

## **Gendering the Impact of Zimbabwe's 2008 Economic Collapse: Tales of Reality on the Ground**

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Government Phiri, the late Lecturer in Economics and Chairman of the Association of University Teachers (University of Zimbabwe), who passed away in early 2013 stated:

"You ask why I am on the ground floor with my desk next to the [office] window? I need to jump out [of the university office] if the CIO [Central Intelligence Organization] agents come. You laugh, but I have had to use this exit option before."

Government, as a union leader and academic operated in the world's fastest declining economy during the past decade.

Beginning in 1997, Zimbabwe experienced a precipitous decline in its economic fortunes beginning with the devaluation of its dollar. In the early 2000s, political instability and fast-track land reforms, aimed at seizing white owned large farms and removing urban migrant settlements, exacerbated economic hardship in the country. By November 2008 and into 2009, the inflation rate had reached 6.5 sextillion percent.<sup>1</sup> The quality of the country's social and political environment deteriorated as ZANU-PF/Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front and their allied political elites in the security forces sought to maintain economic and political control at all costs while ordinary citizens scrambled to maintain some semblance of daily normalcy. Approximately thirty percent of its citizens joined the "Zimbabwean Diaspora" in neighboring Southern African countries, especially South Africa, as well as abroad. During this period 1997-2010, women and children suffered the most; the government could no longer even provide a modicum of a safety net. A 2011 United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) report noted that maternal mortality had more than doubled from 1990 to 2010 and that:

the belief that violence against women had become so engrained that a higher percentage of surveyed women (48 per cent) than men (37 per cent) in the last DHS [Demographic and Health Survey] agreed that it was reasonable for a husband to use violence against a wife if she fails to meet her gendered role (such as neglecting children, arguing, rejecting sexual advances, burning the food or going out without first informing her husband)<sup>2</sup>

Many citizens did whatever it took to survive including ignoring the abuse of the vulnerable and sometimes even participating in the exploitation and violence against women and children.

Robert Mugabe, the only head of government since independence in 1980, continues to remain the de facto leader of the liberation movement *cum* ruling political party, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front. In the initial years of independence, the ZANU-PF pursued an anti-imperialist, rhetorically Marxist but a liberal economic policy that enshrined property rights, especially for the white controlled 4000 commercial farms. The government made significant progress in the areas of health care and education, especially as it related to children and women. However, in the 1990s, Zimbabwe's progressive public policy experienced drastic change due to two stages of economic stagnation, that in hindsight, were a harbinger to the collapse of the 2000s. First, in the mid-1990s, Zimbabwe experienced a deficit of payment problem, resulting in an economic structural adjustment program (ESAP). The ESAP led to decreased public spending, an opening up of the country's economy, and a series of privatization of parastatals. As Enna Gudhlanga (2013, 164-5) notes, these neoliberal policies affected women more than men, especially as related to primary and secondary education. The re-institution of educational fees led to family preference for males over females when it came to education.<sup>3</sup> Second, as the protracted economic stagnation deepened, a revitalized political group known as the Zimbabwe Liberation War Veterans Association, led by Chinjerai "Hitler" Zunzvi, successfully confronted the president for welfare demands and a return to liberation war priorities. This included a payment of \$50,000 each to the living war veterans and a movement toward compulsory land acquisition resulting in a dramatic depreciation of the Zimbabwean dollar.

By 2000 an opposition party, led by a former trade unionist Morgan Tsvangirai, and supported by the white commercial farmers and business interests, campaigned successfully to scuttle the referendum on the revised constitution, and made significant inroads into ending the dominance of ZANU by winning 57 out of the 120 elected parliamentary seats. Beginning with the subsequent 2002 presidential polling, both presidential and parliamentary elections became rife with violence and allegations of fraud. The challenge to ZANU's political power led to an increase in political violence, corruption, and short-term predatory economic behavior by the ensconced officials, contributing to internal economic decline and international targeted sanctions.

