

Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education

An investigation of leaders' perspectives on structural violence and its implication for peacebuilding: A case study of Harare, Zimbabwe

Tonderai Dombo

Master's thesis in Peace and Conflict Transformation

SVF-3901

June 2020



Abstract

Structural violence remains largely unaddressed and its invisibility means that it becomes naturalised in many societies. This research uses a conceptualisation of structural violence and that of liberal peace to show that leaders in historical marginalised societies whose power is built upon rhetoric to end historical inequalities can be useful allies to peace practitioners in addressing structural violence. A historical context in which structural violence developed within Zimbabwe is given and the voices that warned against building a society that was openly discriminatory were ignored. This research suggests that Zimbabwe's current leaders can do well to avoid open direct violence if they learn from history and address the structural violence rampant within Harare. The perspectives on structural violence amongst contemporary leaders could be grouped into those pointing at internal factors, those pointing at external factors and a third view taking a pragmatic and holistic approach. The polarisation between the two groups which has resulted in a political crisis of legitimacy, is seen to have perpetuated structural violence and undermined any possibility for a solution. While the infrastructure for peace laid out by liberal peace has found it difficult to reconcile the challenges of redressing colonial legacies of structural violence and issues of democratisation and rule of law. The current government has openly pleaded to the western powers to be left to exercise its sovereignty but it has remained under general isolation as the western powers cite its poor human rights record. This research captures the complexities of making peace and argues that the moral standard of measuring structural violence has to be acceptable and leaders should be seen as humane and in the process be made allies in peacebuilding efforts.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the generosity of the Norwegian government and people which made it possible for me to acquire this degree. I am also grateful to the staff at the Centre for Peace Studies in Tromsø whose support made it feel like my second home. This research owes much to the criticism and support of my classmates who have become permanent friends. I would like to single out my friend and ally Thembinkosi Rushwaya, the most organised guy I know for his help and insights in my research and being there to talk Shona to in the foreign land. I want to thank the Faculty of Humanities Akademisk Skrivesenter for their feedback on my drafts. I want to acknowledge my supervisor professor Christine Smith-Simonsen for her wisdom, guidance and encouragement to complete this study on time. I am also grateful to my informants for their time and insights which made this research possible. My gratitude also goes to the staff at the National archives of Zimbabwe with special mention to my friend Tafadzwa Matambo.

I am also indebted to the love and support of my family. Their contributions to my education financially and morally is cherished. I want to acknowledge the strength and character of my dear wife Sandisiwe Masuku for taking care of our son Luyando Dombo alone while I got the opportunity to study. I will forever be grateful and indebted to her.

I thank the good Lord and Creator for these people and the strength to finish this research.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my late father Lovemore Dombo and all those who have lost their lives as a result of structural violence.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Dedication	iii
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Purpose of Study.....	4
1.2 Problem statement	6
1.3 Objectives	6
1.4 Research Questions.....	6
1.5 Significance and motivation	7
1.6 Assumptions and limitations	8
1.7 Conclusion.....	9
1.8 Brief Chapter overviews	9
Chapter 2 Methodology	11
2.1 Methodological Framework	11
2.2 Study Area	12
2.3 Selection of informants and sources	13
2.4 Data collection techniques.....	15
2.4.1 Participant Observation	15
2.4.2 Interviews	16
2.4.3 Documents.....	18
2.4.4 Data Analysis	19
2.5 Reflexivity	19
2.5.1 Gaining access.....	21
2.5.2 Insider/outsider reflections	21
2.6 Ethics and Safety	22
2.7 Challenges and limitations.....	23
2.8 Conclusion	23
Chapter 3 Conceptual Framework	25
3.1 Introduction to Structural Violence	25
3.2 Making a case for Structural Violence	27
3.3 Liberal peacebuilding	30
3.4 Liberal peacebuilding conceptualized in relation to structural violence	32
3.5 Structural Violence conceptualised in Zimbabwean literature.....	35
3.6 How structural violence is addressed in peace theories	36

3.7	Conclusion.....	37
Chapter 4	Literature Review	39
4.1	Historical context.....	39
4.2	The debates on the Zimbabwe crisis.....	41
4.3	A complicated crisis	44
4.4	Literature on structural violence in Zimbabwe.....	45
4.5	Conclusion.....	48
Chapter 5	Data Presentation and Analysis.....	49
5.1	The Historical Context: Leaders’ perspective on Structural Violence in Rhodesia ..	49
5.1.1	The Voices.....	50
5.2	Contemporary perspectives on structural violence.....	53
5.2.1	Perspectives that point to internal factors	53
5.2.2	The question of leadership	55
5.2.3	The liberation struggle narrative	55
5.2.4	Government’s insincerity	57
5.2.5	Rejecting democratization and isolation	58
5.3	Perspectives that point to external factors	58
5.3.1	The government cares, but climate change	60
5.3.2	The government is trying, but sanctions	62
5.4	The third view.....	63
5.4.1	We are to blame ourselves	64
5.4.2	The insincerity of the politician	65
5.4.3	The system that victimizes	66
5.4.4	The people have a hand in this	66
5.4.5	Political polarisation.....	67
5.5	Summary of key points.....	68
Chapter 6	Discussion and Conclusions.....	70
6.1	The implications for peace studies	70
6.1.1	A social unit of measurement.....	70
6.1.2	Learning from the past	71
6.1.3	The infrastructure for peace	72
6.1.4	The People matter.....	72
6.1.5	The Leaders are humans.....	73
6.1.6	Peace is complicated	74
6.2	Conclusion.....	74

6.3	Recommendations	74
6.4	Overall Conclusions	75
	References	77
	Appendix A.....	82

Chapter 1 Introduction

Johan Galtung (1969, p. 171) notes the importance for peace researchers to be aware of the broader understanding and definition of violence, if they are to be able to discuss ways of achieving peace. He notes a theoretical gap in how violence has been conceptualized hence also affecting peace research. According to Johan Galtung (1969, p. 168) “The high regard accorded to peace action because it is action against violence, has to be accompanied by a broad concept of violence which includes its most important forms, but remains specific enough to guide effective peace action”. This provided the basis for Galtung to coin the term structural violence (which will be defined below) as he embarked on the quest for a broad conceptualization of violence to improve peace research. The call by Johan Galtung to broaden the understanding of the concept of violence to also include invisible forms of violence has been mostly taken up in the disciplines of community health, anthropology, political science and also in peace studies. The methodological challenges associated with such a broad definition of peace has meant that its acceptance has been rather slow.

According to Johan Galtung (1969, p. 169) structural violence is “preventable harm or death whose occurrence has no clear perpetrator to blame for or the search for the perpetrator is rendered meaningless. It is violence that is a product of the unequal distribution of power and resources, or simply put it is violence built into the social structure”. This definition has inspired research that is focused on discussing how social structures characterized by an unequal power distribution result in harm or death. This unequal power distribution favours the unequal redistribution of resources along a host of categorizations such as race, sexual orientation, class, gender, and ethnicity amongst other lines of divisions societies devise that separate individuals or groups of individuals from others. Kohler and Alcock (1976, p. 343) note that, “whenever persons are harmed, maimed, or killed by poverty and unjust social, political, and economic institutions, systems, or structures, we speak of structural violence”. Structural violence has thus been embraced by researchers concerned with social justice and has been linked to socialism, as it speaks to power relations. Nancy Scheper-Hughes (2004, p. 14) suggests that “structural violence erases the history and consciousness of the social origins of poverty, sickness, hunger, and premature death, so that they are simply taken for granted and naturalized so that no one is held accountable except, perhaps, the poor themselves”. This definition implies that peace can only be achieved by a major transformation of social relations not only on a local scale but also on a global one. Hence the concept has remained in the margins of scholarly enquiry as it poses a threat to power establishments and what has come to be acceptable and

normal way of order in nature (Dilts et al., 2012, p. 201). The result has been that peacebuilding has been marred with accusations of contradictions and accused of maintaining and perpetuating this unjust world order.

The fields of anthropology and health science have embraced the concept of structural violence in their attempt to show how individual experiences are linked to broader social dynamics. According to Farmer (1996, p. 216) anthropologists have come up with research questions which allows them to study how social factors become sources of personal distress and disease by locating individual experiences within the broader social context. Research on structural violence has managed to present credible evidence of the deadly violence that is embodied in social structures and that its consequences are not any less significant than those of other forms of violence. Structural violence is just as deadly as armed violence as it too can have similar effects such as causing death or causing harm that comes close to killing (Kohler & Alcock, 1976, p. 343). There has been established a clear link between social and economic conditions in the spread of certain diseases which has made some health practitioners to prescribe structural interventions as a viable way to ensure disease control (P. E. Farmer, B. Nizeye, S. Stulac, & S. Keshavjee, 2006, p. 1869). There is not much disagreement on the portents of structural violence it seems although there are reservations on how the links between the social structure is connected to individual experiences. Hence the concept of Structural violence which is closely linked to positive peace has been pushed aside as a secondary goal if not a utopia by the 'liberal peace framework' (described in the conceptual framework).

The research is based on a case study of Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe. According to Zerihun Woldeselassie (2019, p. 2) the selection of a case study should be informed by the researchers own assumptions and the framework of reasoning in such a way as to make the research meaningful in answering the main research question. The case study of Harare, Zimbabwe is particularly suitable for an investigation of structural violence that focuses on the perspectives of leaders given that before and after independence they have always made reference to the need to address structural inequalities which are a legacy of colonialism. Ivan Marowa (2015, p. 15) notes that the history of Zimbabwe dating as far back as the pre-colonial era was characterized by raiding, then the colonial era with the violent dispossession of Africans from their land and cowing them into accepting minority rule and forcing them into wage labour. The colonial era was characterized by deliberate exclusion and unequal resource distribution along racial lines. According to O. Moyo (2008, pp. 188-190), "racialization was a

state-sponsored strategy of exclusion in which the overarching ideology was racial supremacy, where what was white, urban, educated and modern was supported, while that which was African, rural and illiterate was underdeveloped". The war of liberation was fought to bring an end to this marginalization of the black majority which culminated into independence in 1980. However, in post-independence Zimbabwean society critics of the government say that this exclusion and unfairness in the distribution of resources has now taken partisan lines and that state-perpetrated violence has been Zimbabwe's heritage (O. Moyo, 2008, p. 7). Hence the quest to understand how initially well-meaning structures of power have maintained an inherent built in system of violence makes this case study suitable.

There is thus, a remnant of colonial legacy when it comes to how the society is structured and a general agreement that more still needs to be done to address inequalities in the society. The legitimacy of the government which has been tied to the ruling party's role in overthrowing 'colonialism and everything it stood for', has increasingly been questioned and challenged by opposition parties. Also the ruling party since independence the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (hereafter referred to as ZANU PF) has stood accused of continued use of violence, human rights abuses and retaining some of the most repressive colonial laws such as the Public Order and Security Act (Feltoe & Sithole, 2011, p. 10). The government has found itself being questioned on how well they have carried out the promises they made upon independence as its opponents are quick to draw parallels between the present social conditions and those endured under colonialism. Simpson and Hawkins (2018, p. 5) argue that, the post independence economic performance and political governance of Zimbabwe will for decades continue to perplex economists and political scientist especially in light of its potential in 1980. Thus the government is accused in most cases of having failed to justify its policies and make life more bearable for the majority. It is therefore important to investigate the perspectives of leaders on structural violence to understand the factors which may be hindering the efforts to end this scourge.

Bouju and de Bruijn (2014, p. 2) state that "a quick look at the historical context of the study of violence will corroborate the fact that qualifying violence is also a political issue". This is particularly the case in Zimbabwe where different political groups point to different forms of violence and blame each other for being behind these while denying any responsibility. While the government blames the evident structural violence on economic sanctions, which they say were called on by the opposition with their Western allies. The government is blamed for not

only the social suffering and violence by the oppositions, but also for corruption, bad economic policies and poor planning (S. Moyo & Yeros, 2007b; J. T. Muderedzi, Eide, Braathen, & Stray-Pedersen, 2017; Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2008). Hence the whole violence both structural and direct are seen differently by different political actors, thereby are also perceived in different light. Gugulethu Siziba (2017, pp. 1-9) notes a direct link between political violence and structural violence in Zimbabwe, while Kohler and Alcock (1976, p. 350) argue that structural violence was responsible for more deaths than direct violence. It is therefore important that an attempt be made at addressing all the forms of violence that have manifested in Zimbabwe without being biased as this can only serve to further polarize the nation and at best result in the continuation of a negative peace.

The research brings to light these different perspectives and shows that, there is knowledge of the structural violence inherent within the Zimbabwean society amongst its leaders even though all deny responsibility in causing it. This research is also located within the global context as those at the local level were able to point at international actors and ascribe blame on the impact their actions have had on local populations. The unresolved legacies of colonialism and the attempts to address the economic imbalances that it created, have proved to be a source of divisions and a very difficult task for post-colonial Zimbabwe. The case study chosen here is significant in that, there is no disagreements on the prevalence of widespread and glaring social suffering and the helpless state the majority of the people find themselves in is acknowledged by all social actors. All actors agree that there is need to address this structural violence however it is clear that ideas are running out, the people have accepted their circumstances as fate, and the structural violence has been naturalised.

1.1 Purpose of Study

The use of the structural violence concept is valuable in that it allows one to investigate some aspects of violence that are usually missed, deliberately ignored, regarded as normal or blamed on the victims. According to J. T. Muderedzi et al. (2017, p. 2) “It draws attention away from individual responsibility and increases understanding of how social experiences are being shaped through structural processes of historical, political and cultural context”. This approach pays attention to the context in which the violence occurs and locates the individual within that social context. Johan Galtung (2011, p. 2) argues that this shift in focus which he called adopting a broad perspective of understanding violence was the sure way to achieving positive peace. He further notes that the structured nature of society characterised by ranks in social

interaction which are at times discriminatory and repressive necessitates the need to investigate the prevalence of structural violence (Johan Galtung, 2011, p. 2). This study adds to this understanding by showing how even in societies where those in power structures acknowledge structural violence, they still find it difficult to address it. How structural violence turns to be normalised and remain unresolved even though it finds its way into political rhetoric.

This research embraces the broad conceptualisation of violence and shows how the politicisation of the meaning of violence has undermined efforts at achieving positive peace in post-colonial Harare, Zimbabwe. According to Dilts et al. (2012, p. 193) this conceptualisation of violence although often forgotten, it has the potential to expose neoliberalism and the invisible violence it embodies in structural terms at a local and global scale. It is for this reason that it has remained understudied because of the way in which it questions the basis of liberalism centred on the free individual who is unfettered by society. While acknowledging the merits of their argument this research shows that there is need to engage those who hold power in social structures if structural violence is to be addressed. It also refutes the idea of apportioning blame that portrays those wielding power as heartless beneficiaries of exploitative social structures. The study by looking at the perspectives of leaders on structural violence enhances our understanding of the relationship between them and the people they lead. This research set out to understand how leaders makes sense of structural violence with a view to find common ground as it shows how working together with those in power might result in reduced structural violence.

The case study of Harare, Zimbabwe is particularly significant in that the post-colonial state led mostly by former liberation fighters, claims to be sensitive to the people's plight citing the reasons that drove them to the liberation war. When one looks at the history of Zimbabwe during the colonial era they are confronted by shocking narratives of gross structural violence in a society that was openly discriminatory against one race and service delivery was heavily skewed in favour of one race. Dilts et al. (2012, p. 193) argue that, "what we fail to see, so often in capitalism and colonialism, is the way in which they function as permanent and on-going catastrophes, as forms of violence that persist and reach far beyond punctuated events". Upon independence in 1980, the Prime Minister R. G. Mugabe called for unity amongst former enemies in building a health and inclusive society for all that was blind to colour. He would endorse the violent farm invasions 20 years later noting the people were not yet free and continued to be excluded from owning the means of production. According to Bouju and de

Bruijn (2014, p. 86) structural violence is built into the social structure and informs human relations that are characterised by exploitation and dominance in economic, political, social and psychological spheres of life, and this violence is then inherited and carried over. This can be an accurate depiction of the case study of Harare, Zimbabwe in which over the years' structural violence has persisted albeit under changing social reorganisation as the process of putting an end to the inherited inequalities has proven to be a humongous task for its leaders. Thus suggesting that, the attempt to put an end to structural violence has not been as successful. This research investigates the perspectives of leaders on structural violence to see if their intentions to end it have shifted and in the process sheds light on what makes it impossible for them to work together to end the structural violence.

1.2 Problem statement

How can an understanding of leaders' perspectives on structural violence result in increased prospects for achieving positive peace?

1.3 Objectives

The thesis is to achieve these three Research Objectives:

- To understand the historical context in which structural violence has developed and was perceived by leaders during the colonial era.
- To gain an understanding of the perspectives of leaders on structural violence in independent Zimbabwe
- To see if this understanding can aid how we approach the study of peace in relation to the concept of structural violence.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What is the historical context that has shaped structural violence?
2. How do leaders perceive structural violence in independent Zimbabwe?
3. What implications does the understanding of leaders' perspectives have on peace studies?

1.5 Significance and motivation

The research investigates how the incorporation of the perspectives of those occupying power structures can aid in our understanding of structural violence and in approaches aimed at making peace. According to Dilts et al. (2012, pp. 197-198) structural violence becomes hard to recognise in the same way one cannot read from a blank paper, it fails to fit in the framework in which violence is understood as having a perpetrator. This research sought to bring structural violence to the discussion of what has become known as the ‘Zimbabwe crisis’ by scholars who have sought to explain the social, economic and political conflicts within the country. The current literature has been polarised and although highlighting the negative impact that government policies have had and the role of external factors. There remains a gap in the literature in as far as looking at the perspectives of leaders on structural violence and an attempt to analyse how such an investigation can have an effect in the approaches to peace building. This research acknowledges the contributions of Galtung’s theory and though it borrows some of its central tenets, it constructs its theoretical framework based upon the works of several scholars who have contributed to the development of the concept of structural violence. Yves Winter (2012, p. 202) concludes that despite the challenges and inefficiencies of the term structural violence, it is required as it captures those forms of violence that do not meet the dominant criteria of classifying violence. This research uses the term structural violence to capture the views of the leaders whose decisions within the social structure shapes this form of violence. The term structural violence becomes an analytical tool to understand how and what may be done to end this form of violence, which is the concern of peace studies.

This research topic is chosen primarily because of my personal background, having grown up in Mabvuku, a poor high-density suburb on the outskirts of Harare. As I grew up I witnessed many form of direct violence, that manifested as domestic violence or drug related street violence and violent riots and strikes. What was striking was how those who took part in these kind of violent behaviour were almost always chided for failing to handle their frustrations on matters that were affecting everyone else in the community. Growing up particularly in the years 2005 to 2008, when the economic situation at the height of that period was barely short of war like conditions, when shops were empty, hospitals closed and teachers, were not showing up for classes. As a young boy I did not understand why the International community was only bringing food aid and not stepping in to stop the suffering. Thus, undertaking research on structural violence for me is important as it may lead to interventions in those societies, where direct violence by armed groups or the state is marginal. Yet great suffering and loss of life

takes place at a large scale as a result of structural forces that individuals cannot save themselves from, as was and is still arguably the case in Zimbabwe today.

This has motivated my research work with my undergraduate research exploring how the community suffers from health insecurity due to its socio-economic circumstances. Galtung's theory of structural violence seemed to hold an explanation as to how the social structures that preside over settlements such as my community were embodiments of violence that prevents individuals to realize their full potential as they are denied equal access to resources. An understanding of structural violence, I believe is important if the widespread suffering and violence that kills silently and often seen as normal is to be addressed. Peace studies should thus not only focus on visible direct violence but also focus on how in circumstances as those that prevail in Mabvuku and other poor settlements, peace can be achieved.

1.6 Assumptions and limitations

The research does not attempt to give a concise view of the prevalence of structural violence in Harare, Zimbabwe. While it documents some narratives of the various ways in which structural violence manifests itself in. It however concerns itself with a discussion on how decisions and positions taken by those who preside over power structures in a society may result in these numerous manifestations of structural violence. The research objectives are intended to show how the choice to see structural violence as broad and widespread suffering that is too difficult to prove and document, blinds us to see the reality that these broad widespread effects may all emanate from a single decision made by a few individuals wielding power in a social structure. Direct violence is rarely seen as being meaningless but an attempt is made to understand it based on who the actors are and their reasons for engaging in it. I argue that the same efforts should be made to understand structural violence as emerging from the actions or inactions of those who wield power in societies, which actions can be understood and made sense of.

The research makes the assumption that in the case of Harare, Zimbabwe the leaders claim to power is hinged on the continued support of the people and on their promises to end structural violence inherited from the colonial state. This undertaking is set to show the inadequacies of the current approaches to peace and how such a perspective holds the potential to improve the existing systems of peacebuilding. The research does not use Galtung's theory as the bible of what structural violence is and it is not concerned with the debates surrounding definitions or measurements of structural violence. It uses observed cases and knowledge of suffering obtained from the field to solicit the perspectives of leaders on how they make sense of such

experiences. This is done with the aim of drawing lessons for peacebuilding and to show that societal leaders can be allies in reducing structural violence. Peace practitioners should not be concerned with apportioning blame to the leaders as often factors that lead to structural violence are often complex interwoven into existing or past complex power systems in the world.

1.7 Conclusion

The chapter introduces the topic under study in this research that of an investigation of the leaders' perspectives on structural violence and the implications for peace studies using the case study of Harare Zimbabwe. A background of how the concept of structural violence propounded by Galtung has largely remained understudied. It shows how in the case of Zimbabwe the suffering is better understood in the context of structural violence. The case study chosen is significant in that the leaders got into power on the promise to end the structural violence which was embedded in the colonial society and have kept using this a basis to get re-elected. This research shows the complex nature of the phenomenon of structural violence and enhances our view as peace scholars, on how we can expand our tools in dealing with this kind of violence in which all actors agree that it is killing their society, but fail to agree on a way forward. The chapter concludes with an overview of the thesis.

1.8 Brief Chapter overviews

Chapter two is composed of the methodological framework in which the data collection methods are described and the rationale behind the choice of data sources. The chapter also details the challenges faced and how they were overcome during the fieldwork, as well as the area in which the study was conducted. Thus the chapter sets out to discuss the process and ways in which the research was conducted and also critically examine the role of the researcher and how this may have had impacted the study.

Chapter Three conceptual framework outlines the concepts of structural violence and liberal peace. It sets the foundation on which the researcher understood these concepts which helps the reader to fully appreciate the arguments presented in this research.

Chapter Four contains the literature review on Zimbabwe with a focus on literature that has over the years developed to try make sense of the structural violence in the country. Themes that capture the opposing views in the literature are captured to give an insight of the views that inform the perceptions of the leaders presented in the findings chapter.

Chapter Five presents data gathered in the field and its analysis aided by the literature. The data presented answers the research questions and provides an insight in how the problem statement can be addressed. A thematic approach is adopted in the analysis and presentation of data which is aided by published materials.

Chapter Six concludes the research with a discussion of the findings and arrives at some recommendations. The findings which show that there is a possibility to address structural violence particularly in the case of Harare and Zimbabwe in general if the leaders are made partners in peacebuilding. An overall conclusion then presents the unified argument that all the chapters combined to make.

Chapter 2 Methodology

This chapter outlines the qualitative methods used and reflects on the process of data collection in the field. It outlines and discusses the rationale used by the researcher in adopting and selecting several data collection techniques and the analytical tools used. It will also discuss the study area, informant selection and contains an account of the ethical considerations taken in this whole process. The limitations of the study and challenges faced during fieldwork, will be discussed and a conclusion with the main points will conclude the chapter.

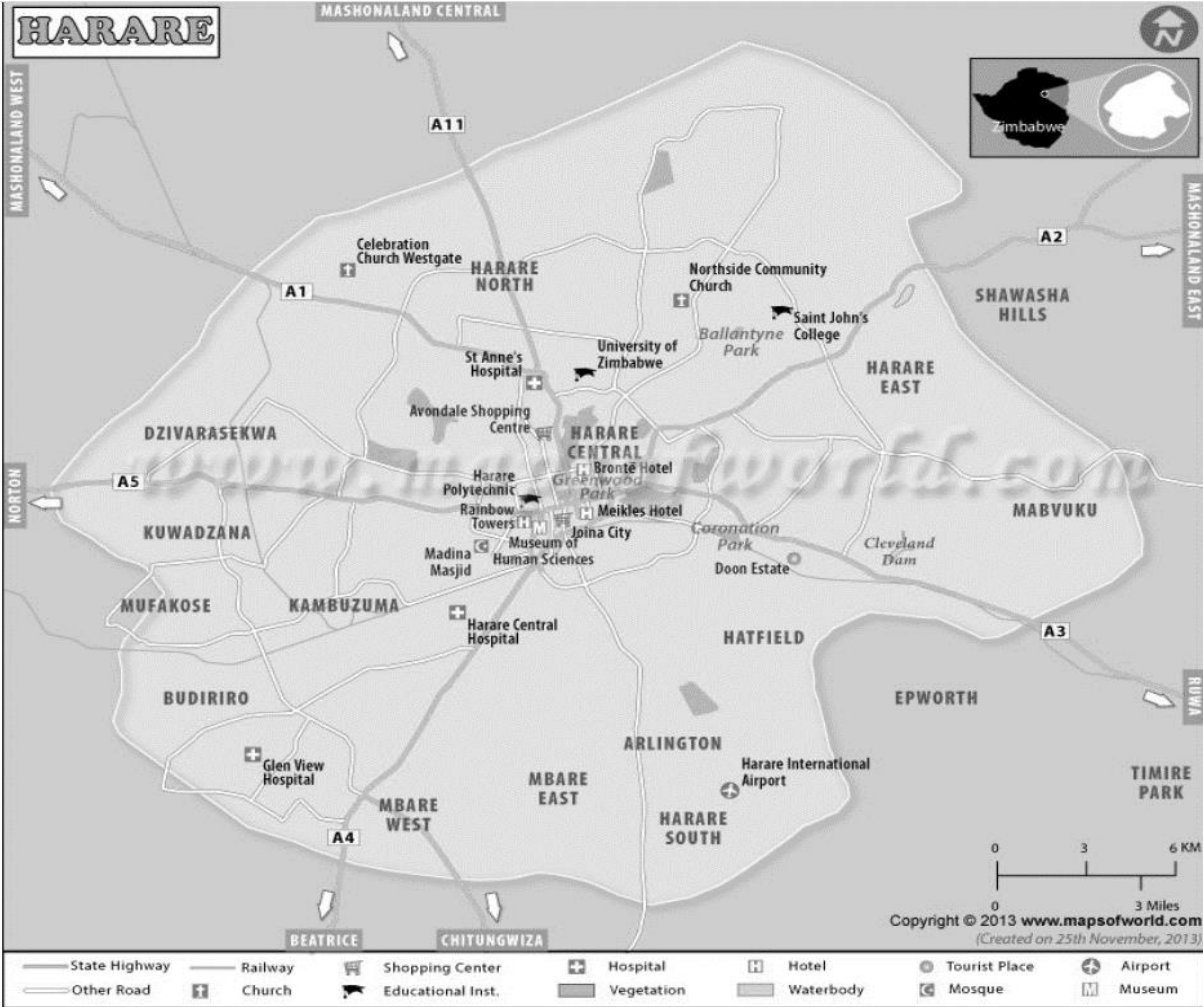
2.1 Methodological Framework

A qualitative approach to research was chosen as it is suitable to a study on perspectives of the participants and is designed to explain phenomena in various social contexts. According to Ary, Jacobs, Razavieh, and Sorensen (2009, p. 420) “social reality cannot be reduced to variables in the same manner as physical reality, and that what is most important in the social disciplines is understanding and portraying the meaning that is constructed by the participants involved in particular social settings or events”. This study sought to understand and present the perspectives of leaders on the phenomenon of structural violence in their communities. It refused to see structural violence as a scientific phenomenon that could be researched in terms of variables but as a social reality which is felt and experienced by the individuals within a society and is best understood through an analysis of their own perspectives. According to Rajasekar, Philominathan, and Chinnathambi (2013, p. 5) methodology is crucial for any branch of research or scholarship because an unreliable methodology undermines the value and significance of the study process. The concept of structural violence is best understood through qualitative research as an attempt to undertake quantitative research on the concept results in debates on the acceptable scientific unit of measurement for an invisible form of violence. The invisibility of structural violence (fully explained in the theoretical framework) makes it unsuitable to quantitative research as there will always be questions asked regarding chosen units of measurement for identified variables. Thus a qualitative approach in this case enables us to investigate a phenomenon that risks being totally ignored or being trivialized because it is not suited to quantitative research methodologies.

Qualitative research is also characterized by an aim to generate in-depth insight, and an idea of seeing through the eyes of the people being studied (Bryman, 2016, pp. 398-403). The choice suited the nature of data required to answer the research questions which seek to collect the perspectives of leaders on structural violence. Ary et al. (2009, p. 423) notes that the overall

goal of qualitative research is to show an in-depth and detailed explanation of complex social patterns that can be understandable to those in other social settings, with the researcher being the desired flexible primary instrument needed for data collection. The data was collected using a mixture of common methods of qualitative research which are interviews, participant observation and document analysis (some of the documents utilised quantitative methods), this triangulation of sources was employed so as to provide the context in which the leaders' perspectives could be fully understood. A discussion of how these were put to use is explored later in this chapter.

2.2 Study Area



Description : Harare Map showing roads, railway lines, tourist places, museums, airports, hospitals and many more.

Disclaimer

Source: <https://www.mapsofworld.com/zimbabwe/harare.html>

The fieldwork for this research was conducted in Harare, Zimbabwe, which is located in Southern Africa. According to the Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency report of the last census the population of Zimbabwe is 13 061 239 of which 41% were those under age 15 years while only 4% of the population, was above the age 65 years (Census Report, 2012). The total population of Harare was 2123132 which constituted 16,3% of the population and was the most populated province. The fieldwork was conducted within Harare with the researcher moving around the different residential areas and being resident in Mabvuku.

Interviews and participant observation were conducted in Mabvuku, Tafara, East view (known as Bhobho), Epworth, Mufakose, Mbare, Dzivarasekwa, Mount Pleasant, Highfields and in the central business district. I visited the Parirenyatwa Group of Hospitals and the Harare Central Hospital also known as Gomo, and a couple of clinics in the research area. Travelling was possible because of the informal and public transport system that links these areas together directly or through the central business district. The areas visited were also selected on the basis of having contacts who I knew as former schoolmates, activists and mostly my extended family which would house me and also provided contacts to local leaders. However, when I visited health institutions was mainly mingling with other visitors and at times introduced myself to those in charge and if they were interested would organise an interview. This was made possible partly because of my understanding of the local language and the hospitable nature of the Zimbabwean people.

2.3 Selection of informants and sources

The research participants were selected purposively based on their position of authority within the society which allows them to have influence and also knowledge on issues that affect the various communities of Harare they work with. This research conducted 14 main interviews with participants drawn from the civil service, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's) workers or representatives, politicians, academics (lecturers and school heads) and religious leaders. According to Charlotte Davies (2008, p. 107) the assumption is that those being interviewed have access to knowledge which they can share with the researcher when they are asked to do so in ways that help them to remember and organise the presentation of that knowledge, which is then taken as the representation of social and cultural realities. To avoid the dangers that are associated with the abuse of such power accorded to informants, the information from the interviews was corroborated with information from other sources of data such as online media sources and published materials.

The use of online digital archives was necessitated by access constraints to high ranking politicians and also the fact that some of the politicians whose actions shaped opinions in society are no longer alive to be interviewed. Charlotte Davies (2008, p. 150) argues that the internet has become a huge resource for researchers and it provides a diverse 'field' that is readily accessible via open access internet sites. The research made use of 15 videos found mostly on 'YouTube' on various online news archives, these videos were chosen purposively as they further illustrated the views that were captured by the leaders interviewed. These videos provide insight on the perspectives of high profile leaders on structural violence. Also it is the views expressed in public that tend to inform the decisions made and the actions taken which have the biggest impact on the society. Some of the videos chosen are state of the nation speeches in which the politicians address the challenges faced by society and the actions they are taking to address these, hence suited the research framework.

In addition to the interviews done in person and those accessed via the internet the research also made use of the Zimbabwe National Archives that are open to the Zimbabwean public upon producing a national identity card and paying an entry fee. The archives which are located in Harare house various reports that articulate ways in which segregation, exclusion and policies served as a form of structural violence against the majority of Africans who lived in Rhodesia. As a student of history at the University of Zimbabwe I had previously made use of the archives and was aware that data which provides a historical context of the development of structural violence could be obtained there. This became evident as I was able to use the Catholic Commission for Peace and Justice reports, The Christian Care reports, Zimbabwean African People's Union documents, correspondence letters by Captain T Baines (an American who was a strong critic of Southern Rhodesia's segregation policies), amongst other sources of data including newspapers.

Also published documents were utilised in this research and these were chosen based on their relevance either in shading more light to the perspectives held by the leaders or providing information such as statistical data that could help the reader to fully understand the context. Documents that fit in the literature that has come to be called the Zimbabwe crisis literature were used as well as documents that explained the concepts of structural violence and liberal peacebuilding.

2.4 Data collection techniques

The study triangulated its data collection methods to improve the quality of data collected to fully evidence the research and provide an answer to the chosen research problem from different data sets. According to Bryman (2016, p. 386) “Triangulation may be the use of multiple theories, data sources, methods or investigators within the study of a single phenomenon”. It is believed that the corroboration of interviews, participant observation and the use of primary data sources from the archives (including online digital archives) together with published secondary sources of data enhanced the quality of the research and its contribution to the body of knowledge. The first interview with a busy high profile politician which yielded less than half a page of notes made me realise that my structured interview approach was not going to be effective with my informants who had not heard of structural violence before. Also even upon explaining the concept some of the informants did not agree that the people could be entirely helpless victims of social structures of power as they contributed to their existence. Hence I had to resort to a technique of discursive interviewing in which I asked my participants to discuss with me the challenges within the society. There was constantly a need to adapt and refine strategies so as to get the best out of the methods used. A discussion of how these chosen qualitative data collection techniques were utilised follows below.

2.4.1 Participant Observation

The research benefited from two fieldwork visits one that lasted for close to four months (15 May - 31 August 2019) and a shorter visit of one month (14 January – 14 February 2020). It was during this time that most of the narratives of people that exemplify the nature of effects that policies made by those in authority have had, were gathered. According to Bryman (2013, p. 694) participant observation involves becoming a member of a group for a considerable amount of time observing its behaviour, taking part in or listening to conversations and asking questions. This method enabled me to gain the perspectives of people and an appreciation of how people were experiencing the structural violence. According to Davies (2008, p. 62) “a complete or covert participant who is a member of the group or context under study and focused on the natural activity of the group without informing the group that it is under study”. As to the guidelines of the NSD (see appendix) on research ethics only public life was observed and having notified the police in Harare, Zimbabwe. The police informed me that as long as my intention was not to stop people in the streets to ask them questions, the research was in accordance with the law and no formal written consent was required as I was a member of the society.

I was resident in Mabvuku for the most part of my fieldwork and occasionally visited other residential areas spending the night or some days with relatives around Harare. This allowed me to fully participate in the society and I must say my background as an activist tended to stir the majority of my interactions in a political direction, especially in Mabvuku where my previous engagements gave me that reputation. I quickly realised that it would be difficult to listen in mostly to conversations I had been known to dominate in. Hence decided to use Mabvuku as a control to get a second opinion on issues that would have been raised in other areas and also to share what I saw or heard in Mabvuku in conversations that probed others to speak more on their own area. Davies (2008, pp. 119-124) notes that the researcher has to be aware of the context which provides the setting to the interviews and also notes how culture is important in this regard. In Harare it is normal to have the whole commuter min bus (Kombi) engaged in a single conversation that is sparked by a slight incident or introduced by a notorious character. It is also a culture that is open, in that its extended family network system means that most of what happens to individuals is likely to be shared even if it is tragic. This meant that the quality of data obtained from using the public transport system, sitting in public places such as hospitals, shopping centres, beerhalls, attending church gatherings and funerals (attendance is culturally required as long it's in your neighbourhood), was rich as stories of how people's lives were on a daily basis affected by their interactions with power.

Participant observation gave a general picture of the society and enabled me to have a clearer view on the social situations, relationships and social practices. These observations provided evidence which made the discussions during interviews rich as my respondents could tell I was aware of what was going on in society. According to Davies (2008, p. 81) participant observation is usually not the main data collection technique, but the involvement in the daily lives of community members serves as a way to ensure observation of particular behaviours or events, that paves way for more open and meaningful discussions with informants. This was evident when the shared experiences gathered from participant observations triggered interviewees to share experiences they had witnessed in their own social settings and their perspectives.

2.4.2 Interviews

There were 14 interviews conducted amongst a diverse group of people with varying knowledge about the concept of structural violence but with knowledge of working with the community and being influential members of the society. This meant that different approaches to conducting interviews had to be adopted but the aim was to gather data that is usually produced

by in-depth interviews. According to Boyce and Neale (2006, p. 3) interviewing a small number of respondents is a useful qualitative research technique which allows one to gather data which explores their perspectives on a particular issue. The interviewees were drawn from House of Assembly representatives, councillors, NGO's, police departments, school heads, residents' organizations leaders, religious leaders, community leaders and academics. My background as a student leader at the University of Zimbabwe and pro-democracy activist meant that I had connections within the civil society of which I was an active member before taking up studies in Norway. Also access to the parliamentarians was made easier because most of the House of Assembly representatives in Harare are from the opposition political party the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) which I had closely worked with as an activist. This network helped me to gain access to politicians even those from the ruling party ZANU PF which also has district offices accessible to the public as well.

The interviewees particularly the politicians, academics and those within the civil society tended to be more trusting once I had introduced myself as a student and the research, although some showed interest in my own political opinion. Ary et al. (2009) point out several ways in which interviews can be conducted and the relationship that the researcher should strive to create with the participants. This was useful as it created room for extensive and informative discussions as the informants shared their perspectives on structural violence in Harare. The more I diversified the choice of interviewees based on political inclinations and reflected on the data was able to see themes developing and structured my interviews accordingly. To get the trust of my informants and avoid rigid and brief comments on the subject and also to avoid the technicalities associated with the term structural violence, I ended up using what Davies (2008, p. 210) called interviewing interactively relying on data gathered from the observations. This approach helped in building trust as it became an interaction on a topic which the participants are concerned with at both a professional and personal level that of obstacles to improving the lives of the people in the community. However, a considerable number of interviews did not go as planned hence were not included in this study but they helped me in restructuring my approach and they still provided views although not in-depth (discussed further in the section on challenges faced).

These interviews were able to capture three main different perspectives on how structural violence was perceived by those in influential positions in society. This understanding was useful as the themes that developed from the interviews led me to identify the debates within

literature and showed a gap of views not represented in literature, which is polarised into two dominant views. The data collected from the interviews were supported by primary and secondary documents and presented in a thematic approach.

2.4.3 Documents

There was use of both published sources of data, online digital archives of data and unpublished archival sources of data. Archival research as a method has also been extended to include research into contemporary institutional documents and data sources as well (Bryman, 2016, p. 324). The National Archives of Zimbabwe provided a historical insight into the structural violence that was prevalent during the colonial era as well as views and perspectives of the leaders. According to Lee (2015, p. 1) archival sources are not only useful in researching contemporary issues but tend to be the only available source of data on historical epochs from which sources to interview are no longer present. Thus an enquiry on how leaders made sense of structural violence during the colonial era more than 40 years ago meant that the most viable option as a source of data was the archives.

Three folders from the National Archives of Zimbabwe which contained Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace reports, Christian Care reports, Rhodesian Defence Ministry reports and correspondence letters were accessed. These documents were chosen primarily because I had previously done research in the archives and came across some of these documents and also on relevance to the topic. Archival sources despite being in large amounts and poorly organised were chosen ahead of the easily accessible published primary or secondary sources that are often less rich in data quality and quantity and contain more biases (Lee, 2015, p. 4). The data provided accounts of how structural violence was experienced and the voices that spoke against the effects of this kind of violence, they also capture the experiences which the current leaders fought to end when they were youths.

The research also made use of online digital archives that documented the views and perceptions of leaders over time on structural violence in speeches and state of the nation addresses. The use of online archival sources made sense given high profile leaders are not easy to access yet their views are constantly sought and archived by various media archives. Davies (2008, p. 150) the internet and visual forms of archival data is increasingly being employed as a useful and viable source of data. A total of 15 videos were obtained in online archives of media houses such as the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC), South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), Journeyman Pictures, Al Jazeera English, amongst others.

The archives also captured views of leaders who are no longer alive such as the late former president Robert Mugabe whose contributions have shaped the politics of the country.

Published research material was also used in developing the contextual framework and in strengthening arguments throughout this research. I made use of existing literature in Peace studies and on the Zimbabwean situation, in building and framing the discussion. The use of published research is important as it allows one to add to the body of knowledge that already exists and gives a foundation for one to build their research on. I also made use of documents published online on the websites of organisations that work in Zimbabwe such as the UNICEF, the Zimbabwe statistical agency (ZimStat).

2.4.4 Data Analysis

This data collected was analysed by a thematic approach which involves the identification of categories through data (Bryman, 2016, p. 584). In analysing the data was first anonymized but the position and area of leadership was retained as this helped to process the data further, so interviewees were assigned a number beginning with IF1 to IF14 with IF being short for Informant. The data collected represented three main themes that answered the main research questions as the perceptions of the leaders could be fitted under these categories. After a few interviews I discovered that there was a great similarity in the perceptions of leaders depending on the political side they represented, something I had not imagined would be the case before venturing into the field. I had naively believed that everyone favours peace and would see the same reasons when honestly discussing about the causes of structural violence within the society. This realization made me to realize that there was going to be a need to expand my sources and factor in the political biases in my analyses and interpretation of the data obtained from the interviews. Besides fitting the nature of the research, thematic analyses also provides a basis for making theoretical contributions which was seen as important as this research tried to point to the importance of addressing structural violence and that if societal leaders are engaged the act of making peace to end structural violence will not seem impossible.

2.5 Reflexivity

In this research even though great care was made to present diverse views and perspectives as obtained in the field does not claim to be free of subjectivity that stem from the personal beliefs and choices made by the researcher from the start of the research process to its end. According to Bryman (2016, p. 93) reflexivity can be understood as the need for researchers to critically examine their beliefs, assumptions and their relationship to those they study. This reflexivity

section is particularly important in this research as the choice of the research problem was motivated by personal experiences. My background as an activist for social justice in Zimbabwe albeit not fully understanding what that meant aside from the vague belief that there should mean less poverty and suffering for the people. Hence my personal attachment and interest in seeing a structural violence free Zimbabwe if possible was my biggest motivation and may have influenced my participants to talk about the possibilities and challenges of achieving this, when maybe they do not also share in this belief. While Davies (2008, p. 72) notes that just belonging to a society does not mean one becomes inherently aware of the oppression and become morally the voice of the oppressed, but rather it is the mixture of experiencing and becoming conscious which results in politically engaged and socially relevant research. I would say it was as a result of my experiences that I was able to identify the different schools of thought and sought to understand the different perspectives. This also pushed me to attempt a representation of the different actors involved and how their perspectives need to be reconciled if positive peace is to get a chance.

When I became a student of the Master's in Peace and Conflict Transformation in August 2018 at the University of Tromsø, my understanding of peace was 'negative peace'. I immediately became interested in Galtung's structural violence concept as it was the one that mostly resonated with the challenges of my home country Zimbabwe. In the process became more critical of the 'Liberal peacebuilding' (the reasons for this are contained in the conceptual framework) school which in my opinion did not treat the less visible structural violence as urgently and did not seem to speak to cases such as the one of Zimbabwe. While Bryman (2013) notes that, there is growing acknowledgement that a researcher cannot be entirely free of their beliefs, Ary et al. (2009, p. 424) notes that "it is impossible to develop a meaningful understanding of human experience without taking into account the interplay of both the inquirers' and the participants' values and beliefs". They both stress that there is however need to ensure that these biases do not compromise the quality of research and ensure that it remains based on credible data. This attempt was made through out all stages of this research while multiple sources of data were used to corroborate the views and debates within the literature and those of perspectives were also highlighted.

My personal belief in positive peace and my critical view of liberal peace did motivate this study. As a result, great care was taken to focus on the strengths of all possible arguments in the realization that there is need to build from already existing infrastructures of peace in order

to achieve positive peace. According to Davies (2008, p. 53) the debatable indirect and indisputable role of anthropology in perpetuating racial prejudices and maintaining the status quo of colonialism have raised questions on the potential exploitative nature of social research and the viability of a politically neutral researcher. This argument becomes more apparent as the literature review on Zimbabwe suggests as different scholarly works have taken different political stances and also globalisation means that academic works will be read politically. This research is not meant to make a political case rather to make a case for positive peace in Zimbabwe. It acknowledges and was structured in a way as to address some issues of the politics of knowledge production, hence an attempt was made to capture and discuss the data from various perspectives.

2.5.1 Gaining access

I was able to fit back into the Zimbabwean society and relied on my past knowledge and connections in setting up interviews and purposively selected areas to observe. My knowledge of the local culture and languages enabled me to listen in or join in conversations to speak with informants without the need of an interpreter and violating cultural norms and traditions. Our culture demands respect for elders and as questioning what elders say is considered rude, there are ways of doing this without necessarily dismissing or belittling points said. When speaking it is important in our culture to constantly give feedback and being agreeing sometimes the speaker invites you to interject when they believe they have made a powerful point or a controversial point. Hence you must know the precise times and ways of doing this as it shows that you are engaged and that they are not wasting their time. The knowledge of local culture and practices thus enabled me to access informants of all ages and genders, although there are few women leaders at the highest levels. There tend to be more female leaders in society leading grassroots political structures and the research was able to capture the views of some of these women. It was however fairly difficult to get access to higher ranked senior politicians who exercise greater political influence and their actions have the biggest impact on the people. However, this challenge was overcome by the use of online media archives which have archived their views and perspectives contained in their utterances.

2.5.2 Insider/outsider reflections

My affiliation to a University in Europe had a bearing on how some informants perceived me as an external representing my university than a local researcher. There was a sense that this had an effect on how willing some informants were eager to speak to me and how others were more reluctant and quizzed me on the nature of the funding and if it meant I had already been

given a story line to follow. The relationship between my home country and the Western states has been that of mutual suspicion with the former blaming the later for interference in local issues while the later has accused the government of human rights violations and placed it on sanctions. Thus, my position made me both an insider and an outsider based on my relationship with both parties. My interviews after introducing myself tended to go more in the direction of me answering questions on how it was like to be studying abroad and in some cases was asked on how to get a scholarship and if I was able to help the informant's relatives to get one.

This no doubt ate on the time but also put me in a difficult position as it is culturally expected that you would help others in return for their help. I was however able to suggest the internet as having lots of adverts on scholarship offers and was clear I had no influence on who gets the scholarship. These discussions also helped in that they gave a chance for me and my informants to get to know each other and set the mood for interviewing interactively once the floor to ask questions was handed back to me. I was also an outsider to politics of the institutions the informants belonged to and also in the various fields in which my informants were more knowledgeable however the common ground available was that of a shared interest in the lives of the people.

2.6 Ethics and Safety

The research to ensure that it is conducted ethically sought the approval of the NSD and was conducted based on their guidelines on ethical issues. According to Davies (2008, p. 59) researchers should make themselves aware of issues concerning confidentiality and while some countries have legislation governing the conduct of research as is the case in Norway, there are also factors such as cultural, background, religious beliefs, social class amongst others which determine what aspects of life informants consider private. Thus while most of my informants would not mind having their views presented in their name, I had to make their names anonymous by giving each a number from 1 to 14 (IF was used as short for informant) according to the guidelines on which my research permission was granted. I also provided contact details of the NSD so they could report me if they felt I had endangered them, also they were made aware that they could withdraw their consent to having their views used in this research.

The subject of structural violence entails touching upon some issues that maybe considered personal in some cultures. In the case of Zimbabwe causes of death are rarely regarded as private and are usually shared openly at funerals unless the families choose to make it secret which is the exception. The culture thus made gathering data on social suffering easier as even

the leaders become aware of the suffering within society that result from government institutions incapacity or ill-thought policies and decisions made. Also safety issues were considered before going to the field and preparation was taken accordingly. I also took a first aid course to ensure personal safety and also participant safety in case there was going to be unforeseen accidents in the field. The university provided a security assessment training workshop which made me aware of security threats issues that may arise and possible ways of handling these. The ethical conduct in the field was at the centre of the planning process for this research.

2.7 Challenges and limitations

While Bryman (2016, p. 42) predicted aptly that success in the field relies just as much on luck as it does on planning. My fieldwork experienced a fair amount of both good and bad luck including a misunderstanding that saw me being called in for questioning by the local police in one of the communities. I had interviewed a school head who mistook my knowledge of the grievances raised by parents and knowing me from my activist background had concluded I was part of the people organising a demonstration. I was however, cleared by the police upon realising that I had not been engaging in any political activities during my stay in the field. Also some of the interviews could not be used as the informants were suspicious of my intentions and gave brief responses that lacked the depth sought for by the research. This did not however take away anything from the research which still benefited from 14 different interviews.

This research only provides an insight on the perspectives of leaders in Harare on structural violence and does not claim to be conclusive. In order to gain a much deeper understanding there is need for more research at a larger scale. The research only provides perspectives of the leaders whose views are presented here and not of all the leaders in Harare and the diversity of the views maybe more than the three themes found in this study.

2.8 Conclusion

The research relied on triangulation of data sources, making use of archives, interviews, participant observation and secondary sources of data such as published books, journal articles and print media. There was great priority placed on the security of the informants who were chosen purposively based on their availability and position of leadership they held within the society. The research was conducted following the ethical guidelines of NSD with the researcher practicing reflexivity to show how their presence and choices may have impacted

negatively upon the research. A thematic analysis was chosen in how the data was coded and analysed, as this suited the nature of the research. The challenges and limitations faced were also highlighted.

Chapter 3 Conceptual Framework

This chapter presents a conceptual framework in which this study is situated. This is done by a conceptualisation of structural violence firstly by looking at how the terms has developed since it was popularized by Johan Galtung and then followed by literature which has sought to go around the issue of measurement of structural violence making a case for the study of structural violence. Liberal peace is conceptualised here as it is understood to be the dominant way through which peace researchers and practitioners have structured ways of dealing with conflict. The limitations when it comes to addressing structural violence are also highlighted to provide an understanding to the reader of what the research understands to be liberal peace or the liberal peace matrix. The way in which structural violence has been understood in the literature that touches on the topic in Zimbabwe is also contained in this chapter to place the case study in context.

3.1 Introduction to Structural Violence

The theory of Structural Violence was first framed by Johan Galtung as a way of expanding the definition and understanding of violence in peace research. According to Johan Johan Galtung (1969, p. 168) “violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations”. This enables one to account for violence that extends beyond the personal to include structural and cultural sources of such violence. Dilts et al. (2012, p. 191) argues that Galtung’s work remains relevant to contemporary theory and practice, noting that a limited understanding of violence that points only to agents and intentions will miss the pervasive forms of violence that are built into structures, institutions, ideologies, and histories. The idea that the concept has been pushed to the margins of scholarly enquiry and that structural violence is often misrecognized reigns supreme in most research works that deal with the concept.

According to Winter (2012, p. 195) structural violence has failed to appeal to most social science theorists because it tends to collapse a host of factors such as colonialism, racism, slavery, class domination and any other inequalities into one. This understanding and the broadness of the concept have resulted in it being undermined and largely ignored, but this distorts our ability to understand violence and as a result how we address it (Winter, 2012, p. 195). This research moves away from looking at the various forms through which structural violence manifest to seeing it as a result of the decisions made or not made by the leaders in any society of which these leaders’ conduct can be investigated.

Violence has been described as episodic social engagements that result in infliction of physical harm on people and/or objects, there should at least be cooperation on the part of those causing the harm and it takes place in partly accessible public spaces (Winter, 2012, p. 196). This positivistic definition of violence ignores the presence of the invisible forms of violence and suits the scientific approach to social research which argues for clear causal relations that can be proved empirically. The positivist school views the concept of invisible forms of violence as an attempt to politicise social research by attaching illicit extensions such as cultural, symbolic or structural to the true violence (Winter, 2012, p. 196). Proponents of positivist definitions of violence restrict violence to the intentional, direct, immediate, and visible infliction of physical harm, the assault or encroachment on the physical integrity of another human being or his or her property. There has emerged an emphasis on studying the observable aspects of social life only if clear facts and links can be established and in the process knowledge of that which is unobservable is denied (Winter, 2012, p. 196). Winter concludes that this is a purely methodologically driven understanding of violence. In this research the assumption that structural violence is not visible is questioned as the leaders who preside over the society acknowledge the negative effects the local and global social structures have had on the lives of the people. Rather this invisibility should be understood more as a political statement which serves to rid both local leaders and global leaders for the violence embedded in the social structures. In other words, it is invisible because it threatens the established world order.

Moreover, the strong inclination to believe only in the visibility of violence closes room for any analyses that attempts to explain the relationship between visible and invisible form of violence. The role of the existing power structures and/or historical factors is easily missed as research which focuses on these analysis is discouraged by the emphasis on actors (Winter, 2012, p. 195). Phillip Bourgois (2009, p. 17) describes direct violence as being the tip of the iceberg which blinds us to the underlying factors such as coercion, fear and repression through which violence disingenuously and cruelly reproduces itself over time and through history. It is therefore important that a conceptualization of violence embraces the broadness of violence to fully understand the various forms it takes and manifests in from one society to another. Nancy Scheper-Hughes (2004, p. 14) refers to this, as ‘the continuum of violence that reviews the capacity and willingness, of ordinary people to enforce what are unrecognized crimes against humanity toward categories of people thought of as ‘better off dead’. If structural violence is addressed it serves the interest of those thought of as ‘better off dead’ and because it is

underlying in social structures, it does not attract attention as direct violence does hence it can remain invisible.

The fact that structural violence has been termed an invisible form of violence is not understood here to mean that it is difficult to observe hence problematic when it comes to its inquiry. According to Winter (2012, p. 198) the invisibility of structural violence describes the unwillingness or failure to acknowledge it that is a result of the indifference within the structures combined with the discursive limits of intelligibility not because it is not visible. This view is informed by the dominance of the positivist school in terms of shaping knowledge, hence a broad understanding of violence, which does not fit into the dominant methodological framework has been met with resistance. Nancy Scheper-Hughes (2004, p. 14) notes that, this “calculated dissembling of social and political realities obviously requires a great deal of bad faith and misrecognition”. In a way refuting the idea that structural violence is invisible but it has been deliberately made invisible. According to Dilts et al. (2012, p. 192) “Structural violence’s invisibility is more likely because of violence’s ceaseless repetition in the open rather than because it has been hidden away in a dark or subterranean place”. The dominance of the positivist epistemology has thus had a bearing on how violence has been conceptualized.

However, this has been challenged constantly because of what is arguably the undeniable existence of other forms of violence that cannot be explained based on the positivist understanding of the concept. As Winter (2012, p. 197) notes “Individual agency and legal responsibility are unsatisfactory criteria for determining the incidence of violence”. There is little doubt that structural violence exerted on the poor and marginalised societies is both known and invisible. This research acknowledges the need for a broad conceptualization of violence and also recognizes that this aids our understanding of various form of violence that may exist.

3.2 Making a case for Structural Violence

Structural violence remains meaningful even if it does not fit the traditionally accepted format of violence of having subjects and objects (Johan Galtung, 1969, p. 172). It is different from personal violence, which has all elements that is the victim, perpetrator and action done. The importance of looking at both these phenomenon is captured by Johan Galtung who notes that just as direct violence was meaningful as a threat or demonstration of force even when no one is hurt, so also structural violence was meaningful as a template built into the society through which violence becomes inevitable (Johan Galtung, 1969, p. 172). This research agrees with

this view and argues that peace studies should come up with ways of addressing structural violence.

A problematic issue when it comes to research on structural violence has been how to measure it and which methodological approach was most suitable. Phillip Bourgois (2009, p. 28) suggests an ethnographic approach as an effective way to conduct research on the phenomenon of Structural Violence. In summarizing several case studies throughout his research career he showed, how he had been able to document the effects of structural violence in Latin America. He also brings to perspective how the end of hostile violent conflicts did not necessarily lead to the end of structural violence illustrating the intricate relationship between personal violence and structural violence and the impact it can have for generations. The parallels he draws and the role of history and international players also point to the importance of how the context matters in understanding violence. This research locates the current structural violence in Harare Zimbabwe within the colonial history and argues that it was urgent to address this violence as it had the potential to result in an outbreak of direct violence.

Scheper-Hughes, Bourgois, and anthology (2004, p. 20) argued for the significance of looking at structural violence and its relationship to direct violence. They argued that there was a vicious cycle of violence of the two interlocking with each other making it almost difficult to see what had begun. They also pointed out how anthropologists had traditionally shied away from engaging in the writing of violence and may have failed to contribute to the knowledge of colonial violence (Scheper-Hughes et al., 2004, pp. 5-9). The two authors placed an emphasis on the role that colonial legacy had in shaping the power structures that were now responsible for structural violence in modern states. They rightly capture how peace negotiations had failed to discuss the evils of structural violence late alone address them. The insights they make on the shortcomings of peace arrangements made to end colonial rule and the structural violence that even led to direct violence in post independent societies. This provided this research with a gap to explore how issues of structural violence can be brought into the fore of peace making or peacebuilding initiatives to avoid the challenges previous peace arrangements have made.

While Kohler and Alcock (1976, p. 355) are of the view that peace research has to study all the forms of violence because they are unacceptably too prevalent and more effort should be put towards addressing them and establishing violent free societies. This is particularly true if all research that has been done in the field of preventative health sciences is considered and how anthropologists have attempted to document structural violence. While P. E. Farmer, B. Nizeye,

S. Stulac, and S. J. P. m. Keshavjee (2006, p. 1687) argue that discriminatory social structures and the structural violence they embodied had negatively affected efforts to curb the spread and impact of the HIV pandemic. Thus, there have been established causal links between structural violence and death due to diseases. Kohler and Alcock (1976, p. 356) using a measurement of life expectancy and the economic positions of countries concluded that money can buy life, as statistics showed that more people die in countries where structural violence was most common. Thus this research builds upon such understandings of structural violence and its portents, investigating how views of leaders could influence ways of ending it.

There is debate on how relevant the work of Johan Galtung is to contemporary research and if it has not been made irrelevant by the fall of communism at the end of the cold war. Dilts et al. (2012, p. 192) argue that Galtung's work remained relevant to contemporary theorists and practice it was key to understanding modern society and its collective past. They argue that it was significant in that it overturned conventional thinking by offering a broad conceptualisation of violence to enhance the ability to identify the ways in which stability and tranquillity which are often mistaken for peace hide a deeper and more pervasive violence. In societies such as Harare where direct violence hardly occurs it is easy to mistaken them as peaceful societies yet structural violence allows us to research and understand this pervasive underlying form of violence. They argue that Galtung's work although it has some Marxist underpinning which makes it opposed to the dominant world view it should be used so as to broaden the theoretical framework in which violence is understood lest peace remains a dream. This inquiry is important in understanding the factors that contribute to structural violence remaining prevalent in societies and to understand if those who hold power can be allies in addressing this form of violence.

It is possible to conduct research which helps to understand and find ways to deal with structural violence. Johan Galtung (1969, p. 188) argues that structural violence is a result of inequalities in social structures and that this inequality can be studied through an understanding of social structure and more importantly stratification. This research by situating the case study in a historical context showing how structural violence has developed over the years attempts to provide a historical understanding of the society. It then moves on to understand the perspectives of the leaders on structural violence and their attempts at addressing it and the challenges in doing so. The implications to peacebuilding approaches becomes apparent in this

regard making the point that an understanding of inequalities in societies hold the answer in addressing structural violence.

3.3 Liberal peacebuilding

The research acknowledges that liberal peacebuilding is the most “dominant form of peace-making and peacebuilding that is supported by leading states, international organizations and international financial institutions” (Mac Ginty, Joshi, & Lee, 2019, p. 459). It has over the years shaped the ways in which peace scholars and practitioners have sought to bring about peace to conflict affected areas around the world. According to Oliver Richmond (2014, p. 106) a peace infrastructure has emerged together with liberal peacebuilding that includes human rights, development, reconstruction, gender, humanitarian assistance, international organizations, agencies, international financial institutions, non-governmental organizations and non-state actors. Liberal peacebuilding has found expression through the efforts of these various actors for peace and though it has been criticized for its shortfalls it has remained attractive with most of its critics suggesting mostly reforming it and rarely are there calls to abandon it totally.

Roger Mac Ginty et al. (2019, p. 462) summarized liberal peace as being a practice hinged on the notion that liberalism institutionalized and operationalized in a domestic political setting is likely to result in peace at home and abroad. This explains why peacebuilding has been pursued and confused with state building, as the various actors who took it upon themselves to implement the Liberal peace, sought to institutionalize liberal forms of government. Oliver Richmond (2014, p. 107) notes that democracy and human rights are central to peacebuilding as was the case in Cambodia or El Salvador in the early 1990s, as well as the state, civil society and local ownership, while needs and identity are generally seen as secondary. A factor which has been the source of criticism for liberal peace given that it is silent on issues that most theories of conflict seem to be in agreement with that poverty, relative deprivation and inequality are causal factors in, or at least encourage, conflict (Richmond, 2014, p. 117). This silence has been the source of criticism for liberal peacebuilding and it has weakened its appeal to historically marginalised societies.

The liberal peace theory has attracted criticism as to the basis of its authority being seen as Eurocentric, imposing, illegitimate and even continued colonisation, while its proponents claim that these criticism result from misunderstanding the concept. Oliver Richmond (2014, p. 109) suggests that liberalism assumed it commanded automatic consent from the global to the local

context, yet it was found wanting when it comes to questions of sovereignty, denying the rights of local actors and institutions to set up their own social, economic and political systems based upon their own history, society and specific needs. The result has been peace processes which local actors do not recognise or half-heartedly participate in because they come with monetary aid. Roger Mac Ginty et al. (2019, p. 459) highlight that the liberal peace primarily reflects perspectives of third party intervening forces and has persistently failed to reflect the political, social and cultural contexts in the conflict affected countries. This perceived arrogance emanates from the belief that the overall principles of liberalism on which the liberal peacebuilding framework is built have a great moral appeal to all people in the world. According to Richmond (2014, p. 105) there is the argument that even though liberalism originated from the West ideals such as individual political autonomy and the legitimacy of governments through popular will are not just only attractive to Europeans. Thus peace could and can be achieved through the spread of liberal ideas and building institutional capacity for these ideas to flourish, which is believed to result in greater peace. Doyle (2005, p. 465) argues that, the three specific strands of liberal institutions, liberal ideas, and transnational ties plausibly connect the characteristics of liberal policies and economies with sustained liberal peace. Implying that the greater cooperation between liberal states can lead to a peaceful world, however the plausibility of this has been under scrutiny as years of democratization have not resulted in corresponding economic wealthy for states in the global south.

The economic benefits of liberal peacebuilding were to accrue to those states that successfully democratize and establish right kind of institutions, there are however limited examples of where this has happened in the global south. According to Wallis (2018, p. 83) liberal peacebuilding is an attempt to set up state institutions which follow the principles of liberal peace such as democracy, human rights, and the rule of law while providing a conducive environment in which capitalist market economies flourish. This kind of peace is in line with the thinking of the World Bank which asserts that good governance underlined by the rule of law is central to wealth creation which is dependent on laws that protect property rights, govern civil and commercial practice and limiting state power (Ayers, 2006, p. 325). Some proponents of liberal peace argue that following the directs of international financial institutions should not be understood as liberal peace building but rather neoliberal peacebuilding and the two are not the same. There have been significant efforts to build a liberal or neo-liberal peace that has been characterized by programs to build institutional and governmental capacity, election support, promotion of civil society and popular participation, offered technical and financial assistance,

and political support for liberalism (Ayers, 2006; Richmond, 2014). While Richmond (2014, p. 110) highlights that, the question to be asked is whether this liberal peace likely to come out of these approaches could possibly be empowering to the recipients or is likely to result in negative peace or hybrid peace. There has, thus been a shift on how liberal peace has been conceptualized with increasing challenge to its outcomes and nature of peace it can produce, more critical questions have been asked and reforms proposed.

The role of civil society in Liberal peacebuilding has served to be a source of more criticism as the various civil society organizations sponsored by the west mostly have been accused of funding local dependence. According to Ayers (2006, p. 325) “liberal peace holds the idea that conflict cannot be fully dealt with unless the demands of the civil society are met and that only a vibrant civil society guarantees liberal peace”. The sources of funding for most civil society tend to have their own goals and objectives that are not necessarily a reflection of what the society needs or wants. Richmond (2014, p. 116) argues that the conceptualisation of civil society around issues of rights, legal and economic thinking geared towards making the society comply to liberal peace rather than a conceptualisation aimed at promoting political debate on nature of the state or challenging hegemony. This has meant that the civil society has failed to become local in many societies remaining completely reliant on external support and disappearing when the aid stops, accordingly making the liberal peacebuilding an expensive undertaking. There has thus been a failure for peacebuilding to respond broadly to social, economic, political and developmental issues in different contexts although there has been a realization that the process has to be multidimensional and done at multilevel. This prompted Richmond (2014, p. 116) to conclude that “liberal peace at times appears to be insensitive, an extension of paternalist neo-colonialism that defers autonomy and rejects local norms, it ignores politics and its meaning for the subjects”. This criticism has been hard to shake off totally although professionals have attempted to refine the way in which liberal peacebuilding is structured to make it more accommodative of the locals.

3.4 Liberal peacebuilding conceptualized in relation to structural violence

A serious concern or source of criticism has been the inability or silence of the liberal peacebuilding school of thought on addressing Structural violence with some research even pointing to it as reinforcing structural inequalities at the local, national and international levels. According to Oliver Richmond (2014, p. 117) this criticism is related to a covert global and state class structure, the expropriation of natural resources from the global south and the

inherent weakness of smaller economies to shield themselves or effectively compete in a liberal world market. The result has been that the peace dividends that accrue to the weak states are not sufficient to warrant a positive peace and economic inequality has continued at a state level with the rich and powerful states benefiting more from a liberal world market. This has proved to be a challenge for liberal peacebuilding as its attempt to establish peace by making people or states liberal is undermined by its inability to redress historical economic inequalities which continue to persist (Richmond, 2014, p. 126). The question becomes one of whether the dominant states in the world are willing to change the nature of their relationship with the weaker states, as it is clear that an exploitative class system exists amongst states.

The liberal peacebuilding framework is grounded in an ideology which favours the dominant powerful capitalist states as they have a competitive advantage in a world liberal economy. According to Oliver Richmond (2014, pp. 131-132) this constrains the discussion of accountability at the local level as this may lead to the questioning of both local and global inequality which is a subject that liberal peacebuilding has avoided. The aim of building open accountable states is defeated in the process and the elites in these organisations and in government end up taking over the process of making peace and benefiting more from any peace dividends. Liberal peacebuilding ends up producing modernization projects based on resource exploitation and extraction that defeat any hopes for positive peace (Richmond, 2014, pp. 131-132). There is scepticism from most societies and governments in historically marginalised societies when it comes to accepting or endorsing liberal peacebuilding. In El Salvador case shows how Peace Accords and the subsequent peacebuilding process ignored structural, social and economic issues, with the prescribed neoliberal policies undermining the enjoyment of broad peace dividends serve for the improvement of security (Richmond, 2014, p. 111). The way in which liberal peacebuilding fails to challenge inequality at the global level is also translated to failure to do so at the local level, hence the local elites are able to hijack it and enrich themselves at the expense of the local populace. Liberal peacebuilding has as a response to this criticism and more undergone some transformation though not drastic in a bid to regain some legitimacy.

Liberal peace has been constantly revised to respond to some of the criticisms and as well to improve the outcomes after successive attempts have not yielded the desired results. This has led to proponents of what has been called the local turn and the move towards hybrid forms of peace. According to Mac Ginty and Richmond (2013, p. 764) this move is informed by the

realisation that in the face of governmentality of liberalism and structural power that is exercised without any regard for ordinary people, there remains agency amongst local actors and attempts are made to ensure a viable daily life. This calls for renewed ways of understanding peace outside the framework of the established liberal peace because it overlooks these nuances insisting on top down approaches. The local turn acknowledges local agency, local views and understandings of peace and rallies behind these as they have the potential to address structural obstacles to peace (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013, p. 770). There has thus been an increasing call to transform the liberal peace so that it can address or at least speak to the underlying causes of the conflict by acknowledging the differences of every context. There has been a notable improvement in inclusion of local perspectives to peace fused together with liberal peace perspectives. Wallis (2018, pp. 86-88) warns that this shift to hybrid or good enough outcomes which risks being attributed to the local level while overlooking the broad structural issues, obscuring injustice and differential power relationships that can be present within local systems. The local turn risks becoming a means of co-opting the local elites while continuing to overlook the plight of the ordinary people who do not occupy any position of power within the system, but are important if sustainable peace is to be achieved.

The resistance that has been faced by liberal peacebuilding has emanated from the workings of power at the various levels at which peace processes take place showing the need to engage all actors whose agency has an effect on peaceful outcomes. Mac Ginty and Richmond (2013, p. 780) posed the question with which peace researchers are to be grappled with, that of the relationship between power and peace and how an emancipatory peace, one which addresses structural violence may emerge from or be related to power. Liberal peace has thus been an exercise of power over conflict torn areas which although aimed to bring about peace could not fully take into account the needs of the locals when it comes to addressing global inequalities. The local turn in peacebuilding allows for an enhanced understanding of injustices that cause conflicts, the naturalisation of elite, state and Western power structures and practice that hide injustices and the reforms needed to expand Western epistemologies and methodologies (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013, p. 780). There is therefore need to broaden the scope of our understanding when it comes to peace and this does not imply throwing away liberal peace and the architecture of peace it has developed but building upon it and realizing that ignoring some factors leads to a minimalist negative peace.

3.5 Structural Violence conceptualised in Zimbabwean literature

The scarcity of academic research on structural violence in Zimbabwe is perplexing given that Non-Governmental Organizations reports refer to the prevalence of structural violence albeit maybe not so authoritatively or at times indirectly. J. T. Muderedzi et al. (2017)'s work represents one of the few scholarly research on structural violence in Zimbabwe. This work is rooted in the Paul Farmer school of thought, which focuses on health, and it looked at how disability was both a result of and cause of structural violence. Tonga people were dispossessed and subjected to harsh living conditions by their exclusion from development programs by the government and the construction of the Kariba dam, during the colonial era, and such exclusion he claims has continued in post-independence Zimbabwe (J. T. Muderedzi et al., 2017). Thus (Johan Galtung, 1969, p. 175) concludes that it is possible to measure structural violence if we accept that it emanates from inequality in the distribution of power and resources, also noting that inequality tends to persist even after change takes place in other aspects of social life. This argument seems plausible given that most of the structural violence witnessed during the colonial era can still be identified in the post-colonial society.

Gugulethu Siziba argues that Chikwava's fiction novel rightly captures "the precocity of underclasses living abject and invisible lives as well as the marginal and exploitable young people co-opted and (ab)used by the Zimbabwean state elites" (Siziba, 2017, p. 1). She argues that the youth have been subjected to structural violence which has persisted with the elites presiding over that violence. The argument is made through the analysis of the literary deployment of an unnamed narrator in Chikwava's novel, that "foregrounds the invisible, anonymous, deformed, non-existent and uncanny, embodies and stitches together pervasive economic, social and political crises that confront Zimbabwe and Zimbabweans in the post-2000 period" (Siziba, 2017, p. 1). This work provides an insight into the nature of the structural violence that's prevalent in Zimbabwe. It documents how young people driven by the desire to survive become very dangerous characters that will do whatever is necessary to survive. This work provides a basis to conceptualise violence as resulting from the abuse of the marginalised by state elites that is made possible by a deteriorating economy and violent political culture.

The government of president Mugabe was shown to be the source of structural violence in Zimbabwe, with several scholars writing to validate this notion, of a heartless and insensible government whose policies and corruption has led to widespread suffering (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003; Moore, 2001; Keller et al., 2008). While others have sought to blame imperialism, neo-

colonialism and the opposition movement for acting as a hand of external forces inviting sanctions and causing widespread suffering (S. Moyo, 2001; S. Moyo & Yeros, 2007a, 2007b). However, as Lane et al. (2004, p. 320) put it, “a search for actors to blame for preventable harm often misses macro-level entities such as state and federal bureaucracies, health institutions, social environments, and social and health policies that form the context in which disproportionate illness and death occur”. Structural violence in Zimbabwe has thus been conceptualised in a way to find fault and apportion blame power structures within the society. This research moves away from such an approach as it believes that only an approach that focuses on bringing all players to the cause for peace and can end polarization is essential for peace.

3.6 How structural violence is addressed in peace theories

Taussig (1989, p. 7) in an article titled *Terror as Usual: Walter Benjamin's Theory of History as a State of Siege*, makes a compelling argument on how some forms of violence can be normalized from a local to global scale, when they fit the dominant narrative of what is considered as order in the world. This is what he refers to as normalizing the abnormal and gives evidence from his research on the ‘dirty war’, that occurred in Colombia. In his narratives of events he tries to show how this violence was normalized not only by the regime in Colombia as a fight against communism it was also sanitized by other world powers (Taussig, 1989, p. 9). This reading is essential in that it presents an important question on who defines violence and how people readily overlook some forms of violence or terror because they fit what is the normal. The example of how a soldier who had fought for democracy found himself mostly unemployed or working temporarily because it served the interest of business to hire at a permanent basis, is used to illustrate the inadequacies of political ideologies in addressing economic inequality (Taussig, 1989, p. 9). Thus pointing at the suffering that may otherwise be normalized because it suits the view of those who wield power in society. This research explores the perspectives of the leaders on structural violence in societies they preside over.

Direct violence is often scrutinized by drawing on religious dicta, legal codes, and ethical systems. D. J. Christie, Wagner, Winter, and century (2001, p. 16) note that when it comes to dealing with impersonal systems of structural violence the international law is not adequately equipped and even consideration of collective punishment under it hardly suit the situation. When it comes to direct violence it is clear what the intervention should be and how their objectives can be achieved. This is not the case with structural violence which reproduces itself

within the social structures resulting in continuous oppression, exploitation and domination, with intervention at best only able to mitigate the visible effects and rarely stopping the phenomenon. According to D. J. Christie et al. (2001, p. 16) “These conditions are static, stable, normalized, serve the interests of those who hold power and wealth, and are not self-correcting”. It is increasingly becoming acknowledged that the current dominant approaches to peacebuilding are insufficient when it comes to addressing this subtle but disruptive form of violence. They also point out how an emphasis on peacebuilding and moving away from a focus on peacekeeping has more potential in ending both forms of violence that is direct and structural violence.

It has also been argued that it is possible to address structural violence if the human needs of all groups in a country are met. According to Christie (1997, p. 316) a good relationship between the people and the government results in peace while the opposite leads to conflict, which even though if it is contained by coercive measures is never addressed by these. This understanding of conflict is significant in that it points to the need to satisfy human needs which have been identified to be leading causes of conflicts. They also note that peace psychologists had a role to play in building more peaceful societies by refuting the realist tradition view of violence as being part of human nature and an understanding of conflict as power politics. This view is particularly important as it moves away from the liberal peacebuilding matrix presented above and seeks to understand conflict from the satisfaction of human needs. It also provides a good view of structural violence as the deprivation of certain human needs, an understanding that is important to awaken a sense of urgency when it comes to ways of achieving positive peace.

3.7 Conclusion

The chapter laid out a conceptualisation of structural violence and liberal peacebuilding. Structural violence is understood to mean those forms of violence that are built into the social structure or are results of the inequalities that exist between social classes at both a local and international level. This embrace of a broad conceptualisation of violence is seen as a way to broaden the ways in which peacebuilding is practiced if it is to be able to solve the underlying causes of conflict. It also laid out a conceptualisation of liberal peacebuilding which has for decades been the most dominant approach to peacebuilding. The liberal peace framework is understood here to be important as it has laid the foundation for peace by developing a framework or infrastructure for peace. Its inadequacies when it comes to dealing with structural

violence are discussed and the reasons for its failure are also highlighted. The research is located within an understanding of these concepts and argues that by looking at perspectives of leaders on structural violence there is hope leaders can become allies in peacebuilding.

Chapter 4 Literature Review

The literature on Zimbabwe that has sought to explain the origins, causes and effects of social suffering known as the 'Zimbabwean crisis' is highly polarised. The contradictions are not much as a result of failure to point to the key defining moments in the country's modern or past history, but are based on the chosen interpretations. The academics who have written on Zimbabwe are as entrenched in their positions just as much as the politicians. This raises the questions of objectivity in academic writing and if this can be achieved, when the researcher is free to select their own topic, methods and analytical lens through which to make sense of their findings. The review will look at literature that details the expectations and aspirations of the people during the colonial era and the underlying structural violence issues they hoped to end with independence from minority rule. This literature review will also explore the two main perspectives to the social suffering in Zimbabwe represented in the literature and conclude by reflecting on literature that does not fit squarely into the distinctions.

4.1 Historical context

This selection of sources that outlines the historical circumstances that characterized the colonial period in Zimbabwe is placed here because of the dominance of the liberation struggle narrative in the country. According to Raftopoulos and Phimister (2004, p. 377) it is a difficult task to try and make sense of the socio-economic and political situation in Zimbabwe outside its historical context. In the process stressing the point of how history has remained central in discussions of contemporary problems in the country. Muchaparara Musemwa (2012, pp. 10-11) notes that an understanding of the colonial inheritance of Zimbabwe was key to making possible any analytical attempt to discuss problems in its politics, economy and land reform. This research also found it difficult to discuss the perspectives of leaders on structural violence without devoting a considerable section to the historical context which has shaped opinions and informed positions.

Mufuka (1977, p. 60) in the article entitled, *Reflections on Southern Rhodesia: An African Viewpoint* captures the perspective of leaders of the black majority in colonial Zimbabwe. Focusing particularly on how their stance of insisting with the continuation of the liberation war had cemented as a result of their personal experiences. The African leaders rejected the American proposals for a peaceful settlement noting it wrongly assumes that the government was willing to or even capable of reasoning citing its refusal to negotiate on the African's or mutual conditions (Mufuka, 1977, p. 54). There was racial segregation that prevented Africans

from holding senior positions in the civil service or holding a higher rank than non-Africans. Mufuka describes how both sides were hardened making it impossible for a middle ground with any Leader who amongst the Africans spoke of a moderate view risking losing his relevance. The question of economic rights is captured by the statement of Joshua Nkomo (who became vice president of Zimbabwe 1987-1999) the leader of one of the major nationalist movements at the time that, 'This is not Smith's country. It is our country' (Mufuka, 1977, p. 58). It was to be a dominant view that would shape and has continued to shape politics in independent Zimbabwe. The centrality of the land question in any peace settlement has to be understood from the liberation movement and its leaders' promise to the peasants of land.

The black nationalists justified the war and its continuance by saying it was a result of the people's frustration and was the only appropriate response to the arrogant and oppressive racism of the white Rhodesians. According to O'Meara (2019, p. 100), a nationalist leader George Nyandoro of the African National Congress remarked that 'the Native Land Husbandry Act was the greatest recruiter congress had ever had'. This exemplifies grievances that arose as a result of government policies that were insensitive to the plight of the people hence resulting in conflict. O'Meara (2019, p. 101) argues that the political system in Rhodesia did not allow for meaningful engagement within the constitutionally accepted form of opposition leaving the nationalists to resort to what he calls 'extra-system' politics. The Rhodesian Front he notes was notorious for trying to co-opt opposition parties who were seen as a threat to the existing establishment and only allowed for opposition that supported the fundamental basis of the political system and maintained it. This understanding of the hostile political environment is important as it can explain some attitudes and positions taken in independent Zimbabwe. It also helps us to understand the accusations that have been levelled against the nationalist party in Zimbabwe and the nature of opposition that has arisen.

Upon independence there was a large body of literature that sought to spell out the task that lay ahead of the new majority government and reminded it of the danger of ignoring the people's hopes and aspirations that the war of liberation had raised (Mzamane, 1980, p. 29). He summarized the delicate situation, stating that the new government's effort to ensure a smooth transition, to retaining white expertise and to encourage foreign investment. This would have to be pursued with extreme caution to avoid the perpetuation of exploitative colonial economic relations with the only difference being that some Africans would have joined their former masters. It was hoped that a new economic order had to be established and it had to cater for

the needs of everyone including the street vendor by redressing all historical injustices suffered by the blacks. Also police brutality was rampant as the Rhodesian state made use of the security services to inspire fear. Mzamane (1980, p. 34) commenting on the reference to police as thieves suggests that the police were seen as worse than common thieves as they were stealing from the African his freedom, peace and dignity which was more priceless than material possessions. He concludes by warning the new government which according to him had already begun to embark on a dangerous path to appease white farmers by pegging a far lower minimum wage for rural farm workers, that the young men and women who had returned from the war needed demobilization as they were fired with revolutionary zeal (Mzamane, 1980, p. 29). It was to be these young revolutionaries whose agitations would lead to the violent land reform in Zimbabwe 20 years later. Thus already upon independent the question of how to build an inclusive society and redressing the economic marginalization of the majority was proving to be a difficult puzzle. It has also remained key to political debates on Zimbabwe and has informed different positions taken by both political players and members of the public in the country.

4.2 The debates on the Zimbabwe crisis

Zimbabwe's modern history from the year 2000 to present has been described as the crisis period, characterised by serious socio-economic and political problems. Literature on this period points to the fact that the people of Zimbabwe have been victims of structural violence resulting from factors beyond their control. There is however what appears to be irreconcilable differences on views of the factors that have informed this structural violence. The two main schools of thought that have been identified are, the Nationalist literature which takes an anti-imperialism stand through the instrumental use of history and the Internationalist literature which is centred around issues of Democratization and human rights (S. Moyo & Yeros, 2007a, p. 171; 2007b). This section will explore the main arguments represented under these two main schools of thoughts and also include attempts that have been made to present a balanced view in explaining the Zimbabwean crisis.

The Internationalist tradition points out that the government inherited a colonial repressive system of government. The argument is that the government has taken over a repressive colonial system of governance instead of transforming it, the former liberation fighters are now preside over an institutionalised violent system (Chiumbu & Musemwa, 2012, p. 11). To capture the evilness of the government it is compared to the colonial government it replaced and at times

even presented as more evil. They note that the government has created a system of political intolerance and now governs through a system of fear reminiscent of colonial times. In more direct terms Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003, p. 100) puts it bluntly arguing that, the nationalist policies adopted by the ZANU PF have become bankrupt and irrelevant in independent Zimbabwe and stand in opposition to democracy and the new consensus of the people. There is thus no mincing of words when it comes to explaining the role of government in the structural violence that has taken root in society.

This school of thought puts the blame for structural violence squarely on the government even though it acknowledges other factors. J. Muderedzi and Ingstad (2011, p. 172) note that what is tragic about the suffering in Zimbabwe which they describe as endemic was that it was neither a result of uncontrollable forces of nature nor the act of God or fate, but was a direct result of the actions of the Zimbabwean government. They further note that the Zimbabwean people's suffering was made worse because of how the government continually ignores good advice to abandon its destructive policies which it maintains and arrogantly continues to pursue refusing to acknowledge their negative effects on the people (J. Muderedzi & Ingstad, 2011, p. 172). This body of literature although it acknowledges other factors that have led to the crisis in Zimbabwe, it insists that the African leaders have contributed at the same rate as or even more than colonial legacies to the serious social problems in post-colonial African States (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003, p. 100). It maintains that the government led by ZANU PF is the chief culprit in any plausible explanation of the Zimbabwean crisis implying that its removal from power would be the solution.

While on the other hand, the Nationalist literature on the Zimbabwean crisis which also acknowledges the suffering of the Zimbabwean people offers a different explanation to the causes. Sam Moyo and Paris Yeros, who are the major contributors to this school of thought locate the causes of the Zimbabwean crisis within the historical context and land reform paradigm. According to S. Moyo and P. Yeros (2007b, p. 103) post independent Zimbabwe has been characterised by the challenges of imperialism, neoliberalism and the influence of peripheral capitalism which have directly contributed to what has become known as the Zimbabwean crisis from the early 2000's. They argue that what is now termed the Zimbabwean crisis was in all honesty the result of a disrupted revolution embarked on by a state which had chosen to reject neo-colonialism and embark on a transformative land reform (S. Moyo & Yeros, 2007b, p. 103). While in the first decade of independence Ibo Mandaza (1986, p. 15)

had warned that settler colonialism's historical legacy of inherited economic and social structures would leave room for continued exploitation in the society and state, exposing the young country to the ravages of International Financial Institutions control. According to this school of thought it was the attempt to free itself from colonial control and take possession of its economic power which had made the Zimbabwean government to fall from grace of these powerful institutions. Phimister and Raftopoulos (2004, p. 385) who critic this view argues that, this narrative which has portrayed Mugabe and ZANU PF as champions of Pan-Africanism was their own construct designed to justify the absence of rule of law and democracy. They further accuse ZANU PF of pretending to be engaged in a continued liberation struggle against the effects of African marginalisation in the world and liberal imperialism. However, this view has been plausible given the sanctions on the government which are cited as trying to get it out of power by the western powers.

Moyo and Yeros (2007a, p. 174) criticize the internationalist school as being composed of intellectuals sympathetic to the opposition's political agenda bent on mystifying imperialism, downplaying ideals of national self-determination by obscuring the state and ignoring the land reform question. They claim that the aim of such an agenda amongst these scholars was to present a negative image of the country because its radical land reform program violated the capitalist's principles of respect of property rights threatening the principles of the dominant international order. Thus prompting Brian Raftopoulos (2006, p. 212) to note that a disturbing aspect of the Zimbabwean crisis was the way in which ZANU PF with its authoritarian politics has cast its image as a Pan-Africanist champion and a fighter of imperialism using race as the central marker of the conflict. He further notes that this has allowed the government to label the main opposition political party a puppet of the West and agents of neo-colonialism (Raftopoulos, 2006, p. 212). However, the internationalist school criticizes the nationalist school saying that the nationalist consensus upon which the liberation movement was built upon has run its course. It was now time for a new consensus built upon pluralism which acknowledges the principles of democracy, ensures human security, establishes the rule of law, governance is based on consent of the governed, tolerance of different opinions and respect of human rights (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003, p. 101). This conjures in mind the debate as to how much peace can be achieved in societies with a historical context in which economic inequality is still intact. While joining the international system based on liberalism inhibits the redressing of these unequal economic relations which then becomes consolidated by liberal ideals of respect of property ignoring colonial displacements.

4.3 A complicated crisis

There is another growing body of literature on the Zimbabwean crisis that attempts to reconcile these two schools of thought by focusing on the overlaps between the competing positions and asking new research questions in a view to offer solutions. One way of achieving this has been to view the crisis in terms of the impact it has had on the people over the years tracing some of the problems to the colonial period. Morreira (2016) does this well by looking at the Zimbabwean crisis through the concept of structural violence and arrives at the conclusion that, the roots of structural violence in the country can be found in the colonial Rhodesian social and economic structures that made it difficult for the majority to access basic services like health and education. The system also denied them access to the economy and offered them little to no human rights, persisting in independent Zimbabwe against the poor.

This strategy of looking at the crisis was effectively deployed by other academics in an edited collection of articles by Chiumbu and Musemwa titled *Crisis! What crisis?* (2012). The articles explored the different ways in which the crisis had impacted the daily lives of people, breaking down the crisis from being seen as just a single crisis they argue there were crises instead. In his article contribution Musemwa (2012, p. 23) outlines how the water crisis that culminated into an outbreak of cholera had been as a result of several factors beginning with the way Salisbury now Harare developed under colonial rule. How government policies after independence and the polarized politics after the land reform program all combine to make the crisis worse. This approach to understanding the Zimbabwean situation helps in presenting an accurate picture on how ordinary people feel the impacts of a political conflict that has mutated over the years.

Another way that has been employed is to bring these different perspectives to the front and critic them while showing why either of the positions is sufficient in explaining the complex nature of the problem. Paris Yeros (2002, p. 4) points out that one of the views promotes democratization and sides with civil society concerning itself with the conduct of free and fair elections yet it remains ignorant of the conformist nature of this approach. While the one which is nationalistic and anti-west endorses the land reform program, yet it is aware of the undemocratic tendencies of government. This prompts Zamponi (2005, p. 41), to ask the question of the “necessity of recreating a premise for the establishment of a strong relationship between the democratization processes, and fair and equal distribution of resources”. This

according to him is a critical question that has yet to be tackled in Zimbabwe, but may hold the answer if these diverging positions are to be reconciled (Zamponi, 2005, p. 41).

Raftopoulos (2006, p. 206) also observed this and notes rising tensions that emerged in the engagements of civic movements and opposition parties which resulted from conflicting views on what was the relationship between issues of human rights and the need for redressing colonial legacies. Terence Ranger (2002) highlights that history had been made to play a central role in the politics of Zimbabwe to the extent that it made it difficult for the opposition to operate. ZANU PF election campaign was rooted in redressing colonial legacies and hardly mentioned the opposition which it accused of wanting to return back the country to former colonial masters (Ranger, 2002, p. 161). It is important to note how the country has failed to move from these rhetoric decades after independence and how the land reform has become a problematic issue in the politics of Zimbabwe. This bracket of literature seeks to find the middle ground and points to an interesting question which has polarized the country and left it isolated from the Western World.

4.4 Literature on structural violence in Zimbabwe

This section will now present research that has been done on Zimbabwe that addresses the structural violence emanating from the economic, political and social problems that have gripped the nation since independence. The literature here has been chosen because it also includes the views of the leaders to the suffering experienced by people and or the authors relate the suffering to government policies or other structural factors that the people had no control over. This is important as it shows how the case study of Zimbabwe is particularly important as an example of structural violence that is acknowledged by the leaders, yet remains complex enough to trouble those working for peace.

J. Muderedzi and Ingstad (2011) paints a gloomy picture of the situation in Zimbabwe when they present the challenges faced by the government and the resultant suffering of the people quoting the UNAIDS report and independent newspapers. They note that people were dying from hunger related diseases in urban areas amidst a time when the government was faced with general international isolation, a devastating HIV/AIDS pandemic, high poverty and unemployment levels (J. Muderedzi & Ingstad, 2011, p. 173). They also point out the fact that the government denied most of the statistics, but it was clear that hundreds were perishing as a result of undernourishment and inability to access health care. They characterized this in the words of Benatar (1997, p. 1634) who defines social suffering as “a collective and individual

human suffering associated with life conditions shaped by powerful social forces". They then go on to show how amongst the Tonga community disability could be blamed on poverty and how disability also increased poverty (J. Muderedzi & Ingstad, 2011, p. 177). They trace how during the colonial times the Tonga were moved from their fertile soils to barren lands and how after independence they were subjected to famine because of government bans on food aid organizations during the election period. Thus contributing to our understanding of how structural violence has since during the colonial era been experienced by the Tonga people of Zimbabwe. The complexities of the Zimbabwean situation are accurately captured in their presentation.

Mario Zamponi (2005, p. 28) is of the view that, the crisis in Zimbabwe is as a result of a cocktail of factors such as the land reform, economic challenges, famine, violence, authoritarianism and international isolation which combine to make an explosive mixture creating social tension. He agrees with Mac Ginty and Richmond (2013, p. 173) who note that internationals stood accused of imposing neoliberal policies of economic reconstruction as was the case with Structural Adjustment Programmes in the 1980's which have been termed 'predatory disaster capitalism'. In the case of Zimbabwe, the Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) culminated into the 'Fast Track' land resettlement program which resulted in political violence and ushered in a period of major human rights violations that included torture and death for those who cared to raise their voices against the government (Zamponi, 2005, p. 28). He further highlights how the rise of neoliberal policies that saw the implementation of ESAP in Zimbabwe had the impact of increasing social and economic inequalities, that had continued after independence. The government had opted for a compromise at the Lancaster House negotiations that safeguarded the property rights of the minority, hence further eroded the legitimacy of the government which was already under scrutiny as the hopes of the black majority were fading. There was a political rift that emerged from the 2000's to present that stems from the polarization on the land question, economic hardships and government authoritarian tendencies, which have hindered the possibility of a long lasting negotiated solution (Zamponi, 2005, p. 41).

Brian Raftopoulos (2003) provides an understanding into this polarization by quoting the former minister of information Jonathan Moyo, who accused civil society organizations of supporting the Movement of Democratic Change (MDC). According to the minister these civil society organisations were guilty of trying to use political and civil rights as a justification of the

unequal economic rights of the majority of people which the government wanted to defend (Raftopoulos, 2003, p. 218). The minister further accuses the former colonial power Britain for being happy to see the country divided when others try to use political rights to defend continued economic colonial dominance in an independent Zimbabwe (Raftopoulos, 2003, p. 218). This according to Raftopoulos makes Zimbabwe an important case study for broader economic and political problems because of the linkages between colonialism, the liberation struggle and problems of post-colonial development. It is evident that the country has failed to move into development as the contestations over the land question has created a tense political environment which does not favour development.

These differences in reality manifest in accusations and counter accusations between the ruling party ZANU PF and the main opposition party Movement for Democratic Change. S. Moyo and Yeros (2007a, p. 170) notes that ZANU PF claims that the opposition intends to upset the gains of the land reform program so as to please its funders the former colonial masters, while the MDC accused the ruling party of unfair redistribution of the land to its supporters and monopolizing the land question. Lloyd Sachikonye (2002, p. 18) concludes that the case study of Zimbabwe was particularly illuminating if one realizes that the country's problems do not lie within an understanding of the land question alone but how it relates to the political and economic crisis. One can deduce that the land question has shaped the politics of Zimbabwe and has informed the existing entrenched positions. One party says they will not let their economic rights go while the other says it will not let its political rights go, the result has been untold suffering for the ordinary people as the elites hold on to their positions.

Brian Raftopoulos (2006, pp. 214-215) further discusses the factors that have enabled the ruling party and its leaders to gather local and international support within Africa and the Third World. He points out the inefficiencies of the human rights discourse arguing that since it is not a theoretical tool of understanding social and political relationships, it was limited to being a means of exposing forms of oppression and at best could be an ideology of resistance. He notes that the opposition was incapable of solving the immense challenge of establishing a broad political movement based on the idea of citizenship- rights across the rural and urban society divide. While the ZANU PF government sought legitimacy by rallying onto the question of race and justified the land seizures as part of redressing historical imbalances between white and black people calling out the American new imperialism agenda (Raftopoulos, 2006, p. 206). Thus in spite of being placed under sanctions the ZANU PF leader Robert Mugabe became

idolized by some African states for standing up to the capitalist west. Brian Raftopoulos (2006) poses the question of how to solve the difficult task of coming up with an anti-imperialist critique and a different way of doing things that can be anti-capitalist and also democratic, which can result in the establishment of a democratic culture that is capable of challenging the imperial tendencies. This question if answered may hold the answer to the challenges faced by the people of Zimbabwe. This research investigates the perspectives of leaders on structural violence with the aim to see if these can help peace practitioners deal with this deadly form of violence.

4.5 Conclusion

The literature on Zimbabwe reflects the political divisions within the country and makes clear the contestations of the various dominant discourses. The effects of colonialism and international institutions such as the IMF and economic sanctions placed on Zimbabwe have been pointed out by nationalist scholars as the root cause of the suffering in Zimbabwe. While the internationalist scholars point to the unwillingness to democratize, an exhausted nationalism, corruption, bad governance, poor economic policies and the chaotic land reform as the major causes of structural violence in Zimbabwe. While other scholars choose to emphasize the significance of all these factors in the suffering of the people. However, there is gap when it comes to literature that directly speaks to structural violence and goes beyond apportioning of blame without detailing the nature of the negative impacts. This research shifts from this paradigm and shows how a full appreciation of the challenges facing the community of Harare in particular and Zimbabwe in general is possible through an understanding of the perspectives of its leaders. A shift in view brings about hope in prospects of ending structural violence and points to common interest, which should be the role of social inquiry in historically marginalised societies.

Chapter 5 Data Presentation and Analysis

This chapter presents the data gathered in the field from archival documents, online archives and interviews with informants, using participant observation and document analysis, gathering data that spoke to the research objectives. It is divided into two main sections, while the first section answers the question on what is the historical context that has shaped perceptions on structural violence? It presents data mainly gathered from the Zimbabwe National Archives that lays out the historical context of structural violence and captures the perspectives of the leaders at that time. The second section answers the question on how do leaders perceive structural violence? It presents data on the perceptions of leaders in independent Zimbabwe that were obtained through interviews conducted by the researcher and those obtained through online archives. This data has been grouped under three subsections representing the main themes identified during the coding of data mainly drawn from interviews conducted in the field. Data obtained from participant observation will also be presented in this section. The chapter will then conclude by a summary of key findings.

5.1 The Historical Context: Leaders' perspective on Structural Violence in Rhodesia

In the letters of Captain T. B. Baines written between the 1940's and 1950's, from Southern Rhodesia back home to his friends in America are accounts of the treatment Africans received from the white Rhodesian and the perspectives of both parties. These letters are preserved at the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ) and have been used by other researchers to reconstruct colonial relations between the coloniser and the colonised in southern Rhodesia (Jeater, 2018). There is one letter in which he describes a story of an African man called Timon Muparati whom he met in June 1958 (NAZ, MS3/5/1). He talks of how Timon had worked hard getting education at a mission school, which had qualified him for an office job as a clerk at the Native Commissioners office. He had worked there happy even though his salary was lower than that of his European counterparts but he loved his job. At the end of the Second World War and the coming in of more Europeans resulted in him losing his job to a man from England. Timon became the new tea boy, when Captain T. B. Baines met him, he noted that there was a bitterness in Timon's speech and that he had told him about his thoughts to join the Mau Mau (a borrowed term from Kenya to refer to freedom fighters in Zimbabwe).

It is stories like this that capture the meaning of structural violence as is understood by this research, for they represent how ordinary people become victims of powerful structures in the society arising in them a feeling of injustice. This suffering becomes evident that observers

struggle to make sense of it as is explained in one of the letters dated 26 April 1948, Captain T. B. Baines writes, “If there is not enough land and aren’t enough jobs, that’s too bad for the Africans because the Whites will obviously take what they want. But why add salt to injury? And why treat a pathetically friendly people as if they were not human?” There is thus a sense of dehumanizing that is associated with structural violence. Mzamane (1980, p. 37) years later described the situation noting that “... Rhodesian blacks became the victims of the worst acts of brigandage their oppressors could conceive, against which no amount of reasoning or appeal to human decency could prevail”. It becomes apparent how this suffering yields the potential to end in violence and should therefore be of primary concern for leaders to address. Captain T. B. Baines concluded that, he found their frightful poverty worrying and warned that there was an urgent need for leaders to rethink their policies, with the benefit of hindsight it is clear the advice was ignored.

This section presents data on the views and perceptions of leaders on the structural violence within Rhodesia which is understood in the context of experiences such as the one discussed in Timon’s story told by Captain T. B. Baines. The perspectives from government Officials, liberation struggle leaders, church leaders and civil society will be presented. A short summery of this section will sum up the arguments made.

5.1.1 The Voices

The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) in Rhodesia issued a report in 1975 titled *The man in the middle* which emphasized the need to alleviate the suffering of the ordinary people caught in-between the war of liberation (NAZ, RG3/DEF-4). The report was aimed at warning the authorities in Rhodesia to refrain from using excessive force against the ordinary people who were not part of the insurgent forces. It stated that, communist influences spread rapidly in societies which ignore the grievances of the underprivileged and these grievances were present across all rural communities in Rhodesia. These rural communities according to the report had failed to develop into economic growth points and were now a sign of rapid deterioration into huge rural slums where residents have become a broken and embittered people. The CCJP went on to warn that the man in the middle (ordinary people) could not be won over to support the Rhodesian government by being beaten, tortured and maimed. The destruction of his home by bombing from the air, destroying his crops and driving away his cattle also could not be effective ways of gaining support, what was needed was to restore and respect his dignity as a human being and guarding the rule of law (CCJP, 1975:2). The report shows how the continued use of force could only result in making an already displeased people even more

angry. It shows that at this point in history it was best for the Rhodesian government to restore the dignity of the African man which years of colonial dominance had stripped him of.

The Government did not claim to be oblivious of the suffering of the people and the negative effects of its policies. In Chiweshe the government acknowledged the rise in disease and the hardships the villagers had faced. Doctor Hill stated that the conditions of villagers in protected villages were appalling, this was because of the overcrowding in these protected villages (NAZ, RG3/DEF-4,1978). He gives the example of Nyachuru which only had one built up structure, with the majority of the families living in the open, while it also had no running water and no sanitation. Describing the process as being like picking up animals from one field to the other. These living conditions resulted in increased reports of malnutrition, and health problems such as venereal diseases. Some families were being moved as far as 300 miles away from their homes as a way of depriving the insurgent forces of support.

In the Zambezi valley where the government policy was to deny the insurgency of food and cover, cases of new diseases were reported amongst children. These diseases have been linked to the use of defoliants to spray the vegetation from the air. In addition, the protected villages where they are being moved to are crowded with each family being accorded 15 square meters for setting up a homestead with a toilet and a well for supplying water. This has led to the outbreak of stagnant water diseases such as typhoid, diarrhoea and malaria. The CCJP also noted cases of abuse of women by the security at these protected villages, stating that women were forced to sleep with these guards if they did not want their husbands to be falsely accused for collaborating with the insurgency which was punishable by beating and torture, sometimes even death. This is what Mbulelo Mzamane (1980, p. 34) described as institutionalised violence in which human rights were seen dangling on canine jaws, capturing the cruelty visited upon those suspected of helping guerrillas. The abused women could not tell their husbands lest they ruin the marriage, while young women in contemporary society are also seen having to agree to sexual abuse as a way for them and their families to survive.

The Christian Care a faith based organisation which was in operation in Rhodesia worked providing assistance to the families of political prisoners during the Liberation struggle. In its annual general meeting report of 21 March 1970, it noted that most of the projects it had started and were a vital means of survival for families in the country side had deteriorated because of absence of owners (NAZ, MS1194/1/1). They had done further research in the Selukwe (now Shurugwi) area which had the largest number of *restrictees* (political prisoners not allowed to

leave their homes) and detainees (those imprisoned without trial) of the war. The area was also prone to constant droughts and it had just survived a brutal dry spell that resulted in the deaths of many cattle, and this meant that they had to increase the amount of support they gave to the families of the detainees and *restrictees*. Hebert T. Musikavanhu (the brother of the nationalist Joseph Msika who became Vice President in independent Zimbabwe from 1999-2009) wrote in a letter seeking support for his brother's family describing the policy of the Rhodesian government. It is the policy and practice of the RF (Rhodesian Front) regime to render families of detainees and *Restrictees* destitute thereby breaking up families and the moral of the detainee concerned (NAZ, MS1082/5/18). While Kenneth Mufuka (1977, p. 59) notes how the leaders of the liberation struggle left their families vulnerable while in detention, with Reverend Sithole's family forced to flee into exile. Robert Mugabe's wife Sally was forced to return to Ghana as she was left stranded in Salisbury where their only son died while her husband was in detention for 11 years. This suffering and personal experiences of the leaders has been cited as being the source of their hard stances in independent Zimbabwe, while some say it gives them a sense of self entitlement to the country's resources (Muvingi, 2008; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003). The Leaders of the Africans were willing to go through this suffering however because to them the price was worthy it.

In the document *Our Path to Liberation* agreed on 20 November 1976, noted that colonial dominance prevented the rapid political and economic progress which alone could guarantee land, bread, the development of our culture, peace and happiness for all our people (NAZ, MS1082/5/18). The question of land had been used as a mobilizing factor for the liberation movements who got support from peasants who had been dispossessed and moved into more barren locations in the reserves. Mbulelo Mzamane (1980, p. 37) warned that if the economic imbalances were not addressed the greatest danger to the leadership was posed by the young freedom fighters who had been conscientised to understand that real freedom lay in reversing the unequal distribution of resources. This has shaped any discussion on the question of land in independent Zimbabwe and the sentiments by veterans of the struggle. A former minister and freedom fighter Chen Chimutengwende said that, those who died during the liberation struggle would have died in vain if land had remained in the hands of the former colonial settlers (Journeyman Pictures, 2015). The question of land was central since the formation of the liberation movements and from independence. Muvingi (2008) notes that ZANU PF has managed to continue with a façade of democracy because of the people's consent which comes from the land resettlement after independence.

This section shows how structural violence played out in colonial Zimbabwe and how this shaped the attitudes of the former liberation fighters. The voices of the church, government officials and observers like Captain T. B. Baines which spoke against structural violence were ignored. A violent war broke out in which negotiations which brought about a compromise at Lancaster House resulted in a negative peace settlement. The country has to this day struggled to move beyond the polarised politics that emerged out of an attempt to answer the historical questions of land and ending structural violence.

5.2 Contemporary perspectives on structural violence

This section presents data on the perspectives of leaders on structural violence in Harare. It is noted that the term leader is understood as a person who has authority or influence, while a perspective is understood to mean a particular way of considering something. These perspectives were gathered through interviews conducted by the researcher and other interviews from the print and electronic media. Also data obtained in the field by means of participant observation shall also be presented as it provides the context in which the perspectives of the leaders can be understood. They have been separated into three different categories based on the main theme they represent. The first part consists of views that have been classified as the internal views which try to make sense of structural violence basing mainly on local factors. The second view has been classified as the external view which represents views that focus on the role of factors that do not emanate from within the country, and the third view which identifies mainly apolitical factors and is inclined to more neutral solutions to the structural violence in the country.

5.2.1 Perspectives that point to internal factors

The government of Zimbabwe in a memo dated 2 August 2016 announced that, “the public Service Commission has frozen the filling of all vacant critical, non-critical and promotional posts with immediate effect” (Sunday News, 2 August 2016). The freeze has remained in effect with the newspaper *Newsday* of June 13, 2017 reporting that, the government claimed to have been saving 10 million United States dollars a month as a result of this freeze. The secretary in the ministry of Finance Mr Manungo said that the health and education sector had been allowed to hire at a limited level just to cover critical gaps (*Newsday*, 13 June 2017). It was while in the field that I understood the meaning of the ban in the lives of ordinary people.

During my fieldwork I conducted some participant observation at the *Parirenyatwa* group of hospitals, usually sitting at the café outside where most people sit waiting the visiting hours.

The place is usually crowded with relatives of patients after the lunch visit and there I was able to listen in to conversations of the experiences and complains of people with the healthcare service at the country's biggest referral hospital. I heard stories of patients having been neglected, wrongly diagnosed with diseases and treated leading to loss of life. An old schoolmate who I met told me that he was visiting a sick relative who had just gotten a head scan done. A few weeks later he told me of the passing away of the relative whilst still waiting for the scan report which was delayed because of the shortage of specialists who could read and interpret head scans. There are many stories of how the under resourced hospitals in Harare have been accused of being behind the deaths of many people. The Al Jazeera made a report of the story of a woman named Thandikile whose medical condition worsened because she had to wait for the Doctor for 3 days at a public hospital (Al Jazeera, 24 December 2019). The public health care system has become more of a death trap for the poor who cannot afford private healthcare.

While these stories maybe disputed as classic cases of structural violence they show how decisions taken by authorities can have a direct impact on the lives of people and in most cases effects are only felt by a few people at a time in isolated cases. The stories of loss of life in Zimbabwean hospitals due to lack of medical equipment, neglect by protesting health workers and shortages of health personnel are the norm rather than the exception. The President of Zimbabwe in his televised address to the nation on 20 September 2019 referred to initial government reports that suggested several cases of reported deaths and permanent damage that were a direct result of the industrial action by health care workers (ZBC Online, 20 September 2019). While he urged the doctors to go back to work a few paid heed to this call which resulted in 400 doctors being dismissed from their duties by the government which had disastrous consequences for those who rely solely on the public health care system. The doctors cite underpayment and shortage of essential equipment at the hospital at a time the government is faced with acute foreign currency shortages to import these medical supplies (Al Jazeera English, 16 November 2019). Mike Chipere (2020, pp. 1-2) mourned the way in which senior government officials were flown outside the country for medical treatment at a time when local doctors were reporting of a slow genocide taking place as a result of the deplorable state of the healthcare system in the country. The negative impact on the lives of the people remain while the government says that the doctors are abandoning their call of duty and doctors say the government has abandoned its duty to pay them above the poverty datum line and provide them with support to carry out their call of duty (Al Jazeera, 16 November 2019).

The views presented under this section are classified as internal for their emphasis on the centrality of internal factors on how structural violence in Zimbabwe can be perceived. These views cite ill-conceived policies such as the freezing of posts mentioned above, corruption, leadership issues and incompetence on the part of the government. They also explain the structural violence in terms of the misconstrued aspirations of the liberation struggle. These views were noted mainly from the leaders in the opposition movement, some civic society leaders and some civil service members. The leaders perceived structural violence in political terms or through political spectacles, suggesting that the main problem was political.

5.2.2 The question of leadership

The structural violence experienced by the people in Harare in particular and Zimbabwe in general has been attributed to the nature and character of the leadership and perceived as a result of their actions or inactions. This way of making sense of the structural violence in the country was dominant in all of the interviews albeit being explained in different ways depending on the political standing of the individual involved. The leader of the Movement for Democratic Change, Nelson Chamisa said that, in Africa everything rises and falls with leadership and was of the view that once the leadership becomes right then everything will become right because there was no shortage of resources in the continent (Oxford Union, 11 May 2018). In the case of Zimbabwe, he said that, the country had been blessed with all resources, competent hardworking people and a peace loving people, except leadership. Chamisa argued that the leadership of former president Robert Mugabe and current president Emmerson Mnangagwa were guilty of turning the nation into a Pariah state and a Banana republic. This view is echoed by Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003, p. 100) who argues that “even though colonial legacy created many problems for Africa, the contributions of the African leaders themselves could not be ignored”. While Mike Chipere (2020, p. 1) arrives at the conclusion that what Zimbabwe needed was the removal of the kleptocratic and dictatorship of Emmerson Mnangagwa and the ruling party ZANU PF. The failure to respond or address the appalling socio-economic challenges facing the people has made the government and its leaders to be seen as the main source of structural violence in Zimbabwe.

5.2.3 The liberation struggle narrative

The liberation struggle through which Zimbabwe won its independence has been seen both as a cause of structural violence and a reason to end this structural violence. The narrative of the liberation struggle under this view is that, the people united and fought against colonialism, but

their hopes have been dampened by a leadership that has continued in the ways of the colonial master. According to Nelson Chamisa the 2018 presidential elections were to be the ones that marked the departure from the liberation promise to the transformation process that would be led by the new generation. He said that, the liberation had been chequered by an exhausted nationalism whose leaders had forgotten that occupying offices of power is not for self-empowerment and that they had not fought for themselves alone but for everyone (Oxford Union, 11 May 2018). In an interview Tendai Biti the former minister of finance from 2009 to 2013 stated that corruption was a huge tax on the people of Zimbabwe and cited illicit financial flows in excess of 3 billion United States of American dollars in one year of the period he was minister. He further pointed out that one does not have to go far to notice the evidence which is seen by luxurious lifestyles of ZANU PF politicians who import million dollar cars (263 Chat, 14 December 2016). The leaders of the liberation struggle also stand accused of forgetting about service and sacrifice while focusing on themselves, building a parasitic elite bent on self-aggrandizement at the expense of the general populace (263 Chat, 14 December 2016).

The liberation struggle narrative was also understood in the context of the role the army took in the defence of the nationalist ideals or leaders. This stemmed from the close ties between the nationalist leaders and the army generals who had been compatriots during the war. The army stands accused of having declared that it would only salute a President who was a veteran of the liberation struggle and has been seen playing an active role during the elections period in Zimbabwe. The army General Constantine Chiwenga in a press briefing made it clear that the army would not hesitate to intervene in politics if it felt that the Zimbabwean revolution was threatened and it was prepared to safeguard the gains of the liberation struggle (BBC News, 15 November 2017). The general was later to switch office and got a high position within ZANU PF (becoming the vice president of the country in 2017) making the distinction between the party and the army very blur. In an interview with a youth leader from the opposition movement he said that the government was a military junta regime and it was responsible for the suffering of the people and deaths of others in January shootings earlier this year (16-18 January 2019), and the only way forward was to have it removed from power (interview with IF1, 17 May 2019). The army has become a common feature in society even taking the responsibility to police demonstrations which resulted in deaths of civilians on August 1 2018 soon after elections and also in January 2019. Brian Raftopoulos (2006, p. 208) saw this earlier concluding that the ruling party was holding on to power using the liberation struggle narrative and a

nationalist politics that undermined any prospects for democratic transformation. A point which is difficult to refute when the recent army involvements in the state are examined.

5.2.4 Government's insincerity

The structural violence in Harare was seen to be as a result of government's insincerity to the people's suffering and actually being the source of the structural violence. The nature of government which was structured in a way as to centralize all power in the hands of a few individuals who can influence the judiciary and control security forces. Mr Chamisa characterized this as a problem that emanated from the failure to move from the 'big man' to 'big ideas', from 'strong man' to 'strong institutions' (Nelson Chamisa, 20 November 2019). The big personalities of Mugabe the former president is seen as having been the major cause of the suffering as he had almost single headedly directed the policies of the government and his ruling party. This hindered the development of strong institutions that have an oversight role on the government. In addition, the government has been 'persecuting its citizens instead of protecting them' and the government of Emmerson Mnangagwa has continued with the politics of marginalization, corruption, unemployment and the politics of making sure that the people are shut out from any decision making (Nelson Chamisa, 20 November 2019). These grievances against the state have remained with only the list growing over the years. Mr Chamisa has refused to accept the results of the 2018 election which was upheld by the Supreme court after his party contested it, which he says the judiciary is captured and the people's will to select leaders is not respected hence his stolen victory (Nelson Chamisa, 20 November 2019).

The government's constant resort to force has been cited as a form of institutionalised violence in which the state security uses its monopoly over violence to instil fear and coerce citizens. IF1 said the so called new dispensation of ED (president Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa's acronym) has shown itself to be even more brutal than that of Mugabe which used police to beat up citizens by unleashing armed soldiers to shoot protesting citizens in the streets (interview with IF1). While the government spokesperson George Charamba denied this saying it was wrong to look at the issue from one side because army actions were a direct response to the violent nature of the protest which threatened the authority of the state hence it was justified to step in and restore law and order (Zimpapers Digital, 23 January 2019). This attempt to defend army brutality is hard to justify given that the citizens were not armed with guns themselves and rubber bullets could have been used. Howard-Hassmann (2010, p. 898) states that the government was responsible for major human rights violations which included state-

induced famine, state funded violence, illegal mass expulsions, and systemic rape. Thus structural violence is perceived as being a product of the government's actions and its violation of human rights.

5.2.5 Rejecting democratization and isolation

The structural violence was also seen through the aspect of refusal to democratize and the resultant international isolation. The results of international isolation which has brought untold suffering on the people of Zimbabwe are seen as the result of the persistent refusal by ZANU PF to democratize the nation and give the people a chance to freely choose their own leader. "Only a few are surviving through corruption, for the rest of our people life is hell on earth because of bad governance, human rights abuse, corruption, we are now under isolation" (Nelson Chamisa, 20 November 2019). This isolation can be ended if the government agrees to electoral reforms that we have been calling for, for the past years, to end this slow genocide of our people by this rogue state, a mafia (Nelson Chamisa, 20 November 2019. According to Grebe (2010, p. 9) the US imposed sanctions that prohibited the cancellation of debt or the offering of any financial assistance by the International Monetary Institutions unless the president signed a certificate showing improvements in human rights and also fitting the good governance criteria. The sanctions were a way to make the government reform, the opposition leader said he found it amusing that the government had to be forced to respect the rights of its own citizens questioning if a real elected government would do such a shameful thing (Nelson Chamisa, 20 November 2019). The government is blamed for the sanctions and it is even seen as sanctions against the people because of its refusal to democratize.

5.3 Perspectives that point to external factors

The Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZimStat) in its most recent publication presents unemployment as being 11.3%, it also indicated that 52.3 % of the total employed were self-account employed mostly in farming and only 14% were paid employees (ZimStat, 2015, p. 41). While the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) in their survey reported that unemployment was 90% noting that the majority of the people were making a living in the informal economy (BBC News, 15 November 2017). Chipere (2020, p. 2) notes that with only about 10% of the people in the formal economy the role of trade unions in Zimbabwean politics was now negligible than ever before. These statistics barely tell of how unemployment is felt and experienced by the youth in Harare, I will share a story that I heard from one of my

interviewees that may shed light on the desperation of the situation the youths in Harare find themselves in.

While in the field I visited the house of a prominent ZANU PF leader and activist in her local community she had stood for elections in the previous election and lost to the opposition. IF2 a middle aged woman told me upon my arrival that she had just arrived from a burial ceremony from which she came back in a hurry as we had planned to meet. She said she was very angry that, the government had been emasculated by the economic sanctions to the extent that young lives had to be lost in this way. She then went on to share the story of this young lady whose funeral she had just attended. The mother of the deceased was an industrious vendor at the local market in this community and she had toiled to send her daughter to school, who was a bright student. The mother had struggled to send her child to the University of Zimbabwe from which she had graduated 4 years earlier from the time of her passing away, with a degree in Sociology. In the 4 years after her graduation, she had failed to find a job and had continued to financially be dependent on her mother. She had taken her life by drinking poison leaving a note to her mother, inscribed “I cannot continue to watch you suffer, all I had wanted was to also take care of you and not be a burden”. IF2 battled to hold her tears and she was visibly angry that, the sanctions had led to the closing of industries and unemployment for the youths, saying she felt sorry for me as I was a student, but hoped I would be strong if I did not get a job after graduating (interview with IF2, 6 June 2019).

The story captures the predicament of the youth in Zimbabwe as even education does not guarantee that you will climb up the social ladder. An increasing number of graduates who in most cases shy away from the minimal income associated with informal employment become increasingly frustrated as the prospects of getting formally employed are very low leading to depression. The police spokesperson assistant commissioner Paul Nyathi said in three months they had recorded a total of 129 suicide cases mostly young people in 2019 and these were linked to financial distress and social problems, while the World Health organisation ranked Zimbabwe 19 on suicide rates (HealthTimes, 21 June 2019). The state of the country’s economy thus poses a danger to the mental health of young people who find themselves trapped in poverty and unable to climb up the social ladder. IF2 presents another dimension through which some leaders make sense of the structural violence on in which emphasis is placed on external forces such as economic sanctions to explain how structural violence manifests in the society

and is felt at the individual level. This section will present the findings that mainly stress the impact of external factors in their perceptions of structural violence in Zimbabwe.

5.3.1 The government cares, but climate change

The government has always posed as the champions of national sovereignty and an empowering government, setting up women empowerment banks and youth empowerment banks. It also has carried out the indigenization and empowerment program with the aim of taking back the economic power which was lost during colonialism. In an interview the late former president Robert Mugabe said political power was acceptable upon independence as a way to achieve sovereignty but it alone without economic power was tantamount to accepting continued colonial occupation (Journeyman Pictures, 5 June 2003). The government has since the land reform actively supported the subsistence and commercial farmers with inputs. In his televised State of the Nation Address in 2016, president Mugabe noted that the government had set aside money to support some 800 000 communal famers with inputs for the agricultural season to boost food security (ZBC Online, 9 December 2016). These efforts are acknowledged by the ruling party's supporters and have endeared it with the communal areas electorate which has consistently gave it votes. In an interview with IF3 a ZANU PF youth leader who is a member of the National youth league maintained that the government was sincere in addressing the plight of the people and pointed to the establishment of the empowerment banks and the land reform as evidence of a government that cares about its people. Adding that we are now owners of our own land and not servants of anyone which is better than other African states (interview with IF3, June 8 2019). The government and the ruling party pride themselves in their empowerment programmes and see the structural violence as a form of punishment by capitalist powers against the emancipation of blacks.

In a state address televised on 20 September 2019, the president Emmerson Mnangagwa spoke to the nation regarding the escalating prices of basic goods, striking healthcare workers, and the declining water supply and worsening sewer system in Harare (ZBC Online, 20 September 2019). The president said government was aware and concerned at the plight of its workers whose wages were being eroded by the hyper-inflation that was a result of the new currency stabilization efforts. But that because of the draught and the impact of cyclone Idai, which were all climate change induced disasters, the government was forced to redirect some of the funding to draught relief and combating the effects of the cyclone. He also appealed to the health professionals to bear with the government and return to work and save precious lives of fellow

countrymen as in the few days they had abandoned posts reports of deaths that could have been avoided had reached him (ZBC Online, 20 September 2019). Thus, the government really cared for its people but could not do much given the unexpected consequences of climate change. These were suffered in spite of Zimbabwe's emissions of harmful gasses being negligible yet its exposure to climate change related crisis was horrendous. Thus, they would keep on advocating at international level for action that reduces the impact of global warming on poorer countries like Zimbabwe.

The government is concerned but sabotage

The government refused to take blame for any human rights violations citing that there was stage managed abductions aimed at tainting its international image. The government also bemoaned economic sabotage by some elements of the business community, refusing to acknowledge that it was only its policies affecting the pricing of basic goods. Thus the people were being made to suffer as a result of these engineered acts of sabotage (ZBC Online, 20 September 2019). The president said that the abductions of civic leaders, opposition activists, labour unionists and even artists, was equal to terrorism as it casts the nation in bad light and served to derail the country's efforts to move forward (ZBC Online, 2019). Government was concerned with the abduction of the Junior Doctors Association president Peter Magombeyi, which had resulted in all doctors going on strike in solidarity with him that had resulted in patients being unattended and had resulted in loss of life (ZBC Online, 2019). The government however, promised to tighten its measure to curb this surge in these abductions which it believed were the hand of its enemies.

The government was also faced with economic sabotage as several companies and banks had been accused of fuelling the exchange rate on the parallel foreign exchange market. The president said "We concede, that the New Monetary Policies and the draught may have had an effect on the escalation of prices, however we do not believe that these prices are justified". The business community has shown greediness and profiteering tendencies by their unjustifiable increases of prices without reason. If the business community refuses to show compassion to fellow citizens and continue like this the government will be forced to intervene, though this is not its will (ZBC Online, 20 September 2019). Chen Chimutengwende former information minister had blamed the 'white community' which owned more than 80 % of business for trying to fix the government for its land reform programme by hiking prices of basic commodities unjustifiably (Journeyman Pictures, 2 March 2015). This sabotage of the

economy has been pointed out as the source of increased hardship for the people with the former president Robert Mugabe saying that, the British and the Americans were attempting to get his regime overthrown as they did in Ghana with Nkrumah's government (Journeyman Pictures, 5 June 2003). This has made dialogue difficult as the government has refused to accept anything they feel is associated with the west saying it will not be coerced into a dialogue that does not involve the people of Zimbabwe coming together with a common view. The opposition had to recognise the legitimacy of the president first before any dialogue could take place Journeyman Pictures, 5 June 2003). While successive elections in Zimbabwe have seen a contested outcome it has meant that the main opposition has refused to accept any dialogue with the condition of accepting the legitimacy of the ruling party.

5.3.2 The government is trying, but sanctions

The question of sanctions and their impact on the ordinary citizens have been a source of great debate with others convinced that they only hurt ZANU PF leaders and others saying there were harming the ordinary people. However, the government has for years continued to call for the removal of sanctions and cite them as the biggest reason for its failure to significantly transform the economy or improve the standards of living. Addressing the United Nations General Assembly, the late former president Robert Mugabe noted that, the greatest impediment to the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's) was the burden of punitive and heinous sanctions imposed by hegemonic and neo-imperialist powers. Adding that the current economic system in the world was skewed against Africa and perpetuated historical economic inequalities (SABC News, 22 September 2017). The Southern African Development Community adopted to its calendar a day against sanctions in solidarity with Zimbabwe to be commemorated on the 25th of October. President Mnangagwa in a speech to mark the day said that, sanctions are slowing down the economic recovery of the country and also punishing the poorest and most vulnerable members of the society (Ministry of Information publicity, 25 October 2019). The government it seems has been able to justify its shortcomings when it comes to service delivery by pointing at the sanctions. According to Makaye and Munhande (2008, p. 51) the sanctions have brought untold suffering on the ordinary people of Zimbabwe and have failed to have any impact on the intransigent leadership of ZANU PF. Whether the government's is justified or not, is not the focus of this research however, my observations and interviews in the field showed evidence of declining basic service delivery.

The school head I interviewed noted that the government had totally stopped or greatly reduced the amount of support it gave to public schools. The schools were now more reliant on school levies which was burdening the parents who had not been spared with the economic meltdown in the country. The result has been an increase in the number of school drop outs which served to perpetuate the vicious cycle of poverty in already poor communities in Harare (interview with IF5, 16 June 2019). A nurse in charge of a local clinic told me that the government was no longer providing essential supplies such as drugs, gloves and other required material for the maternity ward prompting them to ask women to bring their own supplies including water and even candles in some cases when they come to give birth (interview with IF7, 23 June 2019). If this can be blamed on sanctions or not can still be debatable but what is clear is that sanctions have provided an excuse for government to justify reduced service delivery making life difficult for poor communities who find it difficult to fill the void left.

5.4 The third view

In an interview with IF5 a headmaster at a local primary school in Tafara he remarked “I do not know if there will be a future to talk of for most of the kids in this community”, when I had commented on their role as educators to build future leaders. IF5 gave a brisk summary of the trap in which the children in the community he serves were struggling to see an escape route from. He said the children see no hope as there are no positive role models in society those who got degrees are unemployed and roaming the streets and their teachers are visibly struggling to make a living on a minimal wage. Their parents are failing to pay school fees and because the government is no longer supporting us with teaching materials as educators we have no option but to send children back home until they have paid the fees we need to buy supplies. In most cases these are the kids you end up hearing are now doing drugs and prostitution at ‘Gaza’ (a brothel which sparked national controversy because it was a place of child prostitution) (interview with IF5). The educator failed to see how possibly these kids could escape from such a situation, citing how difficult it was for them to motivate these children to take their studies seriously.

The case of Gaza a house in the community of Tafara which had been brought to the attention of the country by an organisation known as Katswe Sisterhood. It was a hub of drug and sexual abuse of minors attracting children sent away from school for failure to pay school fees. The member of parliament Priscilla Misihairambwe-Mushonga together with the member of parliament for Tafara James Maridadi moved a motion to discuss the problem of child

prostitution in the parliament. They castigated the government for failing to protect these children and arresting men who stood accused of having sexually violated these children by engaging in prostitution with minors (Newsday, 27 September 2017). The ministry of social welfare reported that it had rescued some 54 children from other brothels like Gaza but still more had to be done. Hence IF5 questioned if there would be a future for the community if children below 15 years were being pushed into such hopeless situations and being exposed to drug and sexual abuse.

5.4.1 We are to blame ourselves

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in their 2019 Human Development Report note that 21.4 % of Zimbabweans live below the income poverty line, but this does not tell the full story. A measure of Multi-dimensional Poverty Indicator (MPI) shows that 31.8 % are Multi-dimensionally Poor and an extra 27.4 % are vulnerable to MPI (UNDP, 2019). The MPI is measured as the amount of deprivation that is suffered by individuals based on access to health, education and standards of living. A journalist sparked debate on social media when he posted a video of a well-known preacher Tudor Bismak in which he shocked his congregants after narrating a story which he said had changed his life. The clergy man told his congregation that while he was taking a jog home from the Mabvuku Turnoff road, he had seen something that shocked him so much he thought it was not real. He had seen a woman sitting by the roadside eating a dead dog. He said he knew that people were struggling in Zimbabwe but had never seen anything this heart breaking. He then contrasted this to the wedding ceremony he had attended later that evening and how there was a lot of food and the most expensive cars in the world, crying out what have we turned into as a society (Chin'ono, 15 December 2019). The story is told here because it illustrates the position of desperation the poorest within the society are in (it is not cultural amongst all ethnic groups in Zimbabwe to eat a dog let alone an animal that has died on its own) and contrasts this to the position of extreme wealth amongst the elites in the society. It also asks what role society has to do with this situation as he went on to pledge to change even his own lifestyle so as to help others.

This section presents findings mainly from those who chose to look at the structural violence as being a product and consequence of the actions and inactions of the greater society. This group comprised of mainly civil society, religious leaders, academics, grassroots politicians, youth leaders and some government Officials. It also tended to be the dominant view amongst those of my informants who in spite of political affiliations chose to speak on individual basis

and not from organizational points of view. Themes that emerged from an analysis of these interviews include a system of neglect, high level decision making, political polarisation, institutional barriers, a captured civil society and dependency on leaders and an unconscious citizen. The majority of those within this school of thought do not see structural violence as something that citizens are innocent victims of, but something which they allow themselves to go through because of the relationships they have shaped with their leaders.

5.4.2 The insincerity of the politician

On the question of whether as leaders you are sincere in your efforts to end or alleviate the effects of structural violence the answer turned out to be yes and no. Whereas most interviewees agreed that, they did not enjoy to see the people suffering and doubted that any amongst their fellow leaders did so, they disagreed that their efforts showed sincerity whilst others cited incapacitation. IF8 a provincial youth leader in the Movement for Democratic Change and active civil society member pointed out that the top leaders who had the most power though they were aware of the visible urban poverty, they were far removed from the reality of the situation to feel for the people. While those closer to the people like some members of parliament and councillors lacked the necessary capacity to change the material conditions of the people (interview with IF8, 21 July 2019). IF4 who has been a civil society worker and member for 8 years noted that even if the leaders were sincere the levels of poverty and need to look out for their own survival undermined their sincerity noting how some even expected allowances when invited to community developmental programs within their own constituencies (interview with IF4, 3 August 2019). A councillor belonging to the Movement for Democratic Change IF12 noted that, the parliament has in the last 2 years shown itself to be more concerned with securing comfortable allowances for itself than demanding the alignment of laws to the constitution that would guarantee more freedoms for the ordinary people (interview with IF12, 11 August 2019). It is thus within the context of an incapacitated and a detached leadership or a selfish one, that IF8 describes the structural violence so widespread within urban areas as a result of ‘the people being alone’, with no one to shield them or ensure the provision of the most basic social services.

5.4.3 The system that victimizes

There has over the years developed a socio-economic and political system that has had a negative impact on the lives of people and it has perpetuated itself making all prisoners of it. It therefore emasculates both the people and their leaders reducing prospects for social change. IF4 spoke of it as the problem of demand and supply, noting that “the people were not demanding service delivery hence there was no supply from the leader”, but far from being simple. “The people became dependent on their leaders who assumed the role of service providers and the leaders then use this position as a means of staying relevant and retaining power”. The result was a system in which service delivery is at the mercy of the leaders who can choose whether to provide it or not and at what time to do so. An academic at the University of Zimbabwe IF11 defined it as a system of neglect, which allowed leaders to exploit public resources as there was no mechanism of accountability in place (interview with IF11, 26 July 2019).

IF6 an MP of one Harare constituency accused the other MP’s of not reporting and accounting for the money given for constituency development programs, while his feedback report to parliament was ignored by other parliamentarians (interview with IF6, 12 June 2019). IF4 commented that, in such an environment it becomes difficult even for the most well-meaning leader to influence or effect change. IF8 also noted that, the leaders begin to amass wealth for themselves and this is made worse because they lack the necessary intelligence to multiply the available state resources so as to distribute service delivery. While IF12 also blamed the political structure for infiltrating the private and state enterprises crippling service delivery. Thus the structural violence in Zimbabwe had to be understood within the context of this system which allows politicians to profit from the positions they hold at the expense of the people and poverty reduction.

5.4.4 The people have a hand in this

Structural violence is seen as a product of how the society organizes itself and its resources. On the question if people could be blamed for the endemic structural violence in their societies, there was no consensus but there seemed to be a notion that people could play a role to change the narratives of their societies. This view underlay most of the contributions in this section as most refused to see the people as helpless victims. IF4 observed that Zimbabwean society was crafted around elections but the electorate is not aware of that, so it does not benefit in any way. While conceding that the elections may not be the fairest IF12 argued that, the people and the

opposition parties had kept on participating in them, but the blame lay with the leaders of the political parties advocating for change. While a national member of the Zimbabwe Women in Politics organisation and losing candidate in the previous parliamentary election IF10 blamed the people for being inactive when it comes to checking the actions of the political leaders and continuing to select the same corrupted leaders every election (interview with IF10, 30 July 2019). IF4 said the system thrives because the people were docile and allowed the authoritarian system to be built around them. He said that public opinion had to matter first to the public if it is to matter to the politicians. While IF11 recognizing this placed emphasis on the need for the University to produce critical students who would make a difference in their societies. He describes this as a dysfunctional society that renders statistics very inaccurate, with no accountability mechanisms and no structures to assist or take blame for the structural violence. The people became not only victims of the system or bad governance but unknowing accomplices by virtue of allowing to be used to legitimize their suffering.

5.4.5 Political polarisation

The structural violence in Zimbabwe was also perceived through the polarized political environment, which was seen as holding back the nation. The main parties to the political standoff have all been agreeing that dialogue was important to move the country forward and stop the further suffering of the people but such dialogue has not yet materialized. The Zimbabwe Peace and Security Education Trust leader IF9 said that the issue of government's legitimacy had to be effectively dealt with because it resulted in the loss of the oversight role. The political contestations meant that both parties saw themselves as the government of the people meaning that the opposition role which could help serve the people from some dangerous policies was left vacant (interview with IF9, 8 August, 2019). The civil society which would be expected to fill this gap was proving to be incapable or lacking in ideas to go forward. IF8 criticized it saying it had become redundant and a source of income for its leaders who lacked new ideas thereby making it ineffective.

While IF10 pointed to the lack of financial support as a result of donor fatigue in the country as the reason for the growing inefficiency of the civil society. The contestations made the economic situation in the country volatile and Mr Chamisa has repeatedly said that the problem in the country was that of legitimacy of the governance (Nelson Chamisa, 20 November 2019). While the president of an opposition political party known as Labour Economist African Democrats and well known female activist IF14 accused the ZANU PF and the MDC of being

responsible for the suffering of the people because they were so obsessed with getting political power but not concerned about the people (interview with IF14, 17 June 2019). These contestations for political power have made the political environment chaotic, while a dialogue between the two main actors has failed to materialize because of failure to agree on the terms.

The church has something to say

According to the UNICEF (2016, p. 7) Harare survey on religion in Zimbabwe 83% of Zimbabweans were Christians, 16% non-religious and 1% Muslims. This gives the church considerable power and influence within the Zimbabwean society and politicians have over the years engaged with various religious leaders with the Catholic Council of Bishops led by Archbishop Ndlovu being arguably the most influential. In November the Catholic Bishops were able to meet the president and convinced government to retain striking doctors. It also tried to bring the president to talks with the Movement for Democratic Change leader Nelson Chamisa, but this had been resisted by the president who insisted that talks should be between all political players not just MDC and ZANU PF (NewsDay, November 2019). The church has also played a role in calling out the government to address issues of human rights violations through the Zimbabwe Council of Churches. Its leader Bishop Mtata said that they had written a letter to the government to show their concern about the deteriorating human rights situation following the abduction of the Junior Doctor's Association leader (SABC News, 2019). IF13 a senior pastor at a local church said that it was time for the church to play a more central role in the politics of the country as it was the church that was now taking up the task of helping the poor in the community (Interview with IF13, 3 August 2019). There is no doubt as to the power and influence that the church has and the potential it has to play a key role in peace building within Zimbabwe.

5.5 Summary of key points

The chapter presented data gathered from archives, interviews and online media archives which was corroborated with some published secondary sources that provided some statistics to make the context clear. It showed that during the colonial era there was always an acknowledgement within the state of the negative effects that certain policies were having on the lives of people. The leaders of the black majority were clear in their intentions to end all forms of structural dominance and subjugation once independence was won. The perceptions of contemporary leaders on structural violence have been centred on political differences, with one group choosing to focus on factors that can be blamed on external forces and the other believing the

opposite to be true. The data shows that it is a misrepresentation of facts for one to say that leaders across the political divide, are heartless and do not care to see the end of structural violence. It was also found that the people in the case of Zimbabwe were part of the reasons why structural violence had persisted, while the politicians and civil society were all seen to be partly responsible for the structural violence within the country. The findings show that the leaders who took part in the interviews were all in agreement that something had to be done to end the suffering of the people and all tried to point to the source of the problem. There is also a growing voice of reason that has chosen to look at the issue from a neutral perspective and wants to move away from the polarization of the politics within the country.

Chapter 6 Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter discusses the data presented in as far as it was able to address the research problem of whether an understanding of leaders; perspectives on structural violence could result in increased prospects for achieving positive peace. The key findings of this research while answering the third research question on what implications an understanding of leaders' perspectives can have on peace research, also show that it is possible to come up with solutions or frameworks to end structural violence. The research shows that contrary to the commonly held view that leaders are heartless beneficiaries of structural violence, they can be useful allies in peacebuilding and in peace making processes not only aimed at addressing direct violence but also structural violence. This is possible because in societies like Harare with widespread structural violence there is still the availability of infrastructure for peace, the concern of leaders to end suffering and the role that ordinary people can play. The chapter also comprises of recommendations for policy makers in the country and those working on national reconciliation and healing. The chapter will then conclude with an overall conclusion of the whole thesis.

6.1 The implications for peace studies

The research findings show that looking at the perspectives of leaders on structural violence has some positive effects on peace. This shift in focus exposes the positions taken by various powerful social actors and the reasons for taking up these positions. It then shows the avenues available for cooperation in building some peaceful societies and what needs to be done to reconcile the differences.

6.1.1 A social unit of measurement

While quantifying structural violence is a difficult task just as coming up with an agreeable scientific unit of measurement for it, the study showed that there is a general unit of measurement in any community. This is so because even in poor societies like those in Harare observed the leaders had what they would term extreme cases of poverty and social suffering. All the leaders interviewed and the national leaders all agreed that, the people needed to be supported so as to alleviate social suffering. It is therefore evident that, there exists a unit of measurement for structural violence within the communities' people live in as is noted when Bishop Tudor Bismak remarks, 'I have seen poverty but did not know that it was this bad and this is not acceptable. What have we turned into?' (Chin'ono, 15 December 2029). The fact that

he was moved by the suffering of the woman he saw eating a dog, may also be taken to mean that other sights of poverty he had seen were not as moving, implying the presence of a social scale for measuring structural violence. Dilts et al. (2012, p. 196) note that, the reason why structural violence has remained understudied has more to do with the difficulties of fitting the acceptable research methods which requires manageable scales. This research argues that there is a scale which can be moral or social that allows people to point at certain situations and say this is structural violence, just like IF2 concluded in the case of the girl who had taken her life. Hence it is possible for peace scholars to undertake research that feeds on the availability of this scale in societies and come up with ways of building upon it to create societies with a minimal acceptable level of structural violence if not end or reduce the casualties. The limitations of methodology in coming up with an acceptable scientific measurement for social phenomenon should not result in it being ignored given that society has its own acceptable moral standard.

6.1.2 Learning from the past

While the data collected from the National Archives of Zimbabwe provided a valuable lesson of how there will always be voices of reason when a society becomes to inhumane and insensitive to the suffering of its members. Captain T. Baines encouraged the authorities to reduce the burden of suffering it placed on the lower classes of the society. And while others like Doctor Hills gave accurate descriptions of the appalling conditions in the ‘protected villages’ and the suffering of the people put forcefully into them. It was the refusal of the government to listen to these calls to alleviate the large scale structural violence that led to the outbreak of the liberation struggle. Mufuka (1977, p. 51) notes how the leaders of the black majority refused to accept the peace of 1976 brought by the American government saying it was too late and that the minority government of Smith had not shown itself willing to discuss before, hence it had to be violently defeated. There is therefore a possibility that the outbreak of hostile violent conflicts can be checked in their infancy if peace studies put an emphasis on the need to avoid, reduce and even put an end to structural violence. This should be done before the point is reached where conflicting parties retire to the idea that it is only the obliteration of the other that will result in peace. Cedric De Coning (2018, p. 304) notes how the UN has shifted its policy on development and has tied the sustainable Development Goals to positive peace, by adopting the sustaining peace concept. Thus although war may be absent people may

still live in war like conditions hence the need to research innovative ways of ensuring that structural violence is seriously addressed.

6.1.3 The infrastructure for peace

The data showed how before independence leaders of the Africans in Rhodesia pledged to put an end to structural violence upon the attainment of independence. While the leaders of ZANU PF see the land reform as a way of ending structural violence that is a legacy of colonialism in Zimbabwe, the leaders of the MDC see the need to address the current suffering of the people. The civil society, church leaders, civil servants, academics, and politician whose views were collected and analysed in this research agreed of the urgent need to address social suffering. Although from various perspectives and even from entrenched positions there was great willingness to work towards building a more peaceful society. There is thus the necessary infrastructure for building a peaceful society while politicians from across the political divide acknowledge the good attributes of the Zimbabwean people and the amount of resources available in the country. It is therefore interesting to understand why this good will has not resulted in positive peace. Sullivan, Caparini, and Milante (2017, p. 2) state that positive peace is self-sustaining as it results in people becoming more willing to work for a common good as they gain confidence in the prospect of enjoying the outcomes. The Lancaster Agreement ensured negative peace as the question of land reform was not addressed immediately and the result was a violent and chaotic land reform process. It is evident that mistrust between the political leaders has limited the prospects of working together for a common good.

6.1.4 The People matter

The research which focused on collecting the perspectives of leaders on structural violence found out that the leaders believe that people are key players if structural violence is to be addressed. People were seen as the ones who give life and agree upon the social system that develops in any society. As IF4 noted that the people could not only be seen as victims as they are the ones who allow the system on which structural violence persist to be built around them. The academic IF9 was of the view that there was need for the university to produce critical students who can make a difference as citizens by questioning and empowering other members of the society while being knowledgeable about peace. The world has witnessed many peace agreements which have been short lived, even proponents of the traditional liberal peacebuilding approach are talking of local ownership of peace projects, having realized the

futility of efforts that do not include the local people. This research however proposes not only local ownership of projects but the empowering of societies with knowledge on how to be active citizens engaged and willing to work for the common good knowing that they will share in the positive benefits. It is therefore time for the discipline of peace studies to take bold steps and start working to bring about innovative ways to move societies towards the direction of positive peace. Peace researchers can no longer keep telling the world that positive peace cannot be achieved for the world needs nothing less, if it has to agree on saving the planet for future use. The people need to know that they will be part of that future, but if their existence makes them wish death on themselves then they will not be willing to work to preserve the world for future generations.

6.1.5 The Leaders are humans

There is always a strong inclination to believe that leaders who preside over countries or communities with unimaginable levels of structural violence are not humane and are heartless. While these views may serve a purpose to media practitioners, this research is of the view that academics should do more than just assign the cruel tag, as this distorts the complexities of factors that drive people to act in the ways they do (this is not to mean that there are no cases of extremism and cruelty that should be condemned). In a state of the nation address Robert Mugabe said that he wanted to commend the people of Zimbabwe for they have endured a lot of suffering and for remaining peaceful (ZBC Online, 9 December 2016). This coming from a man the media presented as the devil himself will be missed if academics allow for sweeping labels on their subjects of inquiry. While Mugabe gave farm inputs to some 800 000 communal farmers a practice that ZANU PF has continued over the years which is labelled a vote buying tactic. While scholars like S. Moyo and Yeros (2007b) view the land reform as a move aimed at ending structural violence in resource allocation. The same move has been seen as the reason for the prevailing suffering in the country by scholars such as Moore (2001) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003). The humanity in the acts are missed and this makes leaders suspicious of peacebuilding initiatives, for if the civil society championing peace casts an evil image of the leaders it means that any peace they advocate for is one in which those in power have no place. While leaders may have been responsible for some acts of cruelty, it should not be missed that they can be partners for a sustainable peace.

6.1.6 Peace is complicated

The data shows the difficulties that are involved in solving conflicts like the one that is currently ongoing in Zimbabwe. The political polarisation that has ensued and the years over which the positions of the conflicting parties have solidified. A power sharing agreement between the parties from 2009 to 2013 resulted in a very democratic constitution that is still to be operationalized as the parliament fails to pass legislation to compliment the new constitution (interview with IF12, 11 August 2019). The end of the power sharing agreement saw the society revert back to the old system in which the people do not trust the government and the opposition rejects to recognize the government rendering the oversight role needed for a functioning democracy ineffective. The only point of agreement is that the people have suffered for too long and something needs to be done while the current president Emmerson Mnangagwa has called for a dialogue of all political parties from which the MDC has refused to take part. There is no doubt increasing pressure on the politicians to deliver but the underfunded civil society lacks the resources to educate people on peace and raise the people's voice. While the world does not know what to do as D. J. Christie et al. (2001, p. 16) argue liberal peace has no legal instruments to deal with structural violence.

6.2 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the findings showing their implications for peace studies. The increasing demands of the world which requires greater cooperation between states, makes it imperative to move towards achieving positive peace. The attainment of positive peace allows the countries to plan for the sustainable future for their populations. The leaders should not be seen as inhumane by peace academics as this alienates them instead of making them allies. Also for there to be peace the people must be empowered to actively participant in the society and not only be made to own projects planned for them. There is the necessary infrastructure for peace in Zimbabwe it however, requires selfless acts of leadership that can act to bring people together.

6.3 Recommendations

The researcher recommends the government to invest more in the adoption of peace education from as early as primary school. It recommends that the National Healing and Reconciliation Commission be funded more to enable it to carry out a grassroots program empowering communities to play a more significant role in the country. Politicians are recommended to

move from their entrenched positions to a point where it is possible to transform the lives of people and bring the whole country to work for the common good. Peace students are recommended to take up research questions on structural violence and positive peace as this is the kind of research that may hold answers for the problems of the new world in which we are all integrated. Structural imbalances are increasingly evident at a time we need to unite and work together to preserve our planet against common threats such as global warming.

6.4 Overall Conclusions

The research conducted an investigation of the leaders' perspectives on structural violence in Harare, Zimbabwe. The main objective of the study was to get an understanding of the perspectives of leaders on structural violence and see if this could be useful in our approach to structural violence as peace workers. The case study of Harare, Zimbabwe was chosen as it captures the subtle form of invisible violence than direct violence. The leaders got into power on the promise to end the structural violence which was embedded in the colonial society and have kept using this a basis to get re-elected. The effects of colonialism and international institutions such as the IMF and economic sanctions placed on Zimbabwe have been pointed out by nationalist scholars as the root cause of structural violence in Zimbabwe. While the Internationalist scholars point to the unwillingness to democratize, an exhausted nationalism, corruption, bad governance, poor economic policies and the chaotic land reform as the major causes of suffering in Zimbabwe. It is however evident that both schools of thought agree that the historical legacies in Zimbabwe have not made the situation easy for its leaders. While several studies to show the severity of structural violence have been done there remains no work that has sought to gather the perspectives of leaders with the aim of understanding and not apportioning blame. The research relied on triangulation of data sources, making use of archives, interviews, participant observation and secondary sources of data such as published books, journal articles and online archives. The research was conducted following the ethical guidelines of NSD with the researcher practicing reflexivity to show how their presence and choices may have impacted upon the research. A thematic analysis was adopted to code data and analyse it, as this suited the nature of the research findings. Structural violence which has been categorized as an invisible form of violence is seen to be visible in societies and only being invisible to the existing dominant methodologies. While the Liberal peace tradition is exposed for its deliberate omissions in addressing the universally acknowledged causes of violence as it has preserved the inequality in the world structure. The undeniable presence of structural violence in the world at local and international levels calls for a broadened understanding of

peace and reform of the liberal peace architecture if positive peace is to be achieved and underlying root causes of conflict addressed. The data gathered showed the historical context in which structural violence developed within Zimbabwe. The difficulties and contradictions that have resulted from the attempts to redress the inherited inequalities within the society and the role assumed by those who led the fight for independence. The perceptions of leaders on structural violence have tended to follow polarised political lines based on narratives that help them in achieving their political goals. It was also shown that it is a misrepresentation of facts for one to say that leaders across the political divide, are heartless and do not care to see the end of structural violence. The people are seen as part of the reasons why structural violence had persisted, while the politicians and civil society were all seen to be partly responsible for the structural violence within the country. The findings show that the leaders whose perceptions were collected agree that something had to be done to end the structural violence although disagreements exist on how to do so. There is also a growing voice of reason that sees the polarisation and the role of the elites as being the main obstacles to ending structural violence in Harare. The increasing demands of the world which requires greater cooperation between states, make it imperative to move towards achieving positive peace. The attainment of positive peace allows the countries to plan for the sustainable future for their populations. The leaders should not be seen as inhumane by peace academics as this alienates them instead of making them allies in peacebuilding. Also for there to be peace the people must be empowered to actively participate in the society and not only be made to own projects planned for them. There is the necessary infrastructure for peace in Zimbabwe it however, requires selfless acts of leadership that can act to bring people together. The research recommends peace studies scholars to turn to questions that address structural violence and deal with positive peace, as the UN adopted the sustaining peace concept that points to that direction. The government is advised to provide more funding for the National Healing and Reconciliation Commission to allow it to reach the grassroots for its programs. The politicians are also encouraged to loosen their positions so as to find a common ground that allows them to help the people.

References

- Ary, D., Jacobs, L. C., Razavieh, A., & Sorensen, C. K. (2009). *Introduction to Research in Education*: Cengage Learning.
- Ayers, A. J. (2006). Demystifying democratisation: the global constitution of (neo) liberal polities in Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 27(2), 321-338.
- Benatar, S. R. (1997). Social suffering: relevance for doctors: Healthcare professionals need to broaden their understanding of health and suffering. In: British Medical Journal Publishing Group.
- Bouju, J., & de Bruijn, M. (2014). *Ordinary violence and social change in Africa*: Brill.
- Bourgois, P. J. G. h. i. t. o. v. (2009). Recognizing invisible violence: A thirty-year ethnographic retrospective. 18-40.
- Boyce, C., & Neale, P. (2006). Conducting in-depth interviews: A guide for designing and conducting in-depth interviews for evaluation input.
- Bryman, A. (2013). *Quality issues in mixed methods research*. Paper presented at the The White Rose Social Science DTC Second Annual Spring Conference, University of Leeds, 7th May.
- Bryman, A. (2016). *Social research methods*: Oxford university press.
- Chipere, M. (2020). Crisis of political leadership in Zimbabwe. *Review of African Political Economy*, 1-11.
- Chiumbu, S., & Musemwa, M. (2012). Crisis! What crisis? The multiple dimensions of the Zimbabwean crisis.
- Christie, D. J., Wagner, R. V., Winter, D. J. P., conflict, & century, v. P. p. f. t. s. (2001). Introduction to peace psychology. 1-14.
- Christie, D. J. J. P., & Conflict. (1997). Reducing direct and structural violence: The human needs theory. 3(4), 315-332.
- Davies, C. A. (2008). *Reflexive ethnography: A guide to researching selves and others*: Routledge.
- De Coning, C. (2018). Adaptive peacebuilding. *International Affairs*, 94(2), 301-317.
- Dilts, A., Winter, Y., Biebricher, T., Johnson, E. V., Vázquez-Arroyo, A. Y., & Cocks, J. J. N. P. S. (2012). Revisiting Johan Galtung's Concept of Structural Violence. 34(2), e191-e227.
- Doyle, M. W. (2005). Three pillars of the liberal peace. *American political science review*, 99(3), 463-466.
- Farmer, P. E., Nizeye, B., Stulac, S., & Keshavjee, S. (2006). Structural violence and clinical medicine. *PLoS medicine*, 3(10).
- Farmer, P. E., Nizeye, B., Stulac, S., & Keshavