of empirical research in the human security studies in general and Zimbabwe in particular. The researcher's supposition in this regard is not unfounded but has been acknowledged by some scholars like Wheeler (2011). This acknowledgement can be found in the research questions of her article titled *Freedom from Want, and Freedom from Fear: A Human Security Approach to a New Middle East (2011)*. This is an article where she appreciated the role played by and the reach of social media platforms like *Twitter* and *Facebook* in spearheading the Arab Spring revolutions that gripped Tunisia and Egypt in 2010. In seeking to explore answers to her only two research questions, the second question confirms the absence of empirical research in human security studies in general. The following are two research questions in her article:

- "What does a genuine human security approach to the Middle East look like?"
- "If human security is in part contextually determined, are there any local voices contributing to the construction and implementation of the idea? (Wheeler, 2011, p. 38)".

Therefore this research was undertaken precisely to explore lived experiences of smart sanctions amongst the Zimbabwean immigrant population. The focus was on establishing the underlying reasons behind the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa. In order to achieve the objectives of the study, a qualitative case study was conducted where interviews were conducted with participants. Thus the study's prime contribution to the body of knowledge, thus addressing the knowledge gap in a typical social constructivist fashion, is the provision of empirical research on human security where the voices of participants were measured against an analytical framework that has been designed for interpreting immigrants' perceptions and is also underpinned by the human security dimensions as envisaged by the UNDP's 1994 Human Development Report. Furthermore, these rich and empirical findings will be used in contributing towards the development of a Human Security Doctrine for South Africa and the African Union (AU).

2.10 CONCLUSION

The primary aim of this chapter was to review the literature available in the study of economic smart sanctions and its relationship with human security. To guide this review, both the contextual and theoretical frameworks were provided. Some of the major assumptions and debates on smart sanctions were discussed. This was followed by a history of smart sanctions and its place in the international peace and security architecture. By synthesising and evaluating the work of previous researchers, the researcher had aimed at providing an understanding of smart sanctions as well as an appreciation of key concepts of human security as contemplated by the international community. Key concepts of human security, relative to impact on the Zimbabwean citizens at household levels were also discussed. The next chapter discusses the methodology through which the study was conducted.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to provide a methodological approach that has been adopted to explore immigrants' perceptions of smart sanctions. Aspects that will be discussed in this chapter includes; the research paradigm, the research design, data collection, sampling, triangulation and data analysis. This will be followed by a discussion on the validity and reliability requirements as well as limitations. Ethical considerations will be deliberated and followed by a brief discussion on the significance of the research. The researcher's perspective in this research will also be provided. A concluding paragraph will then bring a closure to this chapter.

3.2 RESEARCH PARADIGM

The purpose of the study correctly locates the study in the interpretative/constructionist paradigm. The ontological assumption in this paradigm is that reality is socially constructed, meaning that there could be multiple explanations for the same phenomenon (Neuman, 2013; Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012). Furthermore it had been noted that understanding the world as others experience it linked constructivism with interpretivism in that constructivists believed that knowledge is subjective (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012). Most importantly, the methodological assumption in the interpretive/constructivist paradigm holds that understanding and interpreting people's experiences is the purpose of research.

The interpretive paradigm was deemed relevant for the study as it enabled the researcher to interact with participants and obtain their views with the aim understanding and interpreting the impact of smart sanctions at household level as perceived and expressed by the immigrants themselves. The researcher, in concurrence with other scholars, has noted that the ontological and methodological assumptions of the interpretative/constructionist paradigm is what made qualitative research the most appropriate for this case study in that the researcher is acknowledged as the primary instrument for the collection, analysis, interpretation of data and social meaning in context (Creswell, 2014; Neuman, 2013; Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012).

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

A descriptive and interpretative case study that was being analysed through qualitative methods was adopted for this exploratory research. This was mainly because coupled to the richness and depth of exploration as well as the provision of descriptive data, the strength of qualitative research is the ability “to create a coherent story as seen through the eyes of those that are part of that story” (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012, p 126). A case study was preferred because it enabled the researcher to participate in answering the research questions that are aimed at establishing the political and socio-economic impact of smart sanction on citizens at household level in order to determine the underlying causes for the ‘exodus’ of Zimbabweans immigrants. This was done by commencing each interview with this question: **Why did you leave Zimbabwe?**. As anticipated, rich and descriptive answers were provided as reasons behind this decision by each of the participants.

In essence the highlighted question above made the research exploratory towards obtaining views on the lived experiences of immigrants of smart sanctions. It was also anticipated that the study would be interpretative during the analysis of data as well as being descriptive in presenting the study’s results. It is emphasised that this was a single holistic case study as it only concentrated on the Zimbabwean immigrants that are located in the Gauteng Province as its unit of analysis. The study is also bounded by time in that it is focussed on period when sanctions were imposed, i.e 2001 to 2009 when South Africa started experiencing an increased influx of Zimbabwean immigrants.

Thus, the exploratory nature of this case study enabled the researcher to discover different views, opinions and experiences that were intended to help towards understanding and later describing the underlying causes for the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa between 2001 and 2009. It is perhaps for this reason that the interpretative/constructivist paradigm holds that “truth is context dependent” in that it was the subjective experiences of immigrants of sanctions on Zimbabwe that were key to not only the study’s objectives but also the study’s proposition (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012, p. 54).

3.4 DATA COLLECTION

3.4.1 Primary data

3.4.1.1 Interviews

The recognition of the researcher as the main instrument for qualitative data collection implied that the researcher was an active participant in the research process. Therefore, primary data was collected by the researcher by means of semi-structured interviews that were conducted in English with Zimbabwean immigrants (n = 10). This category consisted of adult immigrants of varied demographics in terms of age, gender, educational and skills level etc. Prior to interviews being conducted, the researcher completed a Demographic Information Form (Appendix C) in order to build a profile for each participant.

An interview guide (Appendix D) has been attached to show that the interview comprised of open-ended questions. This was done in order to enable a free flowing two-way conversation where the researcher asked questions and collected data about views, opinions and immigrants' experiences of smart sanctions at household level (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012). Interviews were indeed conducted in English and lasted for anything between 30-60 minutes. However, some interviews did stop earlier when data saturation occurred or when no new information arose. However, one participant had preferred to communicate in IsiNdebele and this was accommodated. This was because her preferred language was not a problem for the researcher who is fluent in IsiNdebele since this language is one of the 11 official languages in South Africa.

3.4.2 Secondary data

3.4.2.1 Literature Review

Secondary data was also used in the study although to a lesser extent. In this regard secondary data included peer-reviewed journals that have examined and analysed published UN Security Council (UNSC) resolutions on migrations and human security, UN General Assembly (UNGA) debates on threats to international peace and security, UN Secretaries General speeches to other organs of the UN and the international community on matters that concern international peace and security. The significance of this type of data rests in the possibility of establishing consistency in what the UN

pronounces relative to actions by its members. This was done in an effort to determine the extent in which the actions of its members shape the human security landscape.

3.5 PARTICIPANTS AND SITE

The subjects in this research is Zimbabwean immigrants that are located in the Gauteng Province at the place that was determined by participants themselves. One of the major characteristics of qualitative research is that the research/study occurs in a natural setting, ie a place where participants that have experienced the issue or topic that is being studied are located (Creswell, 2014). Thus, the setting for interviews included work places, houses, and other places chosen by participants. Through a combination of both the convenience and snowball methods, contact information from one participant to next was obtained from the participant that was being interviewed at that point in time. Thus participants were contacted by a mobile phone to ask about their willingness to participate in the study ($n = 7$). Prior to the commencement of each interview, confirmation was done (Appendix A). Having been contacted and informed of the study's two participants had provided handwritten responses ($n = 2$) and one participant completed the interview by email ($n = 1$), making up the sample.

Seven participants have signed the Informed Consent Form ($n = 7$) and the researcher respected the wish of the other three participants not sign the informed consent form whilst securing their permission for the interview to be recorded and for the researcher to use their testimony only for academic purposes ($n = 3$). Interviews were conducted at a place and time that was determined by participants. As anticipated, some participants like teachers, nurses and other professionals chose to be interviewed at their offices and place of work. Others were interviewed at their places of residence that included shacks, houses and shopping areas. There was prolonged engagement during interviews where the researcher was particularly observing the behavior of participants with the aim of identifying truthfulness and sincerity or potentially biased expression of experiences of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe.

3.6 RESEARCH PROCEDURE

Upon the granting of permission to proceed with the research by the Proposal Review Committee, an interview guide was forwarded by email to my WSG colleague. Subsequently, the researcher contacted a prospective participant who had indicated willingness to participate in this research to set an appointment. At the end of the first

interview that took place at a garage in Roodepoort and lasted for about 55 minutes, the researcher had asked this participant if he could recommend other participants. The participant then contacted a fellow Zimbabwean who worked at a factory in the Vaal Triangle. This would later prove to be an initial step towards creating a chain of prospective participants for interviews that was also complemented by another reference from my WSG colleague. Prior to the actual interviews, the researcher had forwarded an interview guide to participants. This procedure was followed in order to enable participants time to prepare for interview as opposed to being 'caught off-guard'.

3.7 TRIANGULATION

The use of multiple or different methods and strategies to examine the same phenomenon is critical towards ensuring that the findings of the research are credible and trustworthy (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012). It was for this reason that firstly, data sources included primary data which the researcher collects from people/participants whilst secondary data consists of journals and publications from the UN. Secondly and equally important was a combination of sampling methods where convenience and snowball sampling methods were both used to recruit participants for the examination the same phenomenon. It is believed that triangulation was being enhanced in this fashion because both data collection sources were also measuring the same phenomenon.

3.8 DATA ANALYSIS

In keeping with the demands of the interpretative/constructionist paradigm, data analysis interpretive as guided by the analytical framework. Having observed the density and the richness that comes with qualitative text and image data, Creswell (2014) had recommended the grouping of qualitative data into a smaller number of about 5 to 7 themes. In this regard, interview transcripts were repeatedly read with the aim of identifying emerging themes and commonalities. This was then followed by re-examining texts line by line and codes assigned to selected portions of the text based on the frequency with which participants related their lived experiences during the period of smart sanctions in Zimbabwe.

An interpretative analysis then took place because it was at this stage where links between literature and data collected were established. It must be noted that the interpretative/constructionists paradigm stresses the need to take account of context during the analysis stage primarily because understanding and interpreting people's experiences is the purpose of qualitative research (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012). It was for this reason that the analysis of data was subjective to take account of how the immigrants that are located in Gauteng have experienced life in Zimbabwe after sanctions were imposed and whether pertinent human security risks could be determined from this experience.

3.9 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Considering that qualitative research is more concerned with a particular setting or 'particularity' as opposed to generalisability as espoused by Neuman (2013), it appears that there is also a consensus that the validity and reliability of qualitative research is centred on trustworthiness (Creswell, 2014; Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012). Thus the researcher strived to ensure the trustworthiness of the research by ensuring the following;

3.9.1 Credibility

The credibility of the study was enhanced by a prolonged engagement between the researcher and participants during interviews (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012). This means that the researcher optimally used probing questions until data saturation or no new information emerged. There were persistent observations of participants by the researcher during these interviews. Furthermore, the triangulation of data through different data collection methods and different sampling methods proved crucial towards the credibility of the study. The study's credibility was also enhanced as the researcher continuously double checked with participants to avoid misrepresenting their views on the impact of smart sanctions at household level.

3.9.2 Transferability

This aspect assesses the basis for making similar judgements or the applicability of the results to similar situations (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012). In this regard, the researcher is confident that the presentation of rich and descriptive data satisfied this requirement. This is mainly because interviews were made up of open-ended questions to enable a free flowing conversation where participants freely expressed their views and opinions. It was during these free flowing conversations that data that

was rich in description emerged. Therefore the results are transferable, although not necessarily generalisable to other immigrants in South Africa mainly because the generalisability of results was neither the focus of qualitative research nor this research.

3.9.3 Dependability

The availability of an audit trail coupled with triangulation is critical towards ensuring the dependability of a research (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012). In this regard, the dependability of the study was enhanced by an audit trail from which all records, handwritten notes and transcripts that show how data was obtained is being submitted for safekeeping under a lock and key at the WSG, University of Witwatersrand. This is being done to ensure that another study, using similar research methods and being under similar settings could also be conducted. In return, the dependability aspect satisfies what quantitative researchers refer to as consistency measurements.

3.9.4 Confirmability

Measuring the degree of bias and ensuring that findings are grounded in data is critical towards ensuring the confirmability of a study (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012). The logic behind such an endeavour is to guarantee the neutrality and integrity of the research by demonstrating that data and indeed the findings, i.e. immigrants' perceptions were derived from events as opposed to being constructed by the researcher (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012). As is the case with credibility, the researcher ensured that results were confirmed with participants prior to submitting the final report. Furthermore, the entire research process will be available in the archives of the WSG should another researcher wish to undertake a similar study.

3.10 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The centrality of ethical behaviour during the conduct of social research rests with the researcher (Creswell, 2014; Neuman, 2013). By this it is meant that even though participants may not be aware of nor concerned with ethics, the researcher has a moral and a professional obligation not only to behave but must also act ethically (Neuman, 2013). This requirement was adhered to by researcher adhering to his obligation to respect the rights, needs, values and desires of participants as guided by Creswell (2014).

Being conscious of the likely traumatic experience of some participants that may have suffered from physical violence and human rights violations by Mugabe's security forces in 2005 for 'punishing urban communities for voting against the ZANU-PF', the researcher had made provision to recommend and subsequently refer any such victims to the Gauteng Trauma Centre. This is a local NGO that provide trauma counselling and healing to local and non-local citizens affected by violence and torture. With respect to other participants and as guided by Creswell (2014), the researcher had ensured that the objectives of the study were stated verbally and in writing so that these are clear to participants (Appendix A).

Pursuant towards ensuring ethical conduct, the Interview Guide (Appendix D) provide specific Interview Questions that the participant will be asked during an interview to ensure transparency. Additionally, the researcher had obtained consent from participants to used data obtained from them for academic purposes. This was done whilst the researcher also informed participants that they were free to withdraw their consent at any time from participating in the research without fear of consequences anyway whatsoever. Thirdly, participants were made aware of the recording device that the researcher was using in order to ensure data integrity by accurately capturing their opinions during interviews.

Provision was made for handwritten notes should participants refuse or withdraw their consent for the recording of interviews. Fourthly and of equal importance was that the report and transcriptions would being made available to participants for confirmatory purposes. This was done to also ensure that participant's interests and wishes were incorporated into the final product. Finally, the researcher has ensured that participants' wish for anonymity, where required, was respected and upheld. To this end the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's (NATO) phonetic alphabet system was used to give pseudonyms for participants.

3.11 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

Other than a scholarly attempt to bridge a research methodological gap by conducting a qualitative case study research, the significance of the research rested in the ability to explore and describe the perceptions of communities that have experienced smart sanctions. In so doing, this significance lies in the empirical data that was obtained on the lived experiences of smart sanctions by immigrants from Zimbabwe. Consequently, the study contributes to the body of knowledge by providing empirical evidence on how smart sanctions impacted on citizens or the general population relative to the targeted individuals and entities.

A positive answer would have implied that even carefully designed instruments of statecraft like smart sanctions were not immune to collateral damage whilst a negative answer would have suggested that the influx of immigrants were a direct result of a mismanagement of the economy by Mugabe and the ZANU-PF led government. However as the study's finding suggested, not even carefully designed instruments of statecraft like smart sanctions were immune to collateral damage. As a matter of fact, collateral damage emerged as one the main themes in this study as one of the underlying causes for the increased migration of Zimbabwean nationals into South Africa.

3.12 CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter was to provide a methodological approach that has been adopted to explore immigrants' perceptions of smart sanctions. Aspects that were discussed included; the research paradigm, the research design, data collection, sampling, triangulation and data analysis. This was followed by a discussion on how the validity and reliability requirements were addressed as well as limitations of the study being presented. Ethical considerations were deliberated on and this was followed by a brief discussion on the significance of the research. The researcher's perspective in this research was provided to enlighten the reader with regards the researcher's standing in this exploration. The next chapter presents the findings of study, i.e immigrants' perceptions of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION OF RESULTS / FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This study has explored perceptions of smart sanctions amongst Zimbabwean immigrants that are located in the Gauteng Province. The study was conducted using qualitative research methods. This chapter presents empirical findings from interviews and it consists of several sections. It commences with a profile of each participant to introduce those immigrants whose perceptions of smart sanctions have been obtained. A summary of participant group characteristics is also included, followed by an introduction to emergent themes. After a discussion on emergent themes, the next section reconciles participants' individual perceptions with these themes. Then a discussion that is focused on gender perspectives will take place. This will be followed by a presentation of answers to research questions. The reader is advised that the pseudonyms/codenames chosen for participants arose from the use of NATO's phonetic alphabet system that reflects the order in which interviews were conducted in terms of the dates, commencing with ALFA and ending with JULIET.

4.2 PARTICIPANTS

4.2.1 ALFA: This participant had volunteered to participate in this project as far back as the concept phase that led to a research proposal. This happened whilst he was busy fitting new bathroom taps and installing a new shower at the researcher's house. Indeed fittingly, he spoke with confidence and freedom, thus arguably setting a benchmark for other participants. Aged 36, ALFA is an adult male who described himself as a "born-free", having been born in 1981 in Harare, Zimbabwe. He is married in accordance with the customary marriages to a wife who, together with his parents, has remained at home in Zimbabwe. His highest academic qualification is Form-4, perhaps an equivalent of Grade 11 by the South African education standards. He is self-employed as a plumber, hence we met when he came highly recommended by one of my neighbours. Interestingly, he came to South Africa straight from school in 1998 and has never worked in Zimbabwe. He is currently staying in a house in Tembisa, Ekurhuleni and has been in South Africa for about 19 years. In his own words, he has been in South Africa "more than I [he] was in Zimbabwe". At the end of the

interview he had recommended another participant that was located in Vanderbijlpark in the Vaal Triangle, Gauteng.

4.2.2 BRAVO: Bravo was brave and he pulled no punches. He spoke with ease and, as if he had rehearsed his answers to all interview questions, can at best be described as a participant through which one can demonstrate ‘a prolonged engagement’ during these interviews. We met after he was recommended by ALFA who had spoken to him and sought his permission to provide me with his contact numbers. He is a 40 year adult male who was born in 1978 in Masvingo, Zimbabwe. He is married and stays with his wife and children in Vanderbijlpark, a suburb in the Vaal Triangle, Gauteng. He is an Artisan by profession, which is an NQ4 technical qualification and is employed as a technician that work as a machine operator at a Nampak factory in Vanderbijlpark. Having done the same job back home in Zimbabwe, he immigrated into South Africa in 2002. He is staying in a house in Vanderbijlpark and has been in South Africa for about 16 years. He stands out in particular because of the descriptive detail he provided when answering the question, “why did leave you Zimbabwe?”. Prior to the start of our interview, he asked if I would be interested to interview a fellow countryman who had, upon learning from ALFA about this research, also made himself available.

4.2.3 CHARLIE: Charlie was reserved and initially evasive during our engagement but opened up as the interview unfolded. The most memorable phrase from her was that “it was hard” in reference to life in Zimbabwe during the last decade. We met through a contact that had visited her hair salon during the December holidays. She is a 35 year old adult female who was born in 1982 in Harare, Zimbabwe. She is a single adult with two children she left behind with her mother in Harare. She misses her kids very much but has to painfully try and earn some money in South Africa which she then sends home for both the children and her mother’s sustainment. She is self-employed as a hair dresser and has opened a salon at a shack that is located in a street corner in Pimville, Soweto. She left school while she was still in her O-levels and her highest academic qualification is Form 2. Having not being employed or attending schooling back home in home in Zimbabwe, she migrated into South Africa during the most difficult period in Zimbabwe’ history, ie 2008. She is staying in a shack in Pimville, Soweto and has been in South Africa

for about 10 years. She expressed optimism that the developments of November 2017, that saw Mugabe being removed from power, as the beginning of a new era of hope for her country. The researcher respected her rights and conceded to her request not sign the informed consent form whilst securing her permission for the interview to be recorded and for the researcher to use her testimony for academic purposes.

4.2.4 DELTA: Delta was outspoken and was never one to mince her words. She seemed more comfortable to communicate in isiNdebele to a larger extent but with a mixture of English to a lesser extent. We met after she was recommended to me by CHARLIE, her cousin. She is a 34 year old adult female that was born in 1983 in Plumtree, Zimbabwe. Unlike her cousin, she is a customarily married adult who lives with her fiancée in Pimville, Soweto. She is employed as a domestic worker in Randpark, Johannesburg. In a striking similarity like her cousin, she also left school while she was still in her O-levels, with her highest academic qualification being Form 2. Having not being employed or attending schooling back home in home in Zimbabwe, she had been moving in and out of South Africa from around 2001 and finally settled 2008. She is staying in a house in Pimville, Soweto and has been in South Africa for a combined period of about 17 years.

4.2.5 ECHO: I was told by BRAVO that upon learning about this research, ECHO also raised his hand to participate “out of interest”. On the set date for interviews, he was unfortunately working on a different shift than anticipated, so he asked me to provide him with my email address in order to provide his answers electronically. He is a 49 year old adult male that was born in 1969 in Zimbabwe. He is a single parent and his highest academic qualification is a National Diploma in Engineering. Like BRAVO, he is also employed at NAMPAK factory in Vanderbijlpark. Prior to migrating into South Africa in 2008, he was employed as an Engineering Manager. He is also staying in house in Vanderbijlpark, Vaal Triangle and has been in South Africa for about 10 years.

4.2.6 FOXTROT: Foxtrot is straight forward person and her answers were those of a person that ‘has been there, done that and got a t-shirt’. She migrated into South Africa via Botswana. It must be said that she is the one participant that really invoked emotions during discussions about her experiences. Despite all this, she politely declined the researcher’s offer to arrange post-trauma counselling with the Gauteng Trauma Centre, a Johannesburg based NGO that specialises in such services, saying she had emotionally and spiritually healed five to six years ago. We met after a fellow alumni from the WSG had recommended her and duly forwarded her contact numbers to me. She is a 50 year old adult female that was born in 1968 in Mashonaland East, Zimbabwe. She is a single mother of two grown up children that are still in Zimbabwe and her highest academic qualification is Form 4. She is self-employed as a dressmaker and is renting a small shack where she does her sewing of the various types of traditional African dresses in Olievenhoutbosch, Midrand, Pretoria. Whilst she had worked at a Boutique back home in Zimbabwe, she migrated to South Africa, firstly from Botswana where she used to sell peanuts and do some piece jobs, there and there. For residence, she is renting a room in ABSA village, Olievenhoutbosch and has been in South Africa for about 10 years, having migrated in 2008. The researcher respected her rights and conceded to her request not sign the informed consent form whilst securing her permission for the interview to be recorded and for the researcher to use her testimony for academic research purposes.

4.2.7 GOLF: Golf was an easy going participant who did not mince his words about the relationship between unemployment, hunger and poor circulation of the legal tender in Zimbabwe and the migration of her citizens into South Africa. Being FOXTROT’s nephew and employed as an airtime trader in Diepsloot, we met after he was contacted and subsequently recommended for an interview by FOXTROT. He is a 27 year old adult male that was born in 1990 in Mutare, Zimbabwe. He is a married father of two girls that have stayed behind in Zimbabwe. His highest academic qualification is form 6 and he is employed as an Econet (mobile phones and airtime) distributor in the Diesloot market area. He previously worked at a diary company whilst still at home in Zimbabwe. He is renting a room in Diesploot, Midrand where he is currently staying. He is relatively new in the country, having migrated into SA about two years ago in 2016. The researcher respected his rights

and conceded to his request not sign the informed consent form whilst securing his permission for the interview to be recorded and for the researcher to use his testimony only for academic research purposes.

4.2.8HOTEL: Being an Educator, this participant was preoccupied with preparations for the opening of the school academic year when we met on the 15th January 2018, having just returned from the December holidays in Zimbabwe. She then asked to provide a written response to Interview Questions which she forwarded to me on the 19th January 2018. We met after she was recommended by a fellow alumni from the WSG. She is a 50 year old widow who was born in 1968 in Bindura, Mashonaland Central, Zimbabwe. She holds a Bachelor of Science Degree in Geography and Environmental Studies. She is employed as an Educator at a Private Secondary School in Soweto, having previously worked as a High School Educator back at home in Zimbabwe. She is renting a flat in Chiawelo, Soweto where she has been staying for the last 11 years, having migrated into SA in 2007. Her response was short and straight to the point. She is a person who expressed her lived experiences through a pen and paper and she used examples to present the effects of sanctions on the ordinary citizens, relative to the “selected individuals who were not affected at all”.

4.2.9INDIA: Being a medical practitioner, INDIA was late for our appointment and in a hurry for her shift that had already started 30 minutes earlier, ie 19:00 on the 19th January 2018. So she had asked to provide a written response to Interview Questions which she handed back to me at the end of her shift on the morning of the 20th January 2018. Interestingly, she wrote her answers at the back of the same forms that required Informed Consent, the Demographic Information Form as well the Interview Questions. She is a 38 year old married female who was born in the year of Zimbabwe’s Independence, 1980 in Bulawayo. We met after she was recommended by BRAVO who had promised to contact her after learning that the researcher was also based in Soweto. She holds a Diploma in General Nursing and is employed as a Nurse at the Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital, having previously worked as a Professional Nurse back at home in Zimbabwe. She is staying in a house in Roodepoort, Johannesburg where she has been staying for the last 10 years having migrated into SA in 2008. Although her

answers were very short, they were nevertheless very informative in that they served to echo not only what other participants have said but also what literature has already provided in as far as the Zimbabwe sanctions episode is concerned.

4.2.10 JULIET: It is often said that you save the best for last and JULIET did not disappoint. This is because what began as an exploration on his perception of smart sanctions turned out to be a free history lecture on Zimbabwe, the country and its people, the constitution and its political system. There was even more than a prolonged engagement, far longer than any other interviews following his scheduling of the interview during the extended lunch break in his office at the school. JULIET is a 35 year old married male who was born in 1982 in Gwanda, Matabeleland South, Zimbabwe. Just like ALFA, he is also a 'born-free'. We met after he was recommended to me by HOTEL. He is married and lives with his family in SA. He holds an Honours Degree in Developmental Studies and is currently studying towards a Masters Degree in the same field. He was previously employed as a teacher in Zimbabwe. He is employed as an Educator at one of the Primary Schools in Soweto. He is also renting a house in Midrand, Johannesburg where he has been staying for the last 16 years following his migration into SA in 2002.

4.3. GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

This section of the chapter presents the participant profiles. The participant profiles were created as a result of interviews with immigrants of Zimbabwean origin that are located in the Gauteng Province. The profiles were presented as a guide to the presentation of results and the subsequent analysis of the data collected. A summary of the group characteristics is forthwith presented.

Participant	Name	Gender	Age	Location in Gauteng	Location in Zimbabwe
1	ALFA	M	36	Tembisa	Harare
2	BRAVO	M	40	Vanderbijlpark	Masvingo
3	CHARLIE	F	35	Soweto	Harare
4	DELTA	F	34	Soweto	Plumtree

5	ECHO	M	49	Vanderbijlpark	Gweru
6	FOXTROT	F	50	Olievenhoutbosch (Pretoria)	Mashonaland East
7	GOLF	M	27	Diepsloot (Midrand)	Mutare
8	HOTEL	F	50	Soweto	Mashonaland Central
9	INDIA	F	38	Roodepoort	Bulawayo
10	JULIET	M	35	Midrand	Matabeleland South

Table 1.3: Participant characteristics and demographics

4.4 EMERGENT THEMES

Although data was analysed on a continuous basis, the intensive analysis began when the interviews data was converted from audio tapes to transcribed text. Data reduction was then done by reading the interview transcripts repeatedly with the aim of identifying commonalities and possible themes that will emerge. It was out of this exercise that four main themes emerged from reading each transcript a couple of times. This was made possible by participants who descriptively narrated their experiences of life in Zimbabwe when sanctions were imposed in the last decade.

Firstly, these narratives suggested that poverty played a major role in influencing not only these participants but also millions others into migrating to SA and other countries. Secondly, data shows that untold levels of unemployment were experienced during the previous decade. Thirdly, participants stated that the cost of living was high mainly due to inflation in that citizens could not afford commodities that were only available in the 'black market' following the collapse of the formal and regulated market. Lastly, participants expressed an unanimous view that sanctions affected every single citizen of Zimbabwe and not only the 'selected few' individuals, hence this theme has been simply termed collateral damage. Therefore the pages that follow present the experiences of participants and represent the major findings that emerged in accordance with each theme. In many instances, quotes are used to draw the reader's attention to participant's direct responses to interview questions.

4.4.1 Theme 1: Poverty

This theme emerged out of the frequency of participant's answers to Interview Questions that explored; lived *experiences with regards to access to basic needs like food, water and security*. In response, participants spoke of poverty levels that took place in Zimbabwe over the last decade in particular where massive unemployment and 'hardship' was felt by citizens across the spectrum. In this regard, all participants (100%) concede to have had little or no access to basic services and needs like food, water and security in varying ways during the last decade.

Although three participants (30%) had answers to this question intertwined with their reasons to leave Zimbabwe, their experiences enjoin them with the other seven (70%) who spoke of limited or no access to food. In some cases, the participants said that there was poverty and that even in instances where food and other commodities were available, they were sold at inflated prices that people could not afford. In other cases, it was clear that poverty was felt more at household levels, where families had to adjust to just one meal a day and at worst case-scenarios, nothing except resorting to harvesting and cooking raw leaves from trees.

In either case, pertinent risks were derived from answers that participants gave to probing questions that were directed at establishing the nature and extend in which their families were affected. It is no surprise that the majority (80%) of participants have alluded to the scarcity of food and lack of access to basic goods and services being linked to the migration of millions of Zimbabweans into South Africa. As one participant argued, smart sanctions mainly affected people that were at the bottom of the food chain. The following excerpts reveal how participants experienced poverty:

- Having migrated to SA straight from school in 1998, ALFA was unambiguous that the last decade was a period during which his wife, parents and by extension, the entire population of Zimbabwe experienced 'hardship' that was characterised by shortages of food as well as medication saying; "basically you have to not only carry money from here [SA] and go home to look after your grannies, your grandmother or your mother...you have to literally carry food as well".

- For BRAVO, the money that was available in some households could only be used for survival in that, “you end [up] buying small basic things [like] mealie meal...the basic things, you [wouldn't] go for [a] luncheon, you have to stream down from the life that you are living and stream it down to basics, food [in order] to survive”.
- Life in Zimbabwe during the last decade was “hard” according CHARLIE. This was mainly because “even if you go to a shop, you [would] find shelves empty, [there was virtually] nothing...it was hard”. For her, this was a period when “there was no medication at hospitals. Or “you [could] go to a dam and drink [untreated/unfiltered] water directly from the dam”.
- DELTA’s memories of the last decade are those when, “people were struggling as there was no food...there was no mealie meal and other basic needs”. This participant also alluded to the scarcity of water which she attributed to adverse climatic conditions but it was her response to one of probing questions that she suggested that sanctions all but “compounded the drought effects”.
- Whist echoing what other participants have already said, ECHO had also stated, “the lack of food in the shops, [implied that] more money was required to buy food stuffs on the black market which made it difficult to provide for the family in terms of affording”.
- “People were suffering” not only during the last decade but even now, FOXTROT had remained adamant. Specifically referring to the last decade she had said, “people there were being helped by NGOs [that were] providing food and what what because people were suffering, real suffering and not [just] the way we say suffering”. For her, there was no access even to security as the police were behind the brutality campaign against citizens as well as unhygienic conditions due to limited or lack of access to water especially in the urban areas. This resulted in citizens helping themselves with “sewage water as there were no water treatment chemicals”.

- There were many risks in Zimbabwe in the last decade, according to GOLF who said “ya, [there were] many risks [because] many people suffered... firstly it was hunger and secondly, parents could not afford to send their children to school [and pay school fees] because there was no tangible money or legal tender... [this was coupled to the fact that] food was scarce”. Although he never experienced water shortages owing to the fact that he was from rural areas where they used water from boreholes, GOLF alluded to the shortages of food in the country.

- In what may appear as if an interview with GOLF was conducted during the presence of HOTEL, this participant had said, “food was not accessible, you would spend long hours in the queues, maybe just to buy 2kg of sugar”. Although she had a borehole, she spoke of frequent water cuts that were a common feature in Zimbabwe where citizens could spend up to 3 to 4 days without water and when it was available, the water was not safe for consumption.

- INDIA’s experiences also suggested that indeed there were “no basic commodities in the shelves, basic commodities like mealie meal [were] sold on the street which was called [the] “black market [where] they charged exorbitant prices for the goods... it was really bad”.

- As the last participant and an interviewee, JULIET fittingly summed it up to not only suggest “a shift in terms of a household setup” of his own family but perhaps also that of millions of Zimbabweans when he said, “the things that we used to get like three meals a day, ... [we] had to cut some of those meals and go to two meals a day”. He also alluded to shortages of water, fuel as well as inflation. In his response to a probing question with regards to the causes behind the shortages of fuel, he did not hesitate that it was sanctions.

4.4.2 Theme 2: Unemployment

Unemployment emerged as a theme mainly because of the frequency in which responses to Interview Questions that explored whether; *the scarcity of goods and basic services can be linked to the migration of Zimbabweans into SA?* In response, eight of participants (80%) answered this question affirmatively saying Yes. Of fundamental importance is that whilst participants generally attributed these migrations to poverty, the collapse of infrastructure, health, education and inflation and other risks, it must be understood in context that the mass migrations were actually migrations for survival.

Perhaps ALFA's unpacked the theme unemployment when he said, "we had companies going, we had farmers' farms or land being taken away...thereby collapsing food security [be]cause companies that could produce food were leaving for SA". This obviously led to joblessness. BRAVO had also spoken about externalising or externalisation, i.e the transfer of key functions and expertise to an overseas strategic partner as another factor that led to not only joblessness but also the collapse of Zimbabwe's economy.

In other cases, participants had spoken about commodities being 'unaffordable' in the 'black market' and the 'high cost of leaving' due to the collapse of the private sector as alluded to by GOLF and also the fact that the government could no longer afford to pay for salaries of the public servants, who then added joined the already mushrooming unemployment ranks. To a larger extent, the socio-economic 'hardship' that was endured by the populace could be attributed to massive unemployment levels in Zimbabwe over the last decade.

With data showing that eight (80%) of participants left Zimbabwe due to a weak economy and other related reasons, results also show that it was not only ALFA and other participants to this study that migrated but also millions of other citizens that left Zimbabwe to explore opportunities in another country. The following extracts reveal the nature and extent in which participants experienced unemployment:

- In response to a question that asked him for the reason why he left Zimbabwe, ALFA had said, "it was [the lack of] opportunities...there [weren't] any of at all,

not even as a politician...so no opportunities at all". To illustrate his point he then said, "we are all here now and Zimbabwe is just...eh...industries are rusting there with nothing [or] no one occupying or producing anything".

- In response to a probing question on whether there were risks in Zimbabwe during the last decade, another participant, BRAVO had singled out job security saying, "companies were closing...[if] you go to a company, the next day you [would] hear them say next month we are shedding people to reduce the numbers".
- Golf is another participant who cited 'unemployment' as the main reason why he left Zimbabwe so that he can look for a job in SA in order for him to "sustain my family as there were no employment opportunities in the country". His views are that the absence/collapse of the private sector represents a real problem for Zimbabweans as it should be playing a pivotal role towards creating employment opportunities. It was in this context that he asked this hypothetical question, "how can we stay in a country where there is a higher percentage of unemployment?...we have to run away, we have no option".
- Whilst HOTEL conceded that "the scarcity of goods and basic services can be linked to migration" into SA primarily due to its attractive economy, she also wrote that "the major push factor for Zimbabweans was unemployment".
- INDIA is another participant who wrote that the scarcity of goods and basic services can be linked to migration into South Africa. She further wrote that the pursuit of greener pastures and opportunities was the driver behind migrations primarily because people were "looking for a better life".

4.4.3 Theme 3: Inflation

Participants described the last decade as period of deprivation in that millions of Zimbabweans did not have access to basic commodities mainly due to inflation or the “high cost of living” even for the limited resources that may have been available. This was a period that saw the “black market” flourishing with ordinary citizens carrying millions of dollars and the resultant cancellation of Zimbabwean dollar as the legal tender.

Furthermore, the relationship between inflation and poverty was expressed by participants because even in instances where food and other commodities were available, they were sold at inflated prices. As inflation reached unprecedented heights in 2008, “prices were rising by the minute”. Commonly referred to as a period of hyperinflation, the value of money could expire in 2 hours from the time it was issued by the Central Bank. In this regard, participants felt that inflation impacted on households because money that was saved became useless at a time when mielie meal and other commodities were sold at “bigger prizes...that poor people couldn’t afford”.

According to one participant, these sanctions caused inflation because “cutting off the supply of certain resources meant the prices would dramatically rise”, like petrol prize that rose up to 3 times in one day during 2008. The following excerpts reveal how participants experienced inflation:

- For ALFA, it didn’t make economic sense for a person to buy commodities in Zimbabwe because “there was no food or if it was there, it [was] three times the cost”. To make his point he said, “when you coming from RSA [where] you find for example a cold drink is R12.00, you go there [in Zimbabwe] and its \$2,50 which is multiplied by two and a half, three, or [even] four times...Thus, a R12.00 cold drink could cost about R120.00 in Zimbabwe with the current exchange rate if its prize were to be multiplied by four.
- Perhaps BRAVO managed to put the nature and extend of inflation into context when he said, “pricing, shops, everything was going up and almost every two months or so you [would] find a different prize...all because of

inflation". He alluded to "the economy going down, [whilst] prizes [were] rising. [It was a situation where] you could find your salary after six months...where you [you'd] get a [salary] increase every six months cause they [authorities] were trying to catch up with inflation and everything, [after the imposition of sanctions]. He then conceded that that's when he "realised that things were getting tougher...when [motorists] had to queue for fuel". He then concluded by making an example where, after qualifying as an Artisan in 2001 and was earning about 13 000,00 a month, he found himself earning about 30 000,00 in a couple of months by the time he left for SA in 2002, whilst others were even getting more than double digit increases.

- In ECHO's views, "the lack of food in the shops [implied that] more money was now required to buy food stuffs on the black market, [a situation] which made it difficult to provide for the family in terms of affording as costs in the black market were inflated".
- The shortage of cash during the last decade was also experienced by GOLF who found himself using 'Beira Cheques' to pay for his Form 4 final examinations. This period was also characterised by hyperinflation primarily because "money could expire in 2 hours from the time it was issued".
- INDIA is another participant whose memories and experiences of the last decade were filled with despair due to the unavailability of basic commodities like mielie meal which could not be found in shops and were instead "sold on the street", often called the led the "black market" at exorbitant prices, thus confirming the views of another participants who said these practices led to the inflation of prizes.
- The impact of inflation was also highlighted by JULIET who had said even in instances where food was supplied, people were charged exorbitant prizes, where buying a product in the morning would be different when buying the same product only a couple of minutes later.

4.4.4 Theme 4: Collateral damage

Guided by an Interview Question that engaged participants to the effect that; *others have said that sanctions in your country were tailor-made to affect only the selected individuals, what are your views?* It may well be said that the different responses divided participants' perceptions into moderates and radicals in an imaginary scenario where the moderate views saw sanctions affecting the population in general whilst the radical views saw them affecting only the poor. This is because all ten participants (100%) stated that citizens of Zimbabwe were affected by [smart] sanctions. The tone was set by the first interviewee who said, "sanctions affected us...the general population".

Another participant went as far as also questioning the effectiveness of sanctions as well as the monitoring aspect thereof mainly because, "it is us at the bottom of the [food and economic] chain that suffer" [when sanctions are imposed]. Linked to this view is one that holds that the imposition of sanctions came with the withdrawal of aid by the donor community in that "from the time sanctions were imposed on Zimbabwe, some of the donors like the United Nations Children's Education Fund (UNICEF) and Plan International started reducing the number of children they used to support. The following extracts reveal how participants experienced collateral damage:

- Whilst the views of this participant were firmly rooted on sanctions having affected the general population, ALFA also brought in an interesting dimension to this exploration when he said sanctions were affecting "us" because "the Executive was limited in doing its functions especially in travelling to Western countries...[to pursue government business]". To illustrate his point with regards to the general population being affected he had said, "not only did people that were clever or wise or educated leave the country...even the dumbest person, even the disabled person...the others...blind people are [also] here begging in South Africa".
- BRAVO's main argument that was bounded on the monitoring of sanctions, was that "I don't see how those sanctions help the poor... or er... [if they] help the masses cause sanctioning me [not] to go to Sandton doesn't mean that I

can't get that thing somewhere else...I'll just go to Three Rivers", he said referring to an upcoming suburb that is perceived to be a rival for Sandton City that has been built in the Vaal Triangle, Gauteng.

- In response to the question that said; *others have said that sanctions in your country were tailor-made to affect only the selected individuals, what are your views*, CHARLIE had emphatically said, "no [that is] not true...they [sanctions] affected everyone, the whole country...the whole country not...". In an answer to a probing question, she also alluded to the brain drain that took place and saw the migration of professionals in the health and education sectors saying, "all teachers and all doctors ran away" to America, South Africa and Botswana.
- "*Ama-sanctions bewa affecta wonke umuntu wase Zimbabwe*", (sanctions affected everyone in Zimbabwe) was DELTA's calm response to the same question.
- ECHO once more echoed what has been said by other participants by acknowledging that even though sanctions were aimed at certain individuals, "they affected a lot of people primarily because "cutting off the supply of certain resources meant that the prices would dramatically rise [for everybody]...".
- FOXTROT appeared not convinced that there were targeted individuals at all when she said, "but those individuals were not having problems, it [sanctions] was only affecting us the poor who do not even have money to access hospitals because they were very expensive...whilst those [selected] individuals were travelling...if you were banned to go to America but you to Malaysia, you go everywhere..."
- For GOLF, sanctions affected everybody and also some [selected] individuals here and there but on the whole, they [smart sanctions] were "oftenly affecting the whole nation". He then referred to the withdrawal of aid by the donor community in that, "from the time sanctions were imposed in Zimbabwe, some of the donors who used to support families with food, school fees and some other stuffs stopped".

- In her written response and as if she had compared notes with other participants, HOTEL wrote that “sanctions mainly affected the ordinary citizens” in that “when investors pulled out, aid was withdrawn [and thus] it is the ordinary people who were severely affected”. As if supporting BRAVO’s views she wrote, through corruption they [the selected individuals] became rich whilst the “ordinary people were trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty”. Also in concurrence with FOXTROT’s views she wrote that “Mugabe and his team had travel sanctions imposed on them but that did not affect them at all, instead they were travelling to Dubai, Malaysia etc where they even own mansions”.
- INDIA was another participant who wrote that the “general citizens of Zimbabwe were affected by the sanctions, not only the selected individuals”.
- Having acknowledged that sanctions affected the general population, JULIET suggested that the elites were not affected by sanctions and they in fact “never actually felt the effects of sanctions because they could easily have access not only food but...anything they wanted”.

4.5 RECONCILING PARTICIPANTS’ PERCEPTIONS WITH EMERGENT THEMES

4.5.1 ALFA

- **Poverty.** ALFA was unambiguous that the last decade was a period during which his wife, parents and the population of Zimbabwe by extension experienced ‘hardship’ that was characterised by shortages of food and medication, amongst other commodities. Whilst alluding to widespread poverty, he also said, “sanctions were not bad-meaning because they were for a good cause...trying to be leverage for good governance [in order to] maintain the rule of law, ensure peace and stability, security for citizens including whites” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 113-118). He had continued to say that Mugabe’s failure or refusal to comply led to “sanctions being implemented, [resulting in] investors running away, skilled labour [also] running out of the country [and] collapsing the economy” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 119-121). Most fundamental to the study’s objectives was his admission that the scarcity of food as well as

the lack of access to basic services were directly linked to migration [of Zimbabwean immigrants] into South Africa. He then concluded that the “biggest loser has been Zimbabweans because of certain individual’s egos (**Annexure B**, paragraph 147-148).

- **Unemployment**. Results show that the driver behind ALFA’s migration, straight from school and without even having worked in Zimbabwe was a desire to explore opportunities in SA since “there [were no opportunities] at all [in Zimbabwe], not even as a politician “that he was”(**Annexure B**, paragraph 16-17). He also acknowledged the ‘hardship’ that followed the imposition of sanctions and contributing to the brain-drain, leading to “to an ordinary person like me [ALFA] with no educational background leaving the country seeing that things were not good here [in Zimbabwe]”. ALFA’s views on unemployment may prove legendary in this study following his statement that, “we had companies going, we had farmers’ farms or land being taken away...thereby collapsing food security [be]cause companies that could produce food were leaving for SA” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 119-121).
- **Inflation**. ALFA became the first participant to link the imposition of sanctions with the collapse of the Zimbabwean economy, leading to inflation [in that] investors ran away, skilled people and skilled labour [also] running away and out of the country (**Annexure B**, paragraph 119-121).. In his views, it did not make economic sense for a person to buy commodities in Zimbabwe because “there was no food or if it was there, it [was] three times the cost”. To illustrate his point he had said, “coming from SA [where] a cold drink is R12.00, you go there [to Zimbabwe] and its \$2,50 which is multiplied by two and a half, three, or [even] four times...Thus, for a R12.00 cold drink would cost a person about R120.00 in Zimbabwe with the current exchange rate if the prize were to be multiplied by four” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 61-64).
- **Collateral damage**. In his argument, Mugabe’s refusal or failure to comply with the demands of sanctions that called for the restoration of the rule of law, ensuring peace and stability [as well as] security for all citizens, including whites, resulted in [smart] sanctions being imposed and they “affected

us”...leading to an ordinary person like me with no educational background leaving the country [out if] seeing that things were not good here (**Annexure B**, paragraph 105-124). He had continued say, “not only did people that were clever or wise or educated leaving [the country]...even the dullest person, the disabled [and even] blind people are [also] here begging in South Africa” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 124-127).

4.5.2 BRAVO

- **Poverty**. BRAVO also alluded to poverty in the last decade. His experiences pointed to a period where individuals “ended up buying small things like mielie meal and other basic things because one wouldn’t go for a luncheon”. He said that was a period where individuals had to stream down from the life that they were living to basics in order to survive because “money was for food...just for people to sustain themselves”. He also pointed out that irrespective of whether people had boreholes, there was no money to switch on the boreholes as “money was just for food” during this period of economic decline (**Annexure B**, paragraph 264-267). Of critical importance was the participant’s response to a follow up prompt that he attributed the decline of the economy to smart sanctions (**Annexure B**, paragraph 291-296).

- **Unemployment**. In response to a probing question on whether there were risks in Zimbabwe during the last decade, this participants had singled out job security by saying, “companies were closing...[if] you go to a company, the next day you [would] hear them say[ing] next month we are shedding people to reduce the numbers”. It is now legendary that following the imposition of sanctions, companies indeed closed down rapidly, leading to untold levels of unemployment in Zimbabwe. BRAVO’s views also pointed to externalising or externalisation, i.e the transfer of key functions and expertise to an overseas strategic partner as another major factor that contributed to not only joblessness but also the collapse of Zimbabwe’s economy (**Annexure B**, paragraph 378-379).

- **Inflation**. It was BRAVO who perhaps put the nature and extend of inflation into context when he said, “pricing, shops, everything was going up and almost every two months or so you [would] find a different prize...all because of inflation” (**Annexure B**, para. 206-208). He alluded to “the economy going down, [whilst] prizes [were] rising. [It was a situation where] you could find your salary after six months...where you [you’d] get a [salary] increase every six months cause they [authorities] were trying to catch up with inflation and everything, [following the imposition of sanctions]. He then conceded that that’s when he “realised that things were getting tougher...when [motorists] had to queue for fuel”. He then concluded by making an example where, after qualifying as an Artisan in 2001 and was earning about 13 000.00 a month, he found himself earning about 30 000.00 in a few months to the time when he left for SA in 2002 with others even getting more than double digit increases (**Annexure B**, paragraph 212-220).

- **Collateral damage**. Borrowing from BRAVO’s testimony on the nature and extent of inflation, it is not difficult to appreciate the indiscriminate reach of inflation to all citizens when there are prize increases for goods and services. This was also coupled to the job losses that occurred when companies closed down. On his part, this participants was more concerned with both the effectiveness of sanctions as well as the monitoring aspect thereof. His main argument was that “I don’t see how those sanctions help the poor or the masses cause sanctioning me [not] to go to Sandton doesn’t mean that I can’t get that thing somewhere else...I’ll just go [and get it at] Three Rivers” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 317-332). It was against this background that he concluded that [smart] sanctions didn’t help anything [because] the sanctioned individual could fly to wherever he wants, do whatever he wants [together] with other [selected] individuals whilst impact was felt by those that were at the bottom [of the food chain] or in the participants’ own words “it is the masses that suffer” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 332).

4.5.3 CHARLIE

- **Poverty**. In her response to a question on why she left Zimbabwe, CHARLIE had said she left “because of the situation [in that] there were socio-economic hardships [where] it was hard [as there was] no food, no shops, no everything”. This was a period during which she mainly experienced the absence of commodities at shops as “shelves were empty” and there was no medication at hospitals either. She had also spoken of famine and the lack of access to clean water as people found themselves drinking “untreated/unfiltered water directly from the dam” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 501-503). This resulted in high mortality rates, especially children, during a period when “people [resorted to harvesting] tree leaves which would just be cooked and eaten because there was no food” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 574-576). She had continued to say that citizens found themselves in a situation where circumstances forced them to go and seek work out of Zimbabwe in the neighbouring countries, with the hope of accessing basic needs like food and other commodities in order for them not only survive but also to help their families back home.
- **Unemployment**. With other participants having alluded to companies closing down, resulting untold levels of unemployment, this participant left Zimbabwe in 2008, a period that has been market as the most tumultuous period in her country’s history mainly because “it was hard [as there was] no food, no shops, no everything” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 458-459).
- **Inflation**. Having alluded to have experienced the absence of commodities at shops because “shelves were empty” and there being no medication available at hospitals serves as an indicator towards understanding the reach and impact of inflation. With the year 2008 being commonly referred to as a period of hyperinflation, it has been said that the value of money could expire in 2 hours from the time it was issued by the Central Bank. In this regard citizens at household level, CHARLIE included, are said to have felt the effects of inflation when mielie meal and other commodities were sold at “bigger prizes...that poor people couldn’t afford”.

- **Collateral damage**. When asked for her views on the assertion that sanctions were tailor-made to affect only the selected individuals, she emphatically said, “no [that is] not true...they [sanctions] affected everyone, the whole country...the whole country, not...[not only a selected few]” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 523-524). In an answer to a probing question, she also alluded to a brain-drain that saw the migration of professionals in the health and education sectors in that, “all teachers and all doctors ran away” to the US, SA and Botswana.

4.5.4 DELTA

- **Poverty**. DELTA’s memories and experiences of the last decade are mainly centred on poverty during a period when “people were struggling and there was no food...there was no mielie meal and other basic needs”. When responding to prompts on whether there were risks, she mentioned the shortage of food which not only had to be declared at the Beit Bridge border post but also had to be bribed for with a lot of money. Whilst also alluding to the scarcity of water mainly due to adverse climatic conditions, it was her response to one of the probing questions that suggested that sanctions all but compounded the drought effects (**Annexure B**, paragraph 667).
- **Unemployment**. For DELTA, migrations into SA were directly linked to the scarcity of various commodities and food to epitomise what has been described as survival migrations. Her views also pointed to despair amongst Zimbabweans in that poverty and hunger made life unbearable. Her interview results show that there were socio-health risks that forced citizens to undertake life threatening migrations, some of which resulted in a situation where others “had even drowned and died [in the Limpopo River] with their children on their backs all because of the search for food” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 806-808).
- **Inflation**. Having said that her family was living with poverty and starvation on a daily basis where no meals would be consumed during the day, she also alluded to sanctions compounding the effects of the drought mainly because

“even if goods and [other commodities] were there, they were very expensive”(Annexure B ,paragraph 710-713).

- **Collateral damage.** “...*ama-sanctions bewa affecta wonke umuntu wase Zimbabwe...*” (sanctions affected everyone in Zimbabwe) was her calm response when she was engaged on whether sanctions were tailor-made to affect only the selected individuals (Annexure B, paragraph 719-720).

4.5.5 ECHO

- **Poverty.** ECHO came across as echoing the sentiments of other participants when he said he left Zimbabwe in 2008 due to ‘economic hardships’ and imbalances which basically left shops with nothing to sell to the ordinary public. His experiences of the last decade revolved around a period where poverty ruled, that there was corruption and rising inflation when more money was required to buy food and other commodities on the black market. He also said this was a period where there was “no electricity 90 percent of the time and no water for up to 3 weeks” (Annexure B, paragraph 843-847). Having provided a written response in an email, a **yes** is implied to a question that asked whether *the scarcity of goods and basic services could be linked to the migration of Zimbabweans into SA* in that all his answers to Interview Questions suggest that a relationship exists between the scarcity of goods and basic services and the migration of Zimbabweans citizens into South Africa, including the participant himself.
- **Unemployment.** This participant is included in the eight (80%) that said they left Zimbabwe because of a weak economy and other related reasons. Being an engineer he left Zimbabwe in 2008, the year that is commonly known as the most challenging in terms of a weak economy that was characterised by hyperinflation, poverty as well as unprecedented levels of unemployment.

- **Inflation**. ECHO's experiences of the previous decade revolved around the period where poverty ruled, there was corruption and rising inflation because "more money was required to buy food stuffs on the black market" (**Annexure B**, paragraph 843-844)..
- **Collateral damage**. This participant appeared to be echoing the views of other participants by stating that although sanctions were aimed at certain individuals, he was of view that "they affected a lot of people". In the same sentence that he answered this question, he wrote that sanctions affected a lot of people primarily because "cutting off the supply of certain resources meant that the prices would dramatically rise due to a record high inflation for example [the price of] petrol which would rise almost 3 times a day"(**Annexure B**, paragraph 858-862).

4.5.6 FOXTROT

- **Poverty**. In answering a question as to *why did she leave Zimbabwe?*, this participant became part of the eight (80%) that alluded to poverty. She spoke of a life where, let alone not being able to afford school fees for her children, she could barely afford to "buy soap so that I could wash clothes for my children" (**Annexure B**, para. 887-889). She also spoke of a 'suffering of the people' where there were shortages food and that "people there were being helped by NGOs like Food World, USAID and World Vision etc, [who] were providing food and what what because people were suffering, real suffering and not [just] the way we say suffering". Her testimony pointed to a situation where there was no access to neither security as the police were behind the brutality campaign against citizens, unhygienic conditions due to limited or lack of access to water especially in the urban areas to mark an occurrence that saw people using sewage water as there were no water treatment chemicals" (**Annexure B**, paragraph 887-897). "Exactly" was her response when asked whether she thought the scarcity of goods and basic services could be linked to the migration of Zimbabweans into SA. Her answers perhaps characterised 'survival migration' when she said even parents were encouraging their children to go to SA saying, "you [too] can go". "You see this one's [imaginarily

referring to a neighbour's] child was in SA and sending their parents groceries and what what". She then added, "that's when people started flocking here, flocking and flocking. They all came looking for greener pastures, money and food" (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1053-1062).

- **Unemployment**. This participant had migrated to South Africa from Botswana in 2008 where she had been "selling peanuts, doing piece-jobs and what what" for 2 years between 2004 and 2006 (**Annexure B**, paragraph 890-891). Her testimony confirms both what literature provides as well as the statements of other participants in that there were unprecedented levels of unemployment in Zimbabwe especially in 2008, hence she left for Botswana and then to South Africa.
- **Inflation**. This participant alluded to inflation when those who could source food from South Africa came back and sold to locals in "bigger prices...that poor people couldn't afford" on the one hand whilst "prices were going up by the minute" in the country as a whole on the other hand. She also acknowledged the impact of inflation in that "the cost of living becomes too high...where prizes are going up by the minute...everything was too much, too much for locals to survive" (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1097-1100).
- **Collateral damage**. FOXTROT remained unconvinced that sanctions were targeted against certain individuals hence she said, "but those individuals were not having problems, it [sanctions] was affecting us the poor" (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1026-1027). She was straightforward when she said that sanctions "were only affecting us poor", who do not even have money to access hospitals as these were very expensive, coupled with shortages of medicine (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1025-1029). She also suggested a cause-effect relationship between sanctions and collateral damage when she said "everyone [gets affected] because the cost of living becomes too high" (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1080-1081).

4.5.7 GOLF

Poverty. In response to a question as to why he left Zimbabwe, GOLF simply said “it was due to unemployment”. He stated that he left Zimbabwe to look for a job in order “for me to sustain my family” as there were no employment opportunities in the country (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1119-1120). The shortages of cash during the last decade were also experienced by this participant who ended up using ‘Beira Cheques’ to pay for his Form 4 final examinations mainly because there was no “legal tender” in Zimbabwe. Although he never experienced any water shortages due to the fact that he was from rural areas and there they used water from boreholes, he spoke about the shortages of food in the country

- **Unemployment.** The views of this participant are to the effect that the absence of employment opportunities, coupled with shortages of cash and food, were the main driver behind the migration into SA. His views are that the absence/collapse of the private sector, which is supposed to be playing a fundamental role towards creating employment opportunities, represents a real problem for Zimbabweans. It was against this background that he hypothetically asked, “how can we stay in a country where there is a higher percentage of unemployment?...we have to run away, we have no option” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1248-1252) . In response to a probing question on the causes behind the collapse of the private sector, he spoke about the ‘Indigenisation Law’ as the main destroyer of the private sector because under this law, individuals and companies benefited less from their own profits as the government took away about 60% of the profits (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1258-1262).
- **Inflation.** This participant said the last decade was a period of turmoil that was also characterised by hyperinflation primarily because “money could expire in 2 hours from the time it was issued”. He has said in return, inflation impacted directly on his family because the money that his father had saved was useless, the participant had to use ‘Beira Cheques’ to pay for his Form 4 final examinations (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1130-1131).

- **Collateral damage**. For this participant, sanctions affected everybody with some [selected] individuals here and there but on the whole, they [smart sanctions] were “oftenly affecting the whole nation” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1181-1182). He had qualified his answer in response to a probing question when he referred to the withdrawal of aid by the donor community when he said, “from the time sanctions were imposed in Zimbabwe, some of the donors who used to support families with food, school fees and some other stuffs stopped”. He singled out the UNICEF and Plan International as amongst the NGOs that reduced the number of children they used to support (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1187-1188). In response to other probing questions, he also brought another dimension in which the effect of sanctions to the general population can be examined. He spoke of how those in power may use that power to detriment of the entire nation. For example, he spoke of how the violence that accompanied the land reform program led to job losses and the livelihoods for many citizens who worked at the farms on the one hand and how the subsequent sanctions affected the whole nation. Interestingly, he said all this took place whilst the targeted individuals that included Ministers had the freedom of movement, going to Turkey and others [destinations] on holiday...(Annexure B, paragraph 1179-1183).

4.5.8 HOTEL

- **Poverty**. In response to a question as to *why she left Zimbabwe*, she had referred to ‘economic hardship’. For her, the last decade will be remembered for the scarcity of basic commodities like mielie meal, sugar, bread, cooking coil, water etc. This was a period when her family ate “samp in the morning because we couldn’t get cereals, bread or sugar for breakfast” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1317-1318). Her answers to some probing questions pointed to a trauma that could be experienced by any breadwinner who could themselves failing to provide for their families. She was consistent with regards to her experiences that pointed to the scarcity of basic commodities in that she also wrote about limited and unhealthy water. Although she had a borehole, she had also alluded to frequent water cuts that were a common feature in Zimbabwe where one could spend up to 3 to 4 days without water and when it was available, wasn’t safe to drink (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1337-1338).

- **Unemployment**. This participant wrote about the ripple effects of sanctions in that when sanctions were imposed, there was a lot of suffering and unemployment rates escalated as people lost their jobs, multitudes that got retrenched and also that university graduates could not find jobs because of the negative effects of the sanctions (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1346-1348). It was clear that although she acknowledged the scarcity of goods and basic services being linked to the migration she also wrote that “the major push factor for [the migration of] Zimbabweans was unemployment issues. She further wrote, “people migrate to look for employment so that they can put food on the table for their families” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1372-1376).

- **Inflation**. She wrote that sanctions brought a lot of suffering...[that] all sectors were affected, hence the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) went down and that there was no development of the economy. She also wrote that inflation affected the country and that it led to the devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar which is not in circulation until the day of this interview, being **19/01/2018** (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1350-1355).

- **Collateral damage**. This participant wrote that “sanctions mainly affected the ordinary citizens” because “when investors pulled out aid was withdrawn, it is the ordinary people who were severely affected” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1346-1348). She further wrote about the ripple effects of sanctions in that there was a lot of suffering and unemployment rates escalated. In a similar fashion to GOLF, she also wrote that this took place whilst the selected/targeted “individuals were not affected at all, [that] they still led decent lives as could even afford to send their children to study abroad whilst the Zimbabwean education, was once ranked as the best in Africa, was deteriorating” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1355-1359). It was interesting that she also wrote that “Mugabe and his team had even travel sanctions imposed on them but that did not affect them at all, instead they were travelling to Dubai, Malaysia etc where they even own mansions” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1355-1363).

4.5.9 INDIA

- **Poverty**. This participant wrote that *she left Zimbabwe* due to “an economically challenging situation back home”. Her memories and experiences of the last decade were filled with despair due to the unavailability of basic commodities like mielie meal which could not be found in shops and were instead “sold on the street”, often called the led the “black market” at exorbitant prices. She had also alluded to food and water shortages during this period. Most importantly she wrote that the scarcity of goods and basic services can be linked to migration into South Africa in that the pursuit of greener pastures and opportunities was the driver behind migrations because people were “looking for a better life” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1422-1424).
- **Unemployment**. With unprecedented levels of unemployment not only being spoken of by other participants but also provided for by literature, it was not uncharacteristic for this participant to write that “people were affected by the situation and migrated into South Africa looking for a better life” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1423-1424).
- **Inflation**. This participant wrote that there were no basic commodities in the shelves and that basic commodities like mielie meal were sold on the street which was called [the] “black market”. She also observed that the practices of buying and selling commodities in the ‘black market’ led to the inflation of prices [because households were] charged exorbitant prices for the goods...(Annexure B, paragraph 1397-1400).
- **Collateral damage**. In a short and straightforward answer, this participant wrote that the “general citizens of Zimbabwe were affected by the sanctions [and] not only the selected individuals” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1416-1417).

4.5.10 JULIET

- **Poverty.** In a rather uncharacteristic fashion, JULIET had said that he left Zimbabwe due to political instability as well as the ineffectiveness of the institutions that were in place. However his memories and experiences of the last decade point to changes in a way of life or as he aptly puts it, “a shift in terms of a household setup” where he witnessed his father not being able to “provide essential needs like food and education”. He had further alluded to changes in the family’s diet where they “had to cut from three meals to two meals a day” (**Annexure B**, para. 1470-1472). He also spoke about shortages of water, fuel and food. This was also coupled to the fact that there were no schools and child mortality rates [were very high] because there was no medication [at hospitals]...(Annexure B, paragraph 1651-1653).

- **Unemployment.** This participant had said that the government couldn’t afford to pay teachers [their salaries] whilst they could work for many months without [any] remuneration. So all these factors were really hitting hard on many of the teachers, hence they left the country (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1546-1552).

- **Inflation.** Whilst explaining the impact of the shortages of fuel, this participant also alluded to people sleep[ing] in queues for fuel. In his views, fuel shortages “led to food not being supplied [and being available] in the shelves at [local] shops [and] in those instances where food was supplied, people were charged exorbitant prizes” (**Annexure B**, para. 1588-1591). He explained that that was when they “discovered that buying a product in the morning would be different when buying the same product only a couple of minutes later” (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1592-1595).

- **Collateral damage.** In his response to a probing question with regards to the causes behind the shortages of fuel, he did not hesitate to say that it was sanctions which also affected the people of Zimbabwe as whole. Almost like ALFA, he suggested that smart sanctions “came as a corrective measure but deepened the situation the situation [in that they] tried to correct but they

deepened the situation because poor Zimbabwean citizens were and are still the most affected” (**Annexure B**, para. 1676-1680). It was in this context that he also concurred with the researcher’s deduction that they [smart sanctions] had unintended consequence in that they were designed to affect only the specifically selected individuals but in Zimbabwe, they ended up affecting the very people they were purporting to protect (**Annexure B**, paragraph 1678-1682).

4.6 DISCUSSION OF THEMES: PERCEPTIONS BASED ON GENDER

This section of the chapter presents the gender profiles. These profiles were created as a result of interviews with Zimbabwean immigrants that are located in the Gauteng Province. The aim is to present the views of participants based on gender. A summary of the gender demographic is presented in the following tables.

Participant	Name	Gender	Age	Location in Gauteng	Location in Zimbabwe
1	ALFA	M	36	Tembisa	Harare
2	BRAVO	M	40	Vanderbijlpark	Masvingo
3	ECHO	M	49	Vanderbijlpark	Gweru
4	GOLF	M	27	Diepsloot	Mutare
5	JULIET	M	35	Midrand	Matabeleland South

Table 1.4: Male participants

Interestingly, all five (100%) of participants in this category alluded to poverty in Zimbabwe during the last decade in one form or the other. This finding is informed by the following excerpts from participants:

- **ALFA:** This participant concurred with a supposition that the “scarcity of food and the lack of access to basic services were directly linked to the migration of Zimbabwean immigrants] into South Africa”.

- **BRAVO:** The last decade was a period where individuals had to “stream down from the life that they were living to basics in order to survive because “money was for food...just for people to sustain themselves”. He also pointed out that irrespective of whether people had boreholes, there was no money to switch on the boreholes as “money was just for food” during this period of economic decline.
- **ECHO:** The last decade revolved around a period where poverty ruled, corruption and rising inflation “when more money was required to buy food stuffs on the black market”.
- **GOLF:** Although he never experienced any water shortages owing to the fact that he was from rural areas and they used water from boreholes, he spoke about the shortages of food in the country. This is from a participant who said he left Zimbabwe “to look for a job in order for me to sustain my family [because] there were no employment opportunities in the country”.
- **JULIET:** This participants’ memories and experiences of the last decade point to changes in a way of life or as he pertinently puts it, “a shift in terms of a household setup” where he witnessed his father not being able to “provide essential needs like food and education”. The participant further highlighted changes in the family’s diet where they “had to cut from three to two meals a day”. He also alluded to shortages of water and fuel. This was also coupled to the fact that there were no schools and child mortality rates [were very high] because there was no medication [at hospitals.

Equally important is to note that this is a grouping where all five (100%) of participants also suggested causality or an existence of a cause-effect relationship between smart sanctions and economic collapse in that they associated sanctions with a negative impact on the population as a whole. This can be found in the following extracts:

- **ALFA:** ...Mugabe’s refusal or failure to comply [with the demands of the international community] led to “sanctions being implemented, [resulting in] investors running away, skilled people and skilled labour [also] running out of the country, collapsing the economy”.

- **BRAVO:** ...following the imposition of [smart] sanctions, “companies were closing...[if] you go to a company, the next day you [would] hear them say[ing] next month we are shedding people to reduce the numbers”.
- **ECHO:** ...“cutting off the supply of certain resources meant that the prices would dramatically rise due to a record high inflation for example [the price of] petrol which would rise almost 3 times a day”.
- **GOLF:** ...“from the time sanctions were imposed in Zimbabwe, some of the donors [like UNICEF and Plan International] who used to support families with food, school fees and some other stuffs stopped”.
- **JULIET:** ...“fuel shortages led to food not being supplied [and being available] in the shelves at [local] shops [and] in those instances where food was supplied, people were charged exorbitant prizes”.

This is also a group where 100% of participants concurred that not only was there inflation in Zimbabwe but they also linked its impact on citizens as follows:

- **ALFA:** ...it did not make economic sense for a person to buy commodities in Zimbabwe because “there was no food or if it was there, it [was] three times the cost”.
- **BRAVO:** ...“pricing, shops, everything was going up and almost every two months or so you [would] find a different prize...all because of inflation”. He also alluded to “the economy going down, [whilst] prizes [were] rising. [It was a situation where] you could find your salary after six months...where you [you’d] get a [salary] increase every six months cause they [authorities] were trying to catch up with inflation and everything, [after sanctions were imposed].
- **ECHO:** ...“more money was required to buy food stuffs on the black market” at inflated prices.
- **GOLF:** ...the last decade was a period characterised by hyperinflation because “ money could expire in 2 hours from the time it was issued”.

- **JULIET:** ...fuel shortages led to food not being supplied in the shelves at [local] shops [and] in those instances where food was supplied, “people were charged exorbitant prizes”. He also said that was when they “discovered that buying a product in the morning would be different when buying the same product only a couple of minutes later”.

It is also noteworthy that two participants (20%) had said sanctions were justified in that, “they were for a good cause [that was intended] to leverage for good governance [in order to] maintain the rule of law, ensure peace and stability, security for citizens including whites” on one hand but that they also “they deepened the situation because poor Zimbabwean citizens were and are still the most affected”.

This is a grouping where two participants, ALFA and ECHO who represent (40%) fully concur with the supposition that the scarcity of goods and basic services is linked to the migration of Zimbabweans into SA.

Participant	Name	Gender	Age	Location in Gauteng	Location in Zimbabwe
1	CHARLIE	F	35	Soweto	Harare
2	DELTA	F	34	Soweto	Plumtree
3	FOXTROT	F	50	Olievenhoutbosch	Mashonaland East
4	HOTEL	F	50	Soweto	Mashonaland Central
5	INDIA	F	38	Roodepoort	Bulawayo

Table 1.5: Female participants

Although there were divergent views on themes, there appears to be a 100% concurrence that poverty and inflation dominated the socio-economic discourse in Zimbabwe during the previous decade. For example:

- **CHARLIE** said she left “because of the situation [in that] there were socio-economic hardships [where] it was hard [as there was] no food, no shops, no everything”. This was a period during which she mainly experienced the

absence of commodities at shops as “shelves were empty” and there was no medication at hospitals either. She also spoke of famine and lack of access to clean water as people found themselves drinking “untreated/unfiltered water directly from the dam”.

- For **DELTA**, the last decade was a period where “people were struggling and there was no food... no mielie meal and other basic needs”.
- **FOXTROT** had spoken of a life where, let alone not being able to afford school fees for her children, she could barely afford to “buy soap so that I could wash clothes for my children”. She also spoke of ‘suffering of the people’ where there were food shortages and “people there were being helped by NGOs like Food World, USAID and World Vision”. Her testimony pointed to a situation where there was no access to neither security as the police were behind the brutality campaign against citizens and also to unhygienic conditions due to limited or lack of access to water especially in the urban areas to mark an occurrence that saw people using sewage water as there were no water treatment chemicals”.
- The last decade will be remembered by **HOTEL** for the scarcity of basic commodities like mielie meal, sugar, bread, cooking coil etc. This was a period during when her family used to eat “samp in the morning because we couldn’t get cereals, bread or sugar for breakfast”. Although she had a borehole, she spoke of “frequent water cuts where one could spend up to 3 to 4 days without water and when[ever] it was available, wasn’t safe to drink”.
- **INDIA** said she left Zimbabwe due to “an economically challenging situation back home”. Her memories and experiences of the last decade are filled with despair due to the unavailability of basic commodities like mielie meal which could not be found in shops and were instead “sold on the street”, often called the led the “black market” at exorbitant prices. She also alluded to food and water shortages during this period.

There is also a general concurrence in this grouping that inflation impacted greatly and directly on citizens. The following are findings were made and are thus presented:

- During the period of hyperinflation, “the value of money could expire in 2 hours from the time it was issued”. Thus households and citizens including **CHARLIE** felt the effects of inflation when mielie meal and other commodities were sold at “bigger prizes...that poor people couldn’t afford”.
- **DELTA** had alluded to inflation in that “even if goods and [other commodities] were there, they were very expensive”.
- **FOXTROT** is another participant who also alluded to inflation when she spoke of those who could source food from South Africa and came back and sold to locals in “bigger prices...that poor people couldn’t afford” whilst also stating that “prices were going up by the minute” in the country.
- **HOTEL** wrote that “sanctions brought a lot of suffering...all sectors were affected, thus the GDP went down and there was no development of the economy”. She also wrote that inflation affected the country and that it led to the “devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar which is not in circulation until today”.
- Having written that there were no basic commodities in the shelves, **INDIA** wrote that basic commodities like mielie meal [were] sold on the street which was called [the] “black market”. She also observed that the practices of buying and selling commodities in the ‘black market’ led to the inflation of prices [because citizens were] “charged exorbitant prices for the goods”.

An overwhelming 80% (four participants) in this grouping spoke about the suffering of the people or what has been referred to as ‘survival migration’ in that:

- For **DELTA**, migrations into SA were directly linked to the scarcity of basic commodities including food. Her views also pointed to despair amongst Zimbabwean in that poverty and hunger made life unbearable. Interview

results show that here were socio-health risks that forced citizens to undertake life threatening migrations, some of which resulted in a situation where others “drowned and died [in the Limpopo River] with children on their backs, all because of the search for food”.

- “Exactly” was **FOXTROT**’s response when asked if she though the *scarcity of goods and basic services could be linked to the migration of Zimbabweans into SA*. Her answer perhaps characterised ‘survival migration’ when she said even parents were even encouraging their children to go to SA saying, “you [too] can go”. You see this one’s [referring to a neighbour’s] son is in SA and is sending their parents groceries and what what”. She then added, “that’s when people started flocking here, flocking and flocking. They all came looking for greener pastures, money and food”.

- Although she wrote that “the major push factor for [the migration of] Zimbabweans was unemployment issues, **HOTEL** also conceded that the scarcity of goods and basic services could be linked to migration into South Africa primarily due to its an attractive economy. She further wrote, “people migrate to look for employment so that they can put food on the table for their families”.

- Having alluded to the unavailability of basic commodities like mielie meal that was sold on the street often called the led the “black market” at exorbitant prices, it is not surprising that **INDIA** also wrote that the scarcity of goods and basic services can be linked to migration into South Africa in that the pursuit of greener pastures and opportunities was the driver behind migrations primarily because people were “looking for a better life”.

4.7 ANSWERS TO RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Whereas the purpose of this research was to explore perceptions of smart sanctions amongst Zimbabwean immigrants that are located in the Gauteng Province, the goal was to understand and describe the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants on smart sanctions in an effort to determine the underlying causes for their influx to South Africa over the last decade. For this reason, the study was aimed at answering the political, economic and community (social) impact of smart sanctions at household level. The following was found from both the interviews themselves and the subsequent themes that emerged.

4.7.1 What is the political impact of smart sanctions on citizens at household level?

In order to answer the research questions, interviews were conducted where participants were asked questions that ranged from, Why did you leave Zimbabwe? to Can the scarcity of goods and basic be linked to the migration of Zimbabweans into SA?. For the most part, participant's perceptions were common in as far political security at household level in the last decade is concerned. This is where FOXTROT had said that let alone not being able to afford school fees for her children, she could "barely afford to buy soap so that I could wash clothes for my children". Her experiences were also confirmed by CHARLIE who experienced the absence of commodities at shops as "shelves were empty" and there was no medication at hospitals either.

ECHO's experiences during this decade revolved around the period where poverty ruled, there was corruption and rising inflation because "more money was required to buy food stuffs on the black market". Participants unanimously pointed out that the practices of buying food and other commodities in the black market led to the inflation of prizes "which citizens could not afford". JULIET had spoken about changes in a family's way of life or as he aptly puts it, "a shift in terms of a household setup" where he witnessed his father not being able to "provide essential needs like food and education".

The latter views on the paragraph above are from a participant who, in response to probes on what was behind the “shift in households”, alluded to what amounts to political opportunism when he said that “when the ZANU-PF realised that they were losing the support of the people because of the poor standards of living, they brought back the land issue as a mobilising instrument/political tool in their campaigns and not as a strategy to put equality into society”. In response to further probes on whether there were risks, JULIET had referred to losses of life (deaths) of those that were perceived to be anti-ZANU-PF and the harassment of teachers, who were generally perceived as ‘agents provocateurs’ by the authorities in that they were influencing public opinion in a manner that could be perceivably contrary to government position “...hence they left”.

In response to other related questions on the underlying causes behind the migration of Zimbabweans, CHARLIE had spoken of famine and lack of access to clean water as people found themselves drinking “untreated/unfiltered water directly from the dam”. Whilst DELTA also alluded to the scarcity of water mainly due to adverse climatic conditions, it was her response to one of probing questions that suggested that sanctions “all but compounded the effects of the drought”. For FOXTROT, there was no access to neither security because “the police were behind the brutality campaign against citizens” nor hygienic conditions due to lack of access to water especially in the urban areas to mark an occurrence that saw people using sewage water as there were no water treatment chemicals.

Although she had a borehole, HOTEL had spoken of frequent water cuts that were a common feature in Zimbabwe where “one could spend up to 3 to 4 days without water and when it was available, wasn’t safe to drink”. As if she took her cue from other participants, INDIA also alluded to “food and water shortages”. Despite initially speaking and revolving his experiences around bad governance and the abuse of foreign aid, JULIET also alluded to “shortages of water and fuel as well as inflation”.

However in response to a probing question with regards to the causes or reasons behind the shortages of fuel, he (JULIET) did not hesitate that it was [smart] sanctions. In concurrence and in a clear indication that sanctions affected citizens at household level, relative to the targeted/selected individuals, an overwhelming 100%

of participants spoke with confidence that the entire population of Zimbabwe was affected by smart sanctions. It was ALFA who brought in an interesting dimension to this exploration when he said sanctions were affecting “us” because “the Executive was limited in doing its functions especially in travelling to Western countries...”

Whilst apportioning the blame to Mugabe for choosing to live with sanctions, ALFA had continued to say that following the imposition of sanctions, the country experienced brain drain as “investors [were] running away, skilled people [and by extension] skilled labour [also] running out of the country, collapsing the economy”. To illustrate his point, he had said, “not only did people that were clever or wise or educated [decided] to leave the country...even the dullest person. Thus the researcher was not entirely surprised to hear BRAVO’s concerns about both the effectiveness of sanctions as well as the monitoring aspect in that “it is us at the bottom of the [food and economic] chain that suffer”.

On her part, DELTA had calmly said “*ama-sanctions bewa affecta wonke umuntu wase Zimbabwe*” (sanctions affected all citizens of Zimbabwe). Whilst appreciating that sanctions were directed at specific individuals, ECHO had also echoed what has been said by other participants by acknowledging that even though sanctions were aimed at targeting certain individuals, he was of view that “they affected a lot of people”.

FOXTROT was not convinced that there were targeted individuals at all because in her response, “those individuals were not having problems, they [sanctions] were only affecting us the poor...who do not even have money to access hospitals as these were very expensive, coupled with the shortage of medicine”. For GOLF, sanctions affected everybody and also some [selected] individuals here and there but on the whole, they [smart sanctions] were “oftenly affecting the whole nation”.

It was interesting to find from a written response that HOTEL was of the view that “Mugabe and his team had even travel sanctions imposed on them but that this did not affect them at all and that they were instead travelling to Dubai, Malaysia etc where they even own mansions”. In her response, INDIA had also written that the

“general citizens of Zimbabwe were affected by the sanctions, not only the selected individuals”.

4.7.2 What is the economic impact of smart sanctions on citizens at household level?

Findings show that participant’s perceptions were similar in as far as the economic impact of smart sanctions at household level were concerned. These findings commenced with BRAVO’s testimony that he left his country in 2002 when economic decline and rapid inflation were experienced in the country. In response to one of the prompts, he had pointed to the Zimbabwean dollar that ended up being cancelled because of inflation during a period “when people were carrying millions [of Zimbabwean dollars]” at a go. When prompted further and asked whether there were risks, he singled out “job security” saying companies were closing fast.

Having said that her family was living with poverty and starvation on a daily basis where no meals would be consumed during the day, DELTA had also alluded to sanctions compounding the effects of the drought mainly because “even if goods and [other commodities] were there, they were very expensive”. Although no parallels are drawn at this stage, it is worth mentioning that “exactly” was FOXTROT’s response to a question that asked whether *the scarcity of goods and basic could be linked to migration of Zimbabweans into SA?*. She had also alluded to inflation when those who could source food from SA came back and sold to locals in “bigger prizes...that poor people couldn’t afford”.

GOLF had also said that food and cash shortages in Zimbabwe, coupled with the absence of employment opportunities were the main drivers behind their migration into SA. Findings that fit into the economic impact of smart sanctions on citizens at household level can also be traced from HOTEL who wrote about that “the country could not generate revenue, [that] all sectors [of the economy] were affected, that the GDP [had gone] down and [that] there was no development of the economy”. This participant also wrote that when sanctions were imposed, there was a lot of suffering as unemployment rates escalated, people lost their jobs, got retrenched and that university graduates could not find jobs because of the negative effects of the sanctions.

Although she acknowledged that the scarcity of goods and basic services could be linked to migration into South Africa mainly because of its attractive economy, HOTEL had emphasised that “the major push factor for [migration] was unemployment issues in that, “people migrate to look for employment so that they can put food on the table for their families”.

However, there were unanticipated answers with regards to the economic impact which could prove fundamental for future studies. This is informed by findings that suggest that following the withdrawal of petroleum giants like Shell and BP, BRAVO had observed the fermentation and subsequent mushrooming of corruption amongst government officials in a scenario that went like, “I’ve got a medium/connection and there go and open a garage [filling station] and I’ll go to the East and bring-in fuel for you”.

In the same vein, JULIET had thrown another spanner in the works when he suggested that sanctions led to crime in that the marginalised poor communities often found themselves having to resort to other means to survive like ‘panning’, when they started mining gold illegally. Some of the most important findings came from BRAVO who referred to predatory tendencies from those in power as well as GOLF who spoke of how those in power may use the same power to the detriment of the nation. For example, GOLF had spoken of how the violence that accompanied the land reform program led to job losses and the livelihoods for many citizens who worked at the farms on one hand and how the subsequent sanctions affected the whole nation on the other hand.

4.7.3 What is the social impact of smart sanctions on citizens at household level?

Answers to this question also show general concurrence in as far as the social (community) impact of smart sanctions at household levels were concerned. For example the response rate to a question that asked whether *the scarcity of goods and basic services could be linked to the migration of Zimbabweans into SA*, saw about eight participants (80%) saying **Yes** and mainly attributing these migrations to poverty, the collapse of infrastructure, health, education and inflation risks. In essence, the increased migrations were actually migrations for survival.

In ALFA's words, "we had companies going, we had farmers' farms or land being taken away...thereby collapsing food security [be]cause companies that could produce food were leaving for SA". CHARLIE is another participant who pointed to poverty and the collapse of infrastructure as amongst the main reasons behind the hardship that led her and millions of other Zimbabweans to come to SA. For DELTA, migrations into SA were directly linked to shortages of food or survival migrations. Her views also pointed to despair amongst Zimbabwean in that poverty and hunger made life was unbearable. Interview results show that there were socio-health risks that forced citizens to undertake life threatening migrations like when others "even drowned and died [in the Limpopo River] with children on their backs all because of the search for food".

Having provided an email response, a yes to this question was implied in that ECHO's answers all to questions suggested that a relationship exists between the scarcity of goods and basic services and the migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa, including himself. "Exactly" was FOXTROT's response as she spoke about inflation when those who could source food from SA came back and sold to locals in "bigger prizes...that poor people couldn't afford". The inability to work and earn a salary is also another factor in the social (community) dimension in that GOLF expressed concern that the absence/collapse of the private sector, which is supposed to be creating employment opportunities, posed a real problem for Zimbabweans. It was against this background that he hypothetically asked, "how can we stay in a country where there is a higher percentage of unemployment?...we have to run away, we have no option".

On her part HOTEL conceded that "to some extent, the scarcity of goods and basic services can be linked to migration" into SA primarily due to its attractive economy, where "goods and services are available". She maintained that though that despite all this, the major push factor for Zimbabweans was unemployment issues. INDIA is another participant who wrote that the scarcity of goods and basic services can be linked to migration into South Africa. She further wrote that the pursuit of greener pastures and opportunities was the driver behind migrations primarily because people were "looking for a better life".

Against the background and the context of the discussions, it was not surprising that ALFA had concluded that, “not only did people that were clever or wise or educated [decided] to leave the country...even the dullest person, even the disabled person...the others...blind people are [also] here begging in South Africa”. In the same vein, HOTEL also wrote that “sanctions mainly affected the ordinary citizens” in that “when investors pulled out, aid was withdrawn [and] it is the ordinary people who were severely affected”. In what appeared to be the norm in response to probing questions, JULIET had also suggested that sanctions led to crime in that the marginalised communities found themselves having to resort to other means to survive, even ‘panning’ where they started to mine gold illegally.

4.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented empirical findings from interviews and also consisted of several sections. The profiles of participants whose perceptions of smart sanctions were obtained were presented in the second section. This was followed by a table that reflected the group characteristics of these participants. This chapter then presented the findings where poverty, unemployment, inflation and collateral damage emerged as the main themes to emerge from the data collected. Additionally, the perceptions of smart sanction as per individual participant were presented. This was followed by a discussion of themes with the purpose of extracting gender based perceptions. In line with the purpose of the study, this chapter has provided answers to the research questions. As was found mainly in the themes that emerged, findings suggest that pertinent human security risks were experienced owing to communities’ lack of access to resources that are vital to their survival. The next chapter will discuss these findings relative to the study’s purpose statement, the proposition and the analytical framework in line with the literature that was reviewed.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of this study was to understand and describe the underlying causes for the influx of Zimbabwean migrants into South Africa between 2001 and 2009. To a lesser extent, the study assessed the political and the socio-economic impact of smart sanctions on citizens at household level whilst focussing on the whole package of human security that has seven dimensions for analytical purposes to a larger extent. This chapter therefore interprets the results / findings in accordance with the analytical framework on one hand whilst being mindful of and incorporating the emergent themes on the other hand. However, seeing that some unexpected findings came up in this research, a short discussion on these findings follows the discussion of the result / main findings. This is then followed by a short discussion on the essence of lived experiences of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe.

5.2 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to explore perceptions of smart sanctions amongst Zimbabwean immigrants that are located in the Gauteng Province and other parts of South Africa in an attempt to establish the underlying issues behind their influx to South Africa in between the years 2001 and 2009. This was achieved by undertaking a qualitative case study where semi-structured interviews were conducted with adult male and female participants from Zimbabwe's immigrant population.

5.3 DISCUSSION ON RESULTS / FINDINGS

Poverty, Unemployment, Inflation and Collateral emerged as major findings underpinning immigrant's perceptions but also appear to be the main drivers behind the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa during the last decade. In response to specific research questions, the voices of participants (an overwhelming 100%) were unanimous that there were political, economic and social (community) security risks in Zimbabwe that mainly revolved around, but not only limited to, the effects of smart sanctions on citizens. However, for the purposes of this research, the next pages discusses the findings in sync with the entire (seven) dimensions of human security:

5.3.1 Personal Security

Results shows that there were personal security risks in Zimbabwe mainly from police brutality. In the words of FOXTROT, there was “no access to even security as the police were behind the brutality campaign against citizens” following the post-electoral violence of 2002. Results also show that teachers were harassed as they were generally perceived as ‘agents provocateurs’ by the authorities in that they were influencing public opinion in a manner that could be contrary to government position.

These findings are fundamental to the study mainly because the human security theory defines personal security as ‘protection from physical violence from or by the state, sub-state actors etc as outlined in Table 1,3 in page 15 of this dissertation. Indeed these results find resonance in literature in that “human rights violations by the Mugabe regime...” were the reasons behind the imposition of sanctions (Chipanga & Mude, 2015). However an interesting view on the externality of sanctions, relative to affecting Mugabe and other selected individuals is that collateral damage emerged as a theme because an overwhelming 100% of participants stated that the population of Zimbabwe was affected by [smart] sanctions.

The tone was set by the first interviewee who said, “sanctions affected us...the general population”. In what appears to be a repetitious pattern of a cause-effect relationship, the same participant had said that following the imposition of sanctions “the country experienced hardship and brain drain because] investors ran away, skilled people, skilled labour [also] ran away and out of the country, collapsing the economy”.

5.3.2 Political security

Results also point to the absence of political security in Zimbabwe as physical violence and harassment was experienced by citizens . As pointed out by JULIET, political insecurity was exemplified by loss of life (deaths) to those that were perceived to be anti-ZANU-PF during the post electoral violence of 2002. Equally, the perpetual harassment of teachers, coupled with the failure of the government to pay them their salaries compounded their plight, “hence they left” in JULIET’s opinion. As a theoretical construct, human security provides for freedom of speech, access to basic human rights and existential threats to these rights include the suppression of human rights by the state and or militarisation. As results show, human security risks played

themselves out in Zimbabwe during the last decade when citizens were beaten and harassed by security forces.

Indeed literature has it that political security relates to basic civil and political rights as they are directly linked to basic human rights (Gasper & Gómez, 2015). It is thus no coincidence that Chipanga and Mude (2015) posited that human rights violations were the major reason behind the imposition of sanctions against Zimbabwe. Another view is that the pressure exerted on Zimbabwe by SADC electoral standards as “an acknowledgement of the existence of democratic deficiencies” (Portela 2014, p. 16)

Furthermore, pertinent human security risks that emanated from the scarcity of basic goods and services, extreme poverty and the poor delivery of health services were also noted by Chingono (2010a). Therefore in practice and although the human security risks in the political dimension were not necessarily related to sanctions, human insecurity will continue to plague Zimbabwe unless political rights and access to basic human rights are guaranteed at least by the new government of President Emmerson Mnangagwa.

Therefore these results are important because during this exploration, one participant had spoken about externalisation, i.e the transfer of key functions and expertise to an overseas strategic partner as well as the ‘Indigenisation Law’ as a self-inflicted cause of unemployment that destroyed the private sector because under this law, individuals and companies benefited less from their own profits as the government took away about 60% of the profits. It was in this context that he hypothetically asked, “how can we stay in a country where there is a higher percentage of unemployment?...we have to run away, we have no option”.

5.3.3 Economic Security

Results show that Zimbabwe experienced serious economic security challenges due to the absence of “tangible money or legal tender” as mentioned by GOLF, the collapse of economic sectors of the country according to HOTEL or as bluntly stated by ALFA “following the imposition of sanctions, the country experienced brain drain as “investors [were] running away, skilled people [and by extension] skilled labour [also] running out of the country, collapsing the economy”. It is also clear that economic

insecurity was a major factor because other observations included the economic decline, inflation and the cancellation of the Zimbabwean dollar as a legal tender as mentioned by both BRAVO and GOLF whilst DELTA alluded to starvation and hunger as well as cash shortages.

It is clear from results that poverty was felt more at household levels where families had to adjust to just one meal a day and in worst case-scenarios nothing, save for the harvesting and cooking of raw leaves from trees as mentioned by CHARLIE. In this regard, poverty could be accepted as but one of the underlying issues behind the influx of Zimbabwean migrants into South Africa in between the years 2001 and 2009. GOLF's perceptions perhaps summed up poverty and its attendant human security risks in that "many people suffered, firstly it was hunger and secondly, parents could not afford to send their children to school [and pay school fees] because there was no tangible money or legal tender...."

Literature provides valuable insights into the economic security of Zimbabwe because "parallel to the political crisis, an economic crisis of catastrophic dimensions", which was attributed to corruption and the mismanagement of the economy ensued by the Mugabe regime ensued (Portela, 2014, p. 15). The same author had went on to state that "the economic crisis saw Zimbabwe becoming the fastest shrinking economy ...with unemployment figures reaching about 70%" (Portela, 2014, p. 15). This is precisely where externalities and the indiscriminate nature of sanctions in general and smart sanctions in particular played out in Zimbabwe. This is mainly because 'a fastest shrinking economy...with unemployment figures reaching 70%' can never be seen as being mutually exclusive, hence collateral damage emerged as one the main themes. In response to a probe on the reasons behind the shortages of fuel, JULIET did not hesitate to say that it was because of sanctions.

It is also clear that the economic insecurity was not limited to one dimension but it essentially spilled-over to other dimensions because as indicated in Table 1,3 in page 15, theoretical provisions for human security in this dimension speaks to poverty and unemployment as threats to economic security. It is against this background and also fundamental to the study's findings that poverty, along with unemployment and inflation also emerged as major themes that underlined immigrant's perceptions of

smart sanctions on Zimbabwe as mentioned by all (100%) participants. In practice, what has been described as survival migrations could also be directly linked to economic insecurity because the failure of the government to pay public servants their salaries resulted in teachers, nurses, pharmacists, doctors and other unskilled workers [flocking] to neighbouring countries at a rate of about 4 000 teachers per annum and with the majority migrating to South Africa (Manik, 2014; Morreira, 2015).

The fact that poverty emerged as one of the four themes also confirms the study's proposition that human security risks followed the deployment of smart sanctions against Zimbabwe and affected citizens at household level, causing internal displacements and the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa between 2001 and 2009. The latter part of the proposition appears to have found expression in FOXTROT's testimony where she had exclaimed "exactly" in response to a question that asked her if the *scarcity of goods and basic services in Zimbabwe could be linked to the migration of Zimbabwean into SA*. Her testimony indeed confirmed the proposition whilst also characterising 'survival migration' when she said even parents were encouraging their children to go to SA in a conversation that could have perhaps went amongst the following lines;

You [too] can go. You see this one's [imaginarily referring to a neighbour's] son is in SA and is sending their parents groceries and what what. She then honed in to say, that's when people started flocking here, flocking and flocking. They all came [here in SA] looking for greener pastures, money and food.

Following FOXTROT and in a pattern that perfectly fits in with Lee's (1996) Migration Theory, HOTEL had conceded that "the scarcity of goods and basic services can be linked to migration" into SA primarily due to its attractive economy, she also wrote that "the major push factor for Zimbabweans was unemployment". Not to be outdone, INDIA had also written that the scarcity of goods and basic services can be linked to migration into South Africa. She further wrote that the pursuit of greener pastures and opportunities was the driver behind migrations primarily because people were "looking for a better life". It is against this background that Lee's migration model will be replicated to illustrate the "push and pull" factors at play regarding the migration of Zimbabwean citizens to South Africa.

5.3.4 Community / Social Security

Results show that community security was at risk both as a consequence of smart sanctions as well as government-sponsored violence. This deduction is informed by JULIET's views that alluded to "a shift in terms of a household setup where it was no longer a norm for [his] father, as a family man [to be able] to provide essential needs like food and education" to his children. In the same vein DELTA had alluded to what come across as survival migration during the period of "cross-borders" [a slang for those that illegally crossed into South Africa] without passports...and in some extreme cases, others even drowned [in the Limpopo River] and died with their children on their backs, all because of the search for food".

Indeed literature has it that community security threats could be attributed to physical violence and human rights violations that were carried out by Zimbabwe's security forces against dissenting voices from citizens, most notably those of the MDC amidst calls for electoral reforms. A prime example of community security risks is the 2005 Operation Murambatsvina ('clean out the filth') that was unleashed for the sole purpose of "punishing urban communities for voting against the ZANU-PF" (Morreira, 2015, p. 436). The fact that Morreira's (2015) article is based on empirical evidence from refugee seekers and migrants alike makes it credible as it was the migrant's views that brought about her conclusion that conditions of structural violence in Zimbabwe warranted asylum for these migrants in South Africa.

Similarly, Hove (2012) maintains that the withdrawal of developmental aid by the EU resulted in several sectors deteriorating and risking the lives of many citizens as water supply, education and health systems collapsed. He further argues that sanctions served to "aggravate the welfare of ordinary Zimbabweans with very little achievement on the stated objectives of the embargo" (Hove, 2012, p. 72). In the same breath, Freeman (2014) also alluded to a situation where official aid was frozen whilst the lines of offshore credit were also being cut by both the bilateral and multilateral donors.

Against the background above, a collateral damage liability cannot be successfully defended when a developmental aid that catered for various sectors of the economy was withdrawn for whatever the reasons. This is because theory provides that community security is concerned with the right to freedom of identify, race, gender etc

and also threats against this dimension is oppressive practices from a group or ethnic violence.

A deduction therefore is that human security risks in the community / social dimension can be found in the withdrawal of development aid in these sense that it was not only Mugabe and the ZANU-PF that suffered when water supply, education and health systems collapsed, it was the population as a whole as 100% participants have attested . Similarly, physical violence and human rights violations that were carried out by Zimbabwe's security forces in 2005 for "punishing urban communities for voting against the ZANU-PF" during Operation Murambatsvina ('clean out the filth') shall go down in history as a [human security] atrocity that left about 1 million citizens without shelter (Morreira, 2015, p. 436).

It also appears that literature broadly acknowledges collateral damage in Zimbabwe as exemplified by the suspension of the Contonou Agreement in that the suspension of this agreement "freezes budgetary support and support for development projects under the 9th and 10th European Development Fund except for those projects in direct support of the population", (Portela, 2014, p. 15). It is perhaps in this context that it has been argued that the withdrawal of developmental aid from the EU resulted in several sectors deteriorating and risking the lives of many citizens as water supply, education and health systems collapsed (Hove, 2012). On the same note, Freeman (2014) also alluded to a situation where official aid was frozen and lines of offshore credit being cut by both the bilateral and multilateral donors.

This is where the literature complemented individual experiences of smart sanctions especially with regards to the monitoring of sanctions in that one participant argued that "from the time sanctions were imposed in Zimbabwe, some of the donors who used to support families with food, school fees and some other stuffs stopped". It is thus no wonder that literature suggest that sanctions served to "aggravate the welfare of ordinary Zimbabweans with very little achievement on the stated objectives of the embargo" as argued by Hove (2012, p. 72) on the one hand whilst another participant said, "when investors pulled out, aid was withdrawn [and] it is the ordinary people who were severely affected" on the other hand.

Thus, together with participants' perceptions, literature does agree that there was collateral damage in Zimbabwe when smart sanctions were deployed. This realisation is important as it provides valuable information towards determining the underlying issues behind their influx to South Africa in between the years 2001 and 2009. Of fundamental importance is that there appear to be reasonable grounds to say that participants' perceptions of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe, duly complimented by literature concur with the study's proposition that human security risks followed the deployment of smart sanctions against Zimbabwe and affected citizens at household level, causing internal displacements and the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa between 2001 and 2009.

5.3.5 Environmental Security

Results show that there were environmental security risks, both as a result of natural disasters (drought), there were also man-made security risks like smart sanctions were at play. With regards to natural disasters, participants spoke of the scarcity of water that was compounded by drought. On her part, CHARLIE still remembered the famine of 2002 when there were no rains and water. She vividly remembered an occurrence when "...you [could] go to a dam [and find yourself drinking]...untreated/unfiltered water directly from the dam". For FOXTROT, experiences included opening a tap and finding "small frogs" [tadpoles] coming out of the tap and it was like "using sewage water because sewage was breaking every now and then [and] there was no water treatment chemicals". In some cases, bore-water was enough.

Whereas nothing could be done about the drought mainly due to it being a natural disaster, the absence of water treatment chemicals could be a man-made human security risk. This assertion is informed by theoretical provisions that the environmental security is concerned with an individual's right of access to a healthy environment where threats include the unavailability of clean drinking water and polluted air due to deforestation and desertification.

It is important to note that literature has also alluded to human security risks that followed the inability of citizens to have access to resources that are essential to their survival and dignity as characterised by the scarcity of basic goods and services, extreme poverty and the delivery of health services (Chingono, 2010a). Literature also alludes

to a school of thought that holds that it was the suspension of development aid that led to the collapse of several sectors in Zimbabwe, an occurrence that risked the lives of citizens as water supply, education and health systems collapsed (Hove, 2012). This is where collateral damage played itself out as literature also has it that Zimbabwe had experienced socio-economic turmoil in the mid-2000s and also that this has led to an exodus of many Zimbabwean citizens and about 4 000 teachers per annum migrating to South Africa (Manik, 2014).

5.3.6 Health Security

Results clearly show that health risks were prevalent in Zimbabwe during the period under review. Whereas the source of hardship can be traced to the collapse of infrastructure, linked by literature to smart sanctions, participant's experiences include having an almost non-existent access to health. For example CHARLIE, FOXTROT and HOTEL all spoke about the absence of medication at hospitals. On her part, CHARLIE alluded to causes of high child mortality rates. Her testimony was to the effect that;

Some kids [were] sick and there was no medication at hospitals. So you know...[lets suppose] your child is sick, you go to the hospital but you can't even find the medication. There are no pills...there is nothing, you sit there on the bench and [you end up with no choice but to] go back with your [sick] child...maybe your child dies or what? so that's why I said it was hard...

It is for this reason that DELTA's insistence that; "*ama-sanctions bewa affecta wonke umuntu wase Zimbabwe*", (sanctions affected all citizens of Zimbabwe) essentially pours cold water over a supposition that smart sanctions are the "precision-guided munitions of economic statecraft that are designed to hurt the elite supporters of the targeted regime whilst imposing minimal hardship on the mass public (Drezner, 2011, p. 96). However and what makes even smart sanctions "blunt", at least in the absence of effective monitoring and evaluation, is that ALFA and others also felt that those "sanctions affected us...the general population".

Indeed health risks in Zimbabwe are well documented in literature. This is because the collapse of health systems saw the use of unprotected water from open wells and rivers, a situation that resulted in deaths of citizens due to the outbreak of cholera, (Chipanga & Mude, 2015). Thus the human security risks in this dimension arise from the theoretical framework that provides for the right of the individual to be protected from diseases and it further list the absence of healthcare facilities, epidemics and pandemic, poor nutrition and unhealthy lifestyles as the main threats.

The results are vital to the study's objectives primarily because both the views of participants and literature point to a situation where collateral damage emerged as a theme. In return, such an outcome serves as a confirmation that indeed security risks followed the deployment of smart sanctions against Zimbabwe and affected citizens at household level, causing internal displacements and the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa between 2001 and 2009.

5.3.7 Food Security

Results show that there was food shortages in Zimbabwe as 80% of the study's participants have confirmed. Having spoken about starvation and poverty it is no surprise that for DELTA, food shortages are directly linked to the migrations of Zimbabweans into neighbouring countries like Botswana in general and South Africa in particular. The same can be said about JULIET who had spoken about a 'shift' in a household's way of life where his family could no longer afford to have three meals a day. It was ALFA however who provided a clearer picture of the reality of the food situation in Zimbabwe when he said;

You know food, same thing like medicine, you have to buy stuff here [in South Africa] and send it home, [because] the that stuff is very expensive down that side. So basically you have to not only to carry money from here and go home to look after your grannies, your grandmother or your mother...you have to literally carry food as well...you know to... you can't be suffering from small basic stuff in a country you know...

In the same vein, he (ALFA) had brought in the element of collateral damage in that “we had companies going, we had farmers’ farms or land being taken away...thereby collapsing food security [be]cause companies that could produce food were leaving for SA”. For DELTA, migrations into SA were directly linked to shortages of food or survival migrations. Her views also pointed to despair amongst Zimbabwean in that poverty and hunger made life unbearable. Furthermore, results show that there were socio-health risks that forced citizens to undertake life threatening migrations like when others “even drowned and died [in the Limpopo River] with their children on their backs all because of the search of food”.

What these results show is important to this study because not only was inflation a theme that also emerged from data but also that it was indeed a factor during the last decade. This is so because participants had described the last decade as period of deprivation where millions of Zimbabweans did not have access to basic commodities mainly due to inflation or the “high cost of living”. According to one participant, this was a period that saw the “black market” flourishing with ordinary citizens carrying millions of dollars and the resultant cancellation of Zimbabwean dollar as the legal tender. Most notably, what could be described as a relationship between inflation and poverty was expressed by participants in that even in those instances where food and other commodities were available, they were sold at inflated prices that households could not afford.

Indeed literature is in synch with these findings because of the experiences of an anthropological research participant whose statement suggests that by 2007 to 2008, “...*the country [Zimbabwe] was crazy [mainly because there was] – no food, no water, no electricity, no jobs...*” (Morreira, 2015, p.72). This is fundamental to the study because together with famine, hunger, unhealthy diets and malnutrition, poverty is not only one of the threats to food security but it also emerged as one the main themes in this research. As guided by the theoretical framework, food security is concerned about an individual’s access to food and ensuring healthy lifestyles. In practice, it is a serious indictment for humanity when communities have to resort to harvesting and cooking leaves as said by CHARLIE.

5.4 ESSENCE OF THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF SMART SANCTIONS

Results / findings suggests that the essence of the lived experience of smart sanctions, obtained from Zimbabwean immigrants that are located in the Gauteng Province, is that there is a relationship between smart sanctions and the influx not only the majority of participants but also millions of their fellow countrymen and women into South Africa between 2001 and 2009. This is important because until the voices of those communities that have experienced smart sanctions are known, economic sanctions would remain a ‘blunt instrument’ where innocent civilians continue to suffer from collateral damage, leading to their displacements and mass migrations.

Despite some compelling counter-arguments with regards to a correlation between smart sanctions and human insecurity like when one participant felt that sanctions only ‘compounded the effects of the drought’, literature also suggest human security risks followed the deployment of smart sanctions against Zimbabwe and affected citizens at household level. Therefore and having interpreted the study’s results in all the dimensions of human security, logical question is; could there be push and pull factors that can explain the upsurge of migration patterns of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa over period under review, i.e 2001 and 2009? . The graph below has been replicated from Lee’s Migration Model to illustrate a “push and pull” relationship as a summary of immigrants’ perceptions of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe.

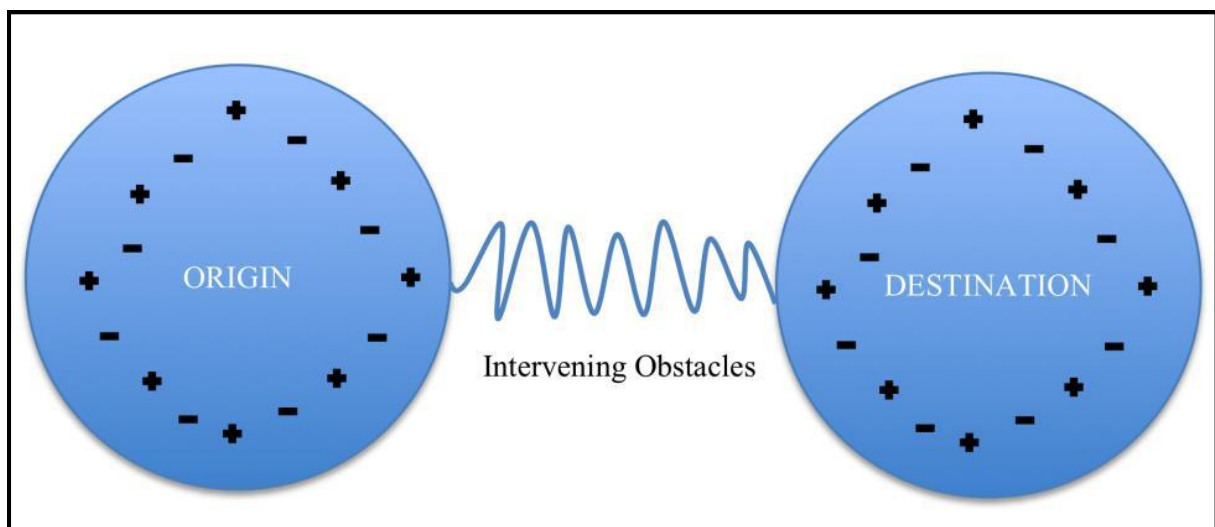


Figure 1.2 Push and Pull factors in migration patterns

Source: Everett Lee (1966) cited in Francis-Walker (2017, p.11)

Figure 1.2 on the previous page demonstrates Lee's push and pull model that illustrates the push (+) and (-) pull factors in an area of origin and destination along with intervening obstacles that either push or pull individuals to or from their current location. In terms of this model, the push factors are factors that encourage individuals to move away from their current location whilst the pull factors encourage people to move to a new location (Francis-Walker, 2017). Thus, arising from participants' perceptions, it can be safely said that the (+) push factors appeared to be personal, political, economic, community, environmental, health and food insecurity on citizens on the one hand whilst "looking for a better life" (FOXTROT), "search for greener pastures (ALFA and BRAVO)", "South Africa's attractive economy" (HOTEL) appeared to be the (-) pull factors on the other hand. However and of fundamental to this study is an appreciation that, in influencing an individual's decision to migrate, there is a series of intervening obstacles that had been identified by Lee in his theory. In this study, results suggest that it was the effects of smart sanctions that translates into collateral damage to citizens at household levels that served as intervening obstacles.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided an interpretation of the results / findings and also demonstrated why and how these findings are relevant to the research. Regular references to literature also served as indicators to previous research that alluded to pertinent human security risks when communities encounter little or no access to resources that are vital to their survival. This assertion is premised on the results / findings being interpreted in relation to the purpose statement, the study's proposition as well as the literature that was reviewed. Furthermore, answers to the study's research questions were provided. This was followed by a short discussion on the essence of lived experiences of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe. The next chapter makes recommendations for both research and practice as well as the overall conclusion for the study.

CHAPTER 6: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The main goal of this chapter is to summarise the study as a whole and prior to making a conclusion, this chapter also highlights limitations whilst making recommendations for future research and practice. Policy implications for the UN in the context of human security are also highlighted.

6.2 SUMMARY OF THE PROBLEM STATEMENT

Despite South Africa experiencing an influx of about 2,5 million migrants from Zimbabwe at the same period that smart sanctions were imposed on carefully selected officials of the Zimbabwean government and other business entities, perceptions that are based on lived experiences of smart sanctions from these immigrants has not been explored and remain unknown. A qualitative case study was conducted where semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants with the aim of understanding the underlying causes for the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa. A case study approach was deemed important as a contribution to the body of knowledge because until the voices of those individuals that have experienced smart sanctions are known, economic sanctions will remain a 'blunt instrument' where innocent civilians continue to experience hardship and human security risks, leading to their internal displacements and mass migrations into neighbouring countries.

6.3 SUMMARY OF METHODOLOGY

Immigrants that are located in the Gauteng Province and volunteered to participate in this study shared their views and perceptions of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe. To this end, semi-structured interviews were conducted to facilitate this exploration. Data analysis procedures were then applied, leading to the emergence of themes for further analysis in the study.

6.4 SUMMARY OF RESULTS / FINDINGS

An analysis of the results culminated in (1) Poverty; (2) Unemployment; (3) Inflation and (4) Collateral Damage emerging as the four main themes that underlined immigrants' perceptions of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe. These themes were explored in the context of participant's experiences in order to determine pertinent human security risks on citizens at household levels. Literature also appears to be in harmony with participants' perceptions to suggest that sanctions affected Zimbabwean citizens at household levels. Thus, participants' perceptions of smart sanctions on

Zimbabwe suggest that poverty, unemployment, inflation and collateral damage to citizens at household level should be accepted as the underlying causes behind the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants to South Africa between the years 2001 and 2009.

However, there were unexpected findings in this exploration that may be important for future studies. An example is a finding that following the withdrawal of petroleum giants like Shell and BP, BRAVO had observed the mushrooming of corruption amongst government officials in a scenario that went like, “I’ve got a medium/connection and so go and open a garage [filling station] and I’ll go to the East and bring-in fuel for you”. Another unexpected finding came from JULIET who suggested that sanctions bred crime amongst locals in that the marginalised poor communities found themselves having to resort to other means to survive like ‘panning’, when they started mining gold illegally.

6.5 CHAPTER ANALYSIS

The aim of the research was to explore the perceptions of Zimbabwean immigrants on smart sanctions on the country. To this end, the goal of Chapter 1 was to provide the reader with the background to the study. This was achieved by providing the problem statement, research objectives as well as providing the reader with an outline of chapters for the rest of the dissertation. Chapter 2 was focussed on engaging literature with the aim of examining some of the theoretical underpinnings of smart sanctions, relative to human security. This was achieved by synthesising the work of previous researchers, resulting in a clearer understanding smart sanctions and its relationship with human security. In order to achieve the stated research objectives, Chapter 3 was aimed at providing a methodological approach to the research. This was achieved by indicating data collection and analysis instruments, addressing ethical considerations as well as issues of validity and reliability. The goal of Chapter 4 was to present empirical findings (results) of the study. This was achieved by presenting the results / findings of the study. Chapter 5 was aimed at interpreting and discussing the results / findings. This was achieved by interpreting and discussing in accordance with the analytical framework whilst incorporating the emergent themes.

6.6 LIMITATIONS

The absence of empirical research in human security studies translates into a limitation as the results / findings of this research cannot be compared to previous findings in other studies of a similar nature. Another obvious limitation of this study is that its findings cannot be generalised nor are they representative of the Zimbabwean immigrant population as a whole. This is mainly because participants are only those that participated in the study and are located in Gauteng. Methodologically, a limitation of the snowball sampling method is the risk of being subjective in that participants may share their responses/answers after one has been interviewed . This challenge was mitigated by the researcher also recruiting participants directly thorough a convenience method, a case in point is CHARLIE whose recruitment broke the chain from ALFA. However as anticipated, some of the participants like ECHO, HOTEL and INDIA had preferred an alternative methods to interviews. To mitigate this challenge, the researcher had made a provision for telephone interviews and email whilst assuring participants that pseudonyms will be used to protect their identity. As it turned out, some participants preferred to provide written answers.

6.7 POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UN

Following widespread criticisms across the civil society spectrum on the ‘bluntness’ of economic sanctions, literature has it firmly on record that smart sanctions were developed and adopted by the UN with the purpose of protecting innocent civilians from collateral damage that saw to the ‘suffering of the innocent’ as characterised by humanitarian crises and human security risks (Drezner, 2011; Puchala, 2014). It is for this reason that smart sanctions have been described as ‘precision-guided munitions of economic statecraft...’ or ‘smart bombs’ that concentrate on specific targets whilst avoiding the unintended objects (Drezner, 2011; Shagabutdinova & Berejikian, 2007). Most profoundly, smart sanctions have been described as foreign policy instruments that are “designed and implemented in such a way as to affect only those parties that are held responsible for wrongful, unacceptable, illegal or reprehensible behaviour” (Clark, 2013, p.1232).

However, findings from this study suggest that even smart sanctions are not immune to collateral damage. The researcher’s assertion is informed by both empirical evidence that is also supported by literature that human security risks followed the deployment of smart sanctions against Zimbabwe and affected citizens at household

level, causing internal displacements and the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa during the last decade. This is where a policy dilemma appears for the UN in that the 'suffering of the innocent' remains despite the optimism that followed the development and adoption of smart sanctions. In return, this dilemma represents an albatross in the maintenance of international peace, security and stability.

6.8 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH

Following Zimbabwe's much publicised "Look East" policy, the monitoring and effectiveness of travel sanctions have been questioned both in literature as noted by Grebe (2010) and by some participants who stated Mugabe and his officials could travel to Malaysia, China, South Africa, Turkey, Singapore and Dubai etc "where they also own mansions". It is therefore recommended that not only the effectiveness of travel sanctions but also the effectiveness of current monitoring and evaluation of sanctions in general be investigated.

The recommendation for monitoring and evaluation is made in the context of an international system where countries in the West (comprising of UNSC member states with veto powers) appear to be imposing sanctions whilst those on the East (also comprising of UNSC member states with veto powers) appear to be opposing international economic sanctions. Thus an international peace and security dilemma arises from this question: Given its current configuration, is the UNSC in a position to fulfil its mandate of maintaining international peace, security and stability?.

It is therefore recommended that the current configuration of UNSC be explored in order to determine not only its ability to maintain international peace, security and stability but also to strengthen the UN's capacity to maintain global peace. On the other of the same coin, a literature review also gave rise to this question: are countries in the East, i.e Asia and others in the Arabian Peninsula affiliated to the UN and if so, are they not only duty bound to comply with but also bound to enforce global norms as espoused by the UNSC? Lastly and although only two participants spoke about crime and corruption, future research could investigate ways in which sanctions contribute to crime and corruption in the targeted country.

6.9 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRACTICE

It is categorically stated that the researcher fully concurs with other international relations practitioners, analysts and authors that as a policy instrument, smart sanctions are the most viable option to military action or war (Oskarsson, 2012). Moreover, the necessary safeguards for human security are increased with the deployment of any other coercive foreign policy instrument other than war. Thus, despite the policy dilemma for the UN, uncovered by empirical research and literature in as far as immigrants' perceptions of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe in concerned, the researcher is optimistic that it may not all be doom and gloom for smart sanctions as a policy alternative for the UN.

Most interesting is that the researcher's optimism is also rooted in the same research where one participant once said "uyazi [you know] sanctions are according to me, difficult to monitor and at the end of the day it is the masses that suffer". Therefore the recommendation for practice is that civil society, diplomats, practitioners and NGOs need to explore the monitoring and evaluation mechanisms in the UN and its member states since sanctions can be imposed unilaterally, i.e by one country and or multilaterally by two or more countries. Furthermore and in the event that these mechanisms exist in the UN and its member states, then the exploration needs to focus on the effectiveness of monitoring and evaluation with the aim of improving its enforcement during implementation.

6.10 CONCLUSION

This case study was conducted primarily because the researcher wanted "to create a coherent story as seen through the eyes of those that are part of that story" (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012, p 126). Therefore, an exploratory case study that was analysed through qualitative methods was undertaken to explore the perceptions of the Zimbabwean immigrants of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe. This was because consistent with qualitative research, a methodological assumption in the interpretive/constructivist paradigm holds that understanding and interpreting people's experiences is the purpose of research. Thus, the study was conducted in order to determine the underlying issues behind their influx to South Africa in between the years 2001 and 2009. To this end, semi-structured interviews were conducted with immigrants that are located in the Gauteng Province. The descriptive data that was

obtained from answers that participants gave to this question: *Why did you leave Zimbabwe?* were transcribed, coded and then analysed.

Findings that arose from a subjective interpretation of the results, equally complemented by literature suggested that poverty, unemployment, inflation and collateral damage represent pertinent human security risks that followed the deployment of smart sanctions against Zimbabwe and affected citizens at household level, causing internal displacements and the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa. This finding underscored the main research question around the underlying causes for the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into SA over the same period that smart sanctions were imposed in Zimbabwe. Research objectives were achieved in that until the perceptions of communities that have experienced smart sanctions were known, economic sanctions would remain 'blunt instruments' where civilians suffer from collateral damage, leading to their displacements and mass migrations.

This is where a policy dilemma occurs for the UN in that the 'suffering of the innocent' remains amidst the optimism that met the development and adoption of smart sanctions. It was therefore recommended for practice that civil society, diplomats, practitioners and NGOs need to explore the monitoring and evaluation mechanisms in the UN and its member states since sanctions could be imposed unilaterally and or multilaterally. However, following Zimbabwe's much publicised "Look East" policy, it is also recommended that not only the effectiveness of travel sanctions but also the monitoring and evaluation mechanisms of sanctions in the UN be explored firstly to establish efficiency and effectiveness of such measures and to find gaps, if any, to existing mechanisms with the aim of strengthening the UN.

Considering that sanctions have been accepted as the most viable alternative to war, it is hoped that the study's findings and recommendations will go a long way towards amplifying the call for the international community to appreciate that "it is time to make a transition from the narrow concept of national security to the all-encompassing concept of human security" as espoused by Puchala (2014, p. 261). The optimism behind this study's findings was motivated by the concurrence of literature and empirical research that human security risks followed the deployment of smart

sanctions against Zimbabwe and affected citizens at household level, causing internal displacements and the influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa between 2001 and 2009.

These findings have confirmed the researcher's ontological assumption that there could be multiple, socially constructed realities behind the exodus and influx of Zimbabwean immigrants into South Africa. In this regard, the political, social (community) and economic impact of smart sanctions on the economy were mentioned by participants as amongst the main causes behind the migration and influx of Zimbabwean migrants. It is therefore concluded that immigrants' perceptions of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe are that poverty, unemployment, inflation and collateral damage affected citizens at household level. These represented the human security risks that became the driver behind the mass migrations of immigrants from Zimbabwe to South Africa. By implication, this finding repudiates the 'precision', 'selectiveness' and 'smart[ness]' of smart sanctions mainly because collateral damage, being one of the main findings, affected ordinary citizens relative to the targeted individuals.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT COVER LETTER

My name is Thabo Motaung and I'm a student from the Wits School of Governance (WSG). The purpose of my research is to explore perceptions of smart sanctions amongst Zimbabwean immigrants that are located in the Gauteng Province and other parts of the country. The title of the study is **Immigrants' perceptions of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe**.

If you choose to participate in this study, you will be asked to:

- Participate in a face to face interview: approx. 30 – 60 minutes.
- Review a copy of the transcribed interview: approx. 15 – 30 minutes.
- If necessary, participate in a follow-up discussion: approximately 15 – 20 minutes.

Be assured that your participation in this research is voluntary and you may withdraw your consent and stop participation at any time without any fear of consequences.

No names will be used and participants will be assigned a pseudonym/code name throughout the study for confidentiality purposes. While there are no direct and immediate benefits to you, I hope to gain more understanding and eventually highlight the phenomenon of smart sanctions in order to measure its actual but unintended consequences on the broader population, relative to the targeted individuals.

The interviews will consist of questions about the socio-economic impact and related human security risks, if at all, that were experienced following the imposition of smart sanctions on Zimbabwe. No deception will be used and participants are encouraged to decline answering any question that makes them uncomfortable.

If you have any queries, please feel free to contact Thabo Motaung at: tmotaung20@yahoo.com or 071 362 9665 and should you have further questions about your rights as a volunteer in this study, please contact the WSG Students Affairs Administrator at 011 717 3505.

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Participant's Name

(Print) _____

I hereby consent to participate in a research study that is titled: **Immigrants' perceptions of smart sanctions against Zimbabwe**. The purpose of the research, research questions and objectives were orally explained to me by Thabo Motaung, a Master of Management degree student at the WSG. I hereby give Thabo Motaung and the WSG all rights and or privileges in the tape-recorded interviews that have been conducted for his dissertation.

I understand that these interviews will be protected by the use of a pseudonym/code-name that he has assigned to me. This means that confidentiality will be provided and my name will not be revealed. I am aware that I may withdraw anytime without any consequences whatsoever. Additionally, I understand that the transcripts may be used in public presentations including but not limited to audio documentaries, plays or exhibitions. Furthermore, I also understand that these transcripts may be used for publications including articles, books and or newsletters.

CHECK ONE:

Tapes and transcripts may be used without restriction/s _____

Tapes and transcripts are subject to the attached restrictions _____

Signature of Interviewee: _____

Date: _____

Contact Number/email: _____

APPENDIX C: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FORM

Gender

What is your sex?

- Male
- Female

Age

In what year were you born?...Where?

Marital Status

What is your marital status?

Education / Skills

What is your the highest academic qualification or skills level?

Employment status

Are you currently;

- Employed
- Self Employed
- Unemployed

What was your occupation before you left Zimbabwe

Housing

Are you staying in a;

- House
- Flat
- Shack

How long have you been in South Africa?

...Where do you stay in south Africa?

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Research Purpose

The purpose of this research is to explore perceptions of smart sanctions amongst Zimbabwean immigrants that are located in the Gauteng Province and other parts of the country.

Research Question/s

The main research question in this study is: **What are the underlying causes for the influx of Zimbabwean migrants into South Africa between 2001 and 2009?** Flowing from this main question, secondary questions are as follows:

- What is the political impact of smart sanctions on citizens at household level?
- What is the socio-economic impact of smart sanctions on citizens at household level?

The Interview process

Introduction and warm up

- The researcher had introduced himself. This was followed by the researcher stating the purpose of the research and oversee the completion of biographical background information by participants. These forms required participants' personal details like age, gender, academic qualifications, work experience etc. Probes with regards to the richness of their education system were used to further break the ice and calm the participants.
- The researcher then requested permission to record the interview with an option to write down by hand should recording be denied. At the same time it was explained to participants pseudonyms or code names will be used to protect their identity.

Interview Questions

- Why did you leave Zimbabwe?
- Can you share any memories or experiences that you and your household experienced in the last decade, especially the period between 2001 to 2009?
 - Can you please explain how you and or household were affected?
 - Probes: Would you say there were some risks, what were they?
- Please share your experiences with regards to access to basic needs like food, water and security.
 - Probe: How were you or household's access affected?

- Others have said that sanctions in your country were tailor-made to affect only the selected individuals, what are your views? .
 - Probes: Are there any further details?.
- Can the scarcity of good and basic services be linked to migration into South Africa?
 - Probe: How?, please elaborate.

In my closing remarks, I asked participants if they would like to elaborate more on any of the questions that were asked during the interview. In absence of any, I thanked them for their time.

APPENDIX E: RESEARCHER'S PERSPECTIVE

The researcher is an officer in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) in the Department of Defence. An interest in international relations, international peace and security with specific focus on human security studies was nurtured during attendance to various developmental courses where research papers on national, regional and international security matters are part of the curriculum. Having previously conducted a literature/theory based study on the use of economic sanctions with Zimbabwe as a case study, an inconvenient truth unfolded on the indiscriminate reach of this deadly instrument of statecraft during the Security and Defence Studies Program in 2015 (SDSP 01/2015).

I also declare bias on matters that threaten our country's reputation in the global family of nations. Examples range from threats to our national security and national interests as exemplified by the reaction of nations across the continent, if not the entire world, to attacks on foreign nationals in Johannesburg and Durban, KwaZulu Natal in 2015. This was another incident that reminded the world of the 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. With a clear understanding that the SANDF is the last resort for any problem that threaten our national security and our national interests as derived from the preamble to our constitution, my inclination is to try and go deeper towards finding a solution rather than deal with symptoms on the surface. Therefore I do this research so that I can be in an informed position to advice my colleagues in sister departments in an interdepartmental cooperative modus operandi.

I also declare that I am studying at state expense and therefore have no private funders or anything of the sort. Considering that universities are knowledge producers, I will use my enhanced cognitive skills to seek academically sound and military informed solutions to pertinent problems especially in the social aspects of a typical South African way of life that has been bedevilled by a legacy of the socio-economic imbalances of our past. Equally, when all other law enforcement agencies fail...so I am driven by a prevention is better than cure conviction. Following tortures and killings for jobs amongst locals and immigrants, I am of the opinion that the solution lies in addressing the reasons behind internal displacements and migrations in the country of origin as guided by our foreign policy that has inextricably linked our own stability, peace and security with that of the rest of the continent. That is the aim.

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- Probe (1): How were you or family affected?
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- Answer: ... my younger sister was still at college my parents had just pensioned, my
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- Probe (2): Would you say there were risks? **Here the researcher elaborated by rephrasing the question.**
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- Answer: I can say it's a risk in a sense of...people again in a job ,the job security was not...companies were closing...you go to a company, the next day you hear them say "next month we are shedding people to reduce the numbers" and like..., **at this stage the participant helplessly through his hands in the air...**
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Researcher: Can your share any memories or experiences that you and your household experienced in the last decade, especially the period between 2001 and 2009?

Participant: At that time, food was still there when I left but to access it...uh...the money which you have, the value...food is there but you don't have money to purchase the food...**the researcher interjected to ask if there was food security** for which the participant responded...Yes...You end [up] buying small basic things [like] mielie meal...the basic things, you [wouldn't] go for [a] luncheon, you have to stream down from the life that you are leaving, you have to stream it down to basic food [in order] to survive...**the researcher interjected to establish whether the participant's family was affected** for which he responded...still the same, I [we] used to stay in a plot, my dad bought a plot, first we used to stay in a mine, he was

72 a principal...[so we were relatively] middle class [from being] born of a teacher. When he realised
73 that he was [about] to go on pension, he bought a plot cause according to his thinking...the old
74 man decided a to buy a 21 acres plot where he can also plant vegetables and “live-off the
75 land...”and the money will be just for the smallernyana things...

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77 • Probe: So they [Family] were affected?

78 • Answer: Yeah, at the end of the day you find that, since I was saying, you got money to
79 buy basic stuff, you can't be buying paint and painting the house. It...there are these small
80 basic stuff like you don't have. Cause if you look at the houses now, you find there are
81 cracks [as it may have not] being painted in a long time...just general, not necessarily at
82 home...[I'm referring to] the general houses in the area. People they don't have time to
83 be buying those paints and improving on the households. [Money] was just for food...just
84 [for people] to sustain themselves. You find areas which used to be nice areas like [or
85 similar to] Three Rivers (in the Vaal) and you find [its] the grass [at that house] is
86 bending....they [people] don't have money to switch on the boreholes cause its electricity
87 to [do so]. So the place just goes down, everything just goes down...**the researcher**
88 **interjected to ask the participant to be specific as to whom would he attribute the**
89 **socio-economic declines [everything going down]** to for which he said, “the economy”
90 he further went on to say... er...like I'll go back to that word which you [the researcher]
91 said, “smart sanctions”. You might sanction and individual, but that individual is my boss,
92 so when he get the little which he gets, instead of sharing that [which is due to] me, if it
93 weren't for this sanctions] but he is the one controlling that little...then?. So at the end of
94 the day, it [smart sanctions] doesn't affect those people, it affects the bottom pack of the
95 food chain. Cause he [authorities] is the one controlling that little. Yes I sanction you but
96 when I bring [in] fuel it goes through you, will you give me all the fuel or you'll keep it for
97 yourself?... **we laughed**. So at the end of the day, the [smart] sanctions didn't help
98 anything, the person they have sanctioned could fly to wherever he wants, do whatever
99 he wants [together with] those [targeted/selected] individuals who were
100 sanctioned...whilst those that were suffering were ones on the bottom [of the food chain
101 or the general population].

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107 Researcher: Others have said that sanctions in your country were tailor-made to affect only the
108 selected individuals, what are your views?

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110 *Participant:* ...**silence**...its difficult to control smart sanctions....according to my own view, yes
111 you can sanction me not to go to Sandton [an unmarked suburb in Johannesburg, Gauteng], ok I
112 don't have a problem [because] I'll go [and] buy [in] Three Rivers [an upcoming Sandton rival
113 suburb in the Vaal] and somewhere else. So I don't see how those sanctions help the poor... or
114 er... [if they] help the masse cause sanctioning me [not] to go to Sandton doesn't mean that I
115 can't get that thing somewhere else. They [government officials] said if the West doesn't want
116 with their money, we [the government] will go [to the] East. So they were now buying in
117 Malaysia...**the researcher interjected to determine the extent in which the participant was**
118 **familiar with the "look East policy of the then ZANU-PF government** for which he said...yes
119 China came in, the Singapore[ans] were helping...these cars. Cause during my time when I
120 left...you would work to get a car, now Singapore brought their second-hand cars. The cars you
121 see with Lesotho number plates[registration numbers] come from Singapore, Malaysia, Japan.
122 So they [the Eastern countries] saw that since the West can no longer [do business with
123 Zimbabwe and other], [they said], lets just bring our second hands as those [sanctioned] countries
124 just need cars, whether second hand or new . Cause yazi [you know] sanctions are according to
125 me, difficult to monitor and at the end of the day it is the masses that suffer...**the researcher**
126 **interjected to confirm if sanctions were difficult to monitor** and he said yeah...cause
127 sanctioning [lets say] 30 people...at the end of the day they are the ones still in power. Its not like
128 sanctioning them [translates into] removing them from power, no, they are still in the ones in
129 power. You only sanction that their kids shouldn't go and learn in Oxford. They used to come
130 here at Wits, then go to Cape Town University [and] those degrees are still internationally
131 recognised. They [the sanctioned and targeted elites] said ok lets stop [sending our kids to]
132 Harvard, Cambridge or whatever, lets send our kids to South Africa [as the qualification] is still
133 recognised internationally. So at the end of the day it is us at the bottom of the [food and
134 economic] chain that suffer...cause even now and again and...it fuels corruption...that thing [of]
135 the sanctions in the sense yokuthi [that] those years saw corruption [and people were] corrupted.
136 You find some individuals at the fuel stations [because] even [petroleum companies like] BP and
137 Shell left [Zimbabwe] and [if I were to] come to you and say 'I've got a medium/connection and so
138 go and open a garage [filling station] and I'll go to the East and bring-in fuel for you. Their
139 [government officials'] friends [then] opened up garages. So [this results in] the profits still being
140 with the [same] sanctioned people. Now the price control. So that's how it becomes difficult for
141 people and everyone [because] you could find [almost] everyone at work say[ing] no I can source-
142 out this and that. Some people no longer had go to work. Cause you go to work, spend 30 days
143 [and] you are closed [whilst] there are [illegal] opportunities outside. Some just go [buy time

144 because] of that thing that you call pension, but you've got business outside, lunchtime you go
145 out and check your things [business] everyday...

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147 Researcher: Can the scarcity of good and basic services be linked to migration into South Africa?

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149 *Participant.* No...I believe that [that]cannot be linked because the more people could get out of
150 Zimbabwe, that means there's more stuff for [those that are remaining]. [But the country did
151 experience] "brain-drain" though. [For example], some guys used to call me and say [they] were
152 now foreman [at their place of work] when the qualified guys went out and left. [So in an attempt
153 to fill the gaps for] the next in charge...they [authorities] would just pick someone else to become
154 foreman. So [the] brain-drain[age] might have contributed to the quality of products from
155 [Zimbabwe]. [Also] considering that companies were scaling down...there wasn't much products
156 coming out of Zimbabwe. Even though you bring back to the people, the quantity of the products
157 were now scaled down. Cause you find that a company [was listed with the] Reserve Bank, now
158 you go back to [the] Reserve Bank and want your money, you want to buy raw material or
159 whatever [and] the Reserve Bank tell you that it doesn't have money. At the end of the
160 day...maybe a company opens a branch outside Zimbabwe. When it sells stuff outside [the
161 country], the money comes through that branch. They [the government] used to call it
162 externalising or externalisation, i.e the transfer of key functions and expertise to an overseas
163 strategic partner. So the argument [from traders] was, we give you [Reserve Bank] money from
164 our business after [making profits]. When we want it back to buy stuff you say you don't have, so
165 how do you expect [our] companies to function [without] retrenching [our staff?]. That was another
166 major contributor towards the collapse of Zimbabwe. [As a consequence], that collapse led to a
167 scarcity of basic things like...[when you visited the hospital] you [were given] a panado even if
168 you needed antibiotics or a paracetamol. There was no stuff [medication] in the hospitals **the**
169 **researcher interjected to confirm with the participant if risks include health** for which he
170 responded...exactly, they [health authorities] used to say; lets say you broke you hand, go to the
171 pharmacy, buy your own plaster and well put it for you. So the "look East" policy at the times was
172 only for them [elites] to benefit, they used to preach it for political gains, but for them to benefit.
173 Buti [brother], [they would say] no, we have been sanctioned by the West, so we'll look East as
174 country. But [they] were looking East as individuals, using [the] country's resources to look East.
175 So at the end of the day, the masses they suffer... **the researcher interjected to confirm if the**
176 **statement implied that "the general population suffered"** for which he responded,...what I
177 was say[ing]...literacy is also dropping... even the education. [For example] when I wrote my
178 higher education, we used to wrote [through the university of] Cambridge. Cambridge used to
179 mark Zimbabwean [students'] papers. [However] by 1999 [2009],they [the government] cancelled
180 Cambridge and politically motivated their reasons [by] saying "we can now stand by on our own

181 and mark our own stuff". Yet that was not the case, the problem was money as authorities could
182 not pay the pound. So the problem [that led to the collapse of education] began when local
183 examination was introduced. Even [the] South African universities ended up not recognising [all]
184 post 2010 Zimbabwean qualifications. You had to come [if you wish to study in South Africa] and
185 bridge before starting the degree [of your choice]. However, private schools in Zimbabwe still
186 wrote [their exams through] Cambridge but they are expensive. So you find [that] some students
187 who wrote Cambridge, would come to here straight and do their degrees but its all [owing to
188 Cambridge]. But the masses, you know, they can't afford private schools and they write [the]
189 local [Zimbabwean] examinations which I believe we were not yet ready to pull out of Cambridge
190 at that time...about 2009 or 1999.

191 • Probe: anything further...?

192 • Answer: ...cause its difficult for the US [United States] to monitor them [smart sanctions],
193 [as] they are in the States. If you say you are sanctioning a certain individual [or]
194 something like that but he is the CEO [Chief Executive Officer] of the place, how will you
195 monitor whatever you are giving that country [as] it has to pass through him?...
196 **interjection to espouse the participant on some scholarly thoughts on the same**
197 **issue** for which he responded as thus...a critical consideration is that everything [public
198 goods and services] passes through government. [Meaning] you sanction government
199 but everything has to pass through government. [For example] I cant buy my own fuel
200 and pass the other way. It must pass through government and if [the] government realise
201 that I bring my "Jerry Cans" with fuel, they [will] just increase taxes and customs. At the
202 end of the day it becomes useless to bring my own fuel...**interjection to highlight the**
203 **need to revisit the implementation of the smart sanctions policy on its own**, for which
204 the participant responded...Ya, how do you monitor this smart sanctions cause Bush
205 [former US President George Bush] is in the States but is sanctioning a certain individual
206 this site [of the globe]. He doesn't know what's happening [as] he has never been there.
207 He just tells himself that "I'm no longer dealing with this person because he is doing this
208 a,b,c". But [by] not dealing with him [former President Robert Mugabe] affects the masses
209 cause everything must pass through him to get to the masses. So how should I monitor
210 smart sanctions?...to say I'm not doing business with so and so, how will that other guy
211 get the stuff that I want to give the stuff [to]? How can I give [the good guy] stuff without
212 going through that other [bad] guy.

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214 • After thanking most profoundly, the interview was ended.