### **Societal Violence and the Demise of the University of Zimbabwe**

Higher education in Zimbabwe was no exception to the burgeoning culture of violence and decline throughout the 2000s. Students struggled to obtain an education under the direst of conditions that included no running water,

a lack of ablution amenities, and an erratic delivery of electricity at the University of Zimbabwe, the supposed jewel of the country's higher education system. Police often harassed students protesting university conditions and government policies as well as union activists. The university, beset with student and staff strikes, class cancellations, and a lack of basic sanitation and room and board provisions, also declined. Women, families, and students suffered the most, revealing the severity of the gendered effects.

Since the formation of the political opposition, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 2000, and commencement of the "fast track land reform" based on forced and coerced farm expropriation, the economy of the country underwent unparalleled decline.<sup>4</sup> The resulting deep societal and academic political polarization had a chilling impact on academic freedom and educational quality. Politics, reduced to matters of life and death, was of paramount importance to those in the country and the university community. Extended families, including the elderly in rural villages, rely on men and women in urban areas to provide supplemental sustenance. University students are expected to look after their extended families in rural areas. This burden increases upon graduation and attainment of gainful employment. Urban Zimbabwean women, not only assist their extended family in rural areas, but also contribute to the maintenance of their immediate urban families. Rural women usually work in the fields, do all the housework, and often tolerate the long absence of men who migrated to cities in Zimbabwe and to neighboring countries in search of work. Traditionally, both men and women participated in agricultural work.<sup>5</sup>

Extended family members look to University and government employees and their spouses as a privileged class. Family and kin expect these "privileged" relatives to assist in the well-being of extended families. Given the economic decline facing the university and the country, the expectations proved unrealistic. In fact, all university employees faced a common fate themselves: impoverishment and the visceral struggle for day-to-day survival. Sometimes the survival instinct activated political activism and partisanship. For others, ignoring politics completely provided a strategy for laying low. Even they realized that the aura of political strife pervaded their lives. The need for survival and the environment based on a culture of violence, most severely impacted women who found themselves victims of political and economic decline and polarization.

While Zimbabwean universities technically espouse academic freedom, the reality for exercising that freedom consisted of real and severe consequences. Speech and action (both commission and omission) impact promotions, salary increases, continued employment, and travel funds. The economic decline, political conflict, and the heightening of a culture of violence created an arbitrary environment that affected women's resources for legal rights and remedies. The courts experienced politicization, people could not afford legal

fees in an environment of economic collapse, and many attorneys were unwilling to take cases involving anyone remotely connected to politics.

Women on campus dealt with a hostile political environment. ZANU-PF and President Mugabe criminalized homosexuality, equated both gay and women's rights with state subversion and coloniality.<sup>6</sup> The LGBTQ community, women's groups, child welfare advocates, and other supporters of liberal causes became targets of government scrutiny. The abysmal statistics regarding economic decline and social disintegration required the government to clamp down on dissent and demand support for the liberation ideology. Conditions for women and children during the 2000s are startling. The DHS survey (2005-6) noted that 47% of women reported experiencing sexual or physical violence.<sup>7</sup> In a country of 12.5 million, Zimbabwe has only 118 social workers (2010).<sup>8</sup>

The authoritarian political environment buttressed by specific draconian national laws, e.g., the Access to Information Protection and Privacy Act (AIPPA) and the Public Order and Security Act (POSA), made it difficult for those seeking to publicly organize, demonstrate, or voice dissent. The military and the police remained ready to use force to maintain political control. Women's groups, such as Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA), faced brutal police repression with its members incarcerated for extended periods. The politicization of law-and-order institutions that traditionally provided recourse also led to a diminishment of institutional mechanisms for redress of even the most basic wrongs.

### **Socio-economic Decline in Everyday Life of Faculty, Staff, Students, and Citizens**

The University of Zimbabwe, where I worked in 2008, reflected the malaise experienced in the national polity. The middle class in the country disappeared over the preceding twenty-year period. In cases where a woman or man provided a stable university income and a modicum of middle class life, the economic and political morass created psychological uncertainty and material decline of living standards. Exorbitant inflationary increases and a lack of foreign currency created a dire financial hardship for university employees. The support staff of the university consisted primarily of women who supported extended families, including many in the rural areas. Along with their blue-collar male counterparts, this segment of the university community suffered the most. Secretaries, custodial staff, and grounds crew were no longer able to afford school fees for their children and they had to drop out of school. Meanwhile, the situation for faculty was also dire. Real faculty salaries, payable in hyper-inflated Zimbabwean dollars hovered around a \$100 US in 2008. In 2009, due to hyperinflation the government abandoned the Zimbabwe dollar in favor of three other currencies, primarily the US dollar, but also the South African rand and the Botswana pula.

Workers demanded pay increases, and at the university frequent general strikes interrupted classes regularly. In many circumstances, wives of faculty not employed full-time and those retrenched made “plans” to survive the chaos by engaging in “illegal” economic activities such as parallel currency exchanging, cross-border trading and smuggling, and even sex work. Many lecturers sought to leave the country by obtaining contracts with international organizations. Some have taken on semi-skilled position abroad in order to survive. Those that stayed responded to the low salaries by engaging in the above-mentioned activities themselves, often simultaneously chasing consultancies with international non-governmental organizations (INGOs). Under such circumstances, the educational system itself became dysfunctional. Thus education, as an investment, did not receive the necessary attention because of its deferred payoff. Faculty attrition and attention to daily survival undermined the educational effort.

Historically, the University of Zimbabwe provided heavily subsidized housing for its junior faculty, so that they could eventually afford to purchase a home. However, given the erosion of purchasing power due to the ever-declining hyper-inflation, the function of university housing and the accompanying field to plant crops became integral to economic survival. Faculty, staff, and their spouses would spend more time cultivating their plots of land than their professional jobs. The administration's managers, according to Phiri, used the threat of denial of university housing or garden plots to secure quiescence and limit union activism. Young faculty members, especially with families, were beholden to the university for their plots and flats, without which, they would be plunged directly into destitution. The university used this context to prevent union activism and curtail dissent.

The political chasm that divided supporters of the ZANU-PF regime and the MDC opposition had a debilitating impact on student, faculty, and staff unity. Two of my students active in politics--including Nelson Chamisa, the Secretary of Information and Publicity for the MDC, who later went on to become the Minister of Information, Communication, and Technology in the post-2008 Government of National Unity (GNU)--experienced politically based harassment. During the lead-up to the 2008 elections, the ‘Green Bombers,’ who were youth deployed by ZANU-PF in the guise of employment training after indoctrination, tortured and harassed activists’ relatives living in rural areas and always threatened harm to family, especially women and children. In both cases, they expressed concern about the CIO operatives on campus and in the classroom. Some agent provocateurs attempted to bait faculty into criticizing the president or governmental policies and then report the incident to police. In such an environment of fear, women students felt especially intimidated to speak up during class as they would be targeted for harassment on their way home from the College.

Many professors adapted to the power cuts, lack of running water, and the suffering of others by sharing resources while some engaged in even greater levels of atavistic behavior. Academic planning was simply not possible under these existential conditions. Obtaining ink for printers, printing exams, making copies for library reserves, and even showing video clips required ingenuity. Wealthier faculty would make trips to South Africa or Botswana for 'shopping' to obtain essentials including some paper and printer ink. Faculty or students purchasing of textbooks was simply out of the question. Given the costs of copying, most of the faculty gave up on placing materials on reserve. Even materials on reserve required students to line up in a queue for two to three hours. If this extended into the evening, there were real threats to the physical security of students, especially women, as they commuted home. At the same time, mothers and fathers expected female students to take care of their siblings during parental absences that became frequent. Parents could be in queue for hours at a bank, at a grocery store for sugar and other staples, or in a neighboring country engaging in part-time work or cross-border trading. In most cases, the lack of regular electricity made studying in the evening virtually impossible.

Ironically, all faculty members, staff, and students were aware of their difficult daily lives. In fact, with a formal unemployment of over 90%, it was clear that the economic policies of the Mugabe government received only derision. Yet, the ZANU-PF's 2008 "100% Empowerment and Total Independence" electoral slogan failed to convince most Zimbabweans that the liberation struggle rhetoric remained central to their daily lives.<sup>9</sup> Robert Mugabe portrayed the MDC as 'British puppets' and its leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, as "Blair's toilet." A campaign flyer noted conspicuously the slogan and featured Mugabe with his iconic clinched fist. Given Zimbabwe's 90% formal unemployment rate, students, especially women had limited opportunities for gainful employment. Some female students engaged in transactional sex to make ends meet while others only thought about how to leave Zimbabwe to seek a better life. The flyer reflected a brilliant campaign strategy consistent with ZANU ideology, but for ordinary Zimbabweans, the policies on the ground are more akin to 100% disempowerment and total foreign dependence.

Most faculty members and students were acutely aware of their political landscape. No one could afford to be caught unaware of the political positioning of key faculty and staff. No individual university staff person was known for neutrality. On one occasion, during a meeting with the Chair of the Department of Political and Administrative Studies regarding final exam scheduling, he held a report titled, "ZANU-PF Strategy for Success in the Upcoming Elections." Earlier, I had submitted a report titled, "Crafting a Strategy for the Survival and Success of the MDC."<sup>10</sup> As chills went down my spine, I asked him, "What do you think will happen with the elections and who will win?" He stated, "Prof. Compton, what

people in the west do not understand is that elections here are not about winning or losing. In 2000, we came very close to annihilating the opposition. We'll finish the job this time." In retrospect, I do not believe that this department chair believed these things, but stated them because he was on the government payroll.

Even getting to the physical campus involves politics. The commuter omnibus departs from the city center and travels to the suburban areas, including Mt. Pleasant, the location of the University of Zimbabwe. In 2007, the US Ambassador Christopher Dell had challenged the Zimbabwean government's poor human rights and governance. The US, along with the United Kingdom, strongly supported the targeted sanctions that froze assets of top government officials and made them persona non grata in most of Europe, North America, and Australasia. The political establishment, especially security personnel, viewed any American with suspicion, especially a political scientist interacting with MDC students. One of my students, stopped by the CIO at the bus stop, was asked, "Where are you going?" The student replied, "To lessons." The agent replied, "We know about this. [Is] Nelson [Chamisa]<sup>11</sup> and the professor influencing the students too much? Does Nelson talk a lot? You know that more than seven people assembling require [a] 'police clearance?' You let them know." That exchange was never lost on me.<sup>14</sup>

Over the years, the frequency of worker and student strikes increased. Often, the teachers union and the Zimbabwe National Student Union (ZINASU) engaged in coordinated strategies and university shutdowns as conditions deteriorated. ZINASU student leaders faced systematic arrest. Despite spectacular acts of defiance, most people made their dissatisfaction known in more subtle ways, especially women. Tabitha Khumalo, the deputy spokesperson for the MDC lamented that few young women aspire to advance their political careers within the hierarchy of political parties and that there has been limited attempts to recruit them.<sup>12</sup> Sylvia Chiume, an academic and gender expert noted: "Not many girls take up the gauntlet and it is known that politicians in Zimbabwe cut their teeth at university campuses fighting for students' rights."<sup>13</sup> She also noted that, "there is little encouragement for the girl child to fight for their rights and I think it goes back to our cultural baggage, even if there is always talk about women's emancipation."

The university provided no regular student food services by 2008. Only one small convenience store operated on campus. The "Faculty Commons" provided the only dining venue for professors and staff. At the same time, women were conspicuously absent at this "club." Women faculty and staff simply did not attend the contentious lunch sessions at the Faculty Commons, both to steer away from potential trouble and save scarce funds. The central "commons" facilitated more than dining. Many faculty and staff socialized and others observed and commented on campus and national politics. The "informal"

seating arrangements reflected the political polarization while the meal chosen (e.g., economy or regular) demonstrated the economic chasm between the staff and junior faculty and the more senior faculty and administrators. The meal was always the same: *sadza* (ground refined maize meal) or rice and stew with vegetables. The Vice Chancellor wanted the faculty to use "Western utensils." In protest, those sympathetic to the "opposition" would use their bare hands in a traditional way of eating.

Students experienced the brunt of socio-economic hardship that included regular "top-up fees" for tuition fees and accommodations. The first students to drop out were those who came from rural areas, male and female. The next to withdraw was women students whose parents made the decision to fund boys' education over girls. The same patterns prevailed in the primary and secondary school. As many students dropped out, faculty and staff stopped coming to work due to escalating daily survival costs, and the diminishing value of their paycheck; the entire educational system grinded to a halt. Some female students would sell their bodies to earn the money for tuition, only to develop acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) a few months after graduating.<sup>15</sup> The teaching medical college of the University of Zimbabwe at the Parirenyatwa Hospital in Harare also had to close due to a lack of clinicians, teachers, and supplies. There faculty, staff, and students also spent extended lunch hours in a very long ATM queue stretching for blocks to access rapidly depreciating funds. At times, the queues formed from 3 A.M. These queues frequently experienced power outages that rendered electronic banking inoperable, leaving the frustrated, hungry people to then disperse and try again later in the day. When the trek for cash was successful, it initiated what seemed an endless, multi-hour search for groceries, especially staples. Largely undertaken by women, indeed, men considered shopping "women's work," the arduous process, of queuing to acquire cash, hunting for groceries, and then standing in another long line to pay for them as the till operator used electronic money counters to manage bundles would invariably repeat itself every few days.

Zimbabwean men used laughter and humor as a coping mechanism in addition to the traditional outlets of drinking, sports, and womanizing, if they could afford it. One ubiquitous photo, called 'Toyota Cowrolla,' depicted an innovative form of transportation--the back end of a Toyota truck pulled by cattle. Zimbabweans communicate indirectly with language laced with self-deprecating humor and face-saving pronouncements. At a soccer game people waved and yelled "bye, bye" in frenetic jubilation when the Harare Dynamos defeated the Swaziland team. The MDC symbol consisted of the palm of the hand. Yet women were largely absent from that game or sports stadiums. Women's coping mechanisms centered on their extended family, church, and close-knit group of friends.



Fear, corruption, and complicated survival schemes permeated Zimbabwean society. Men, some even claiming to be police officers, often accosted women. Sometimes, women participated in elaborately concocted schemes. A typical encounter would consist of a group of men, sometimes partnered with a couple of women who search for someone who appears vulnerable, and then claim to represent government authorities. They would assert that the person violated some law. Based on both personal experience and what others relayed to me, the typical exchange goes like this: "May we speak with you sir or madam?" The two "officers" showed me their badges and stated, "We are with Central Investigative Division, Republic of Zimbabwe Police." As the bystanders and commuters kept to their business, the interrogators' questions flowed out as if they were rehearsed *ad nauseam* and played out like a rendition of *Ground Hog Day*. "Do you know it is illegal to have foreign currency?" The victim replied, "No it is not illegal to possess foreign currency, only to exchange it." They retorted in unison, "What are you doing with foreign currency, you are in big trouble! You must come to the station with us. Please show your identification and hand over all foreign currency." As she handed over \$60.00, a male and a female "agents" also corralled her. "Please hand us your identity papers and come with us to the station for questioning. Hand over your bag." They searched the bag and found more foreign currency (\$40 and a twenty (20) rand South African note). "My friend, you are in big trouble."

Are these police officers or not? Does it even matter? Quickly, through mental arithmetic, the victim would calculate the probability that these individuals were really police officers. What are the odds that this search is in the line of duty? Even those who are on official duty have designs to make some extra money through graft. Suddenly, a seventh and more senior "official" approached. "Sir, you are in big trouble. We want to go to your home and search it." I responded nonchalantly, "I do not want you in my home and I will not give you my identity papers." The senior official reiterated, "You are in Harare, Zimbabwe and we have our own local laws, you must go to the station with us."

In Zimbabwe, there are officials on official duty and non-officials on official duties. Then there are officials on non-official duties and non-officials on non-official duty sanctioned by the government. Even those wearing official government uniforms and possessing official identification may not be officials. Besides, all officials exempt themselves from the law if their actions are "on presidential orders." One US Embassy employees' friend 'disappeared' and was found a few days later at the morgue with eyes gouged out and his penis guillotined. Just two weeks earlier in the downtown shopping area, a group of armed police surrounded and beat a man to a pulp and dragged him onto their truck in broad daylight. They continued to pummel him as the truck sped away. More than a hundred bystanders voiced quiet sympathy and watched helplessly.

This man's 'crime' consisted of distributing literature of Women of Zimbabwe Unite! (WOZA). Thus, going into any car, to any station, or bringing them to my home under any circumstances were unacceptable options.

One of the "officials" said, "You know, these are very tough times in Zimbabwe." The victim would ritualistically say with a wry smile, "Yes, we all have family and friends that depend on us." The official would reiterate the gravity of the 'crime' and threatened imprisonment until the case was resolved. Frantic negotiations followed; he took all of the money, and then they departed. The female 'officer' ordered: "be careful of the many 'bad people' around here." This experience provided a glimpse of how people had to negotiate the breakdown of the rule of law. Women, the elderly, and the disabled were disadvantaged in their 'negotiations.'

### **Conclusion**

Despite the initiation of the Government of National Unity (GNU), in 2008, through the Global Political Agreement (GPA) mediated by Thabo Mbeki, the former president of South Africa and the dollarization of the economy, Zimbabwe's future remains uncertain.<sup>16</sup> The planned 2013 elections appear to, at best, set the stage for further violence in the country. The international community, the Africa Union and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) need to maintain vigilance in protecting the most vulnerable in society, especially children and women. The absence of a rule-of-law and political conflict remains part of the operational landscape. Social justice continues to elude the victims of the 1980s *Gukurahundi* massacres<sup>17</sup> (estimated 20,000 killed) in Southern Zimbabwe (Matabeleland) conducted by the North Korean trained Fifth Brigade. Operation *Murambatsvina* (Drive Out Trash),<sup>18</sup> in 2005, which involved the forced removal of 2.4 million people and the destruction of their homes in high density urban areas for political purposes also affected many single mothers already victimized by a conflicted society and the economic morass. To date, an estimated four million Zimbabweans (25%-30%) still live outside Zimbabwe. Most have fled to South Africa or neighboring countries. As the life expectancy plummeted and HIV rates soared in the past two decades, women and children have already borne an unbearable burden of the crisis. In 2006, the life expectancy, according to the World Health Organization (WHO), was 34 and 37 years, respectively for women and men.<sup>19</sup>

Zimbabwean political parties remain hierarchical, parallel to that in society. The culture of violence remains strong and can be unleashed by design and even unwittingly on women, children, ethnic minorities, the poor, and the LGBTQ community with impunity. The government, especially the security sector, remains the greatest threat to the well-being of people because of its politicization. The treatment of women, children, and gays in Zimbabwe's culture of violence functions as proxy for overall societal violence. As noted by Gays

and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ), the new 2013 constitution criminalizes same-sex marriage and the ZANU-PF Party Manifesto specifically states that ZANU was instrumental in ensuring *that* "... not only guarantee that Zimbabwe will never be a colony again but which also protect the values and dignity of the people against such evils as homosexuality."<sup>20</sup> Despite the outcome of the 2013 elections, Zimbabwe will continue to be a traumatized society requiring significant post-conflict nation-building at all levels.

#### End Notes

1. In the American measurement system, a sextillion equates to 10<sup>21</sup>. According to Steve Hanke and Alex K. F. Kwok (2009), "On the Measurement of Zimbabwe's Hyperinflation," *Cato Journal*, vol. 29, no.2, pp. 353-64, Zimbabwe's inflation 89.7 sextillion percent.
2. UNICEF, Government of Zimbabwe, and Center for Applied Social Statistics (CASS, University of Zimbabwe). *A Situational Analysis (SITAN) on the Status of Women's and Children's Rights in Zimbabwe: 2005-2010*. 2011. [http://www.unicef.org/media/files/SitAn\\_2010-FINAL\\_FINAL\\_01-02-2011.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/media/files/SitAn_2010-FINAL_FINAL_01-02-2011.pdf), pp. 4 and 22.
3. Gudhlanga, Enna (2013). "Shutting Them Out: Opportunities and Challenges of Women's Participation in Zimbabwean Politics- A Historical Perspective," *Journal of Third World Studies*, vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 164-5.
4. After the Constitutional Referendum, failed in 2000, the War Veterans (consisting of disillusioned and marginalized former liberation struggle ex-combatants and those claiming this status) seized white-owned commercial farms. President Robert Mugabe and the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) condoned and then eventually supported land invasions. The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), formed in 1999, and consisted of an anti-ZANU-PF coalition of business owners, labor unions, the middle class, Ndebele people (Southern Zimbabwe), and civil society groups. Whites, primarily commercial farmers, allied themselves with the opposition and provided operational funds.
5. Gudhlanga, Enna (2013). "Shutting Them Out: Opportunities and Challenges of Women's Participation in Zimbabwean Politics- A Historical Perspective," *Journal of Third World Studies*, vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 151-70.
6. For more information regarding the commencement of Mugabe's anti-gay rhetoric, see Marc Epprecht (2008). *Heterosexual Africa?: The History of an Idea from the Age of Exploration to the Age of AIDS*. Durban, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, pp. 48-9.
7. UNICEF, p. 15.
8. Ibid, p. 24.
9. For the concept of exhausted nationalism, see Patrick Bond and M. Manyanya (2003). *Zimbabwe's Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism, Neoliberalism and the Search for Social Justice*. Durban, South Africa: University of Natal Press.
10. "Crafting a Strategy for the Survival and Success of the MDC," by Robert Compton (2008) available upon request.
11. Nelson Chamisa, then MDC Secretary for Information and Publicity, became Minister for Information, Communication, and Technology (February 2009) after the formation of the power-sharing government resulting from the ZANU and MDC agreement known as the Global Political Agreement (GPA).
12. Banda, Ignatius (2011). "Zimbabwe: Fears for Next Generation of Women Leaders," Interagency Press, March 31, 2011. Accessed at [www.globalissue.org/news/2011/03/31/9108](http://www.globalissue.org/news/2011/03/31/9108).
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. See "Desperate Students Turn to Prostitution," by Bridget Sibanda, 16 May, 2003 in *The Zimbabwe Independent* for a typical example of university students engaged in prostitution.

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16. According to the power-sharing agreement endorsed by SADC and implemented in 2009, President Robert Mugabe (ZANU-PF) would remain as president, Morgan Tsvangirai (MDC-T) would become Prime Minister, and Arthur Mutambara (MDC-M), be designated Deputy Prime Minister. All three parties would share cabinet power with ministers matched with deputy ministers from the opposing party. During the life of the agreement, the government would implement changes in the security sector to de-politicize it, adopt a new constitution, and work together to restore law and order in the country. At the end of the agreement in five years, new elections would take place in (2013 or 2014). The elections announced by President Mugabe for July 2013 will take place without the full implement of GPA.

17. For a detailed report on *Gukurahundi*, please see the following: "Zimbabwe's Gukurahundi: Lessons from the 1980-1988 Disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands," summary report of the Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs), London, UK, panel on 4 September 2007. Available at [http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/files/9834\\_040907zimbabwe.pdf](http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/files/9834_040907zimbabwe.pdf).

18. Extensive details on Operation *Murambatsvina* can be found in a report to the United Nations Human Settlements Program at:

[http://www.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/297\\_96735\\_ZimbabweReport.pdf](http://www.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/297_96735_ZimbabweReport.pdf).

19. According to WHO statistics, Zimbabwe's life expectancy was the lowest in the world. For more information, see BBC, (April 8, 2006) "Zimbabweans Have 'shortest lives," <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4890508.stm>. Since the inauguration of the GPA, life expectancy has improved to around 50 years.

20. For more information, please see the press release of Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ) website: <http://www.galz.co.zw/?p=984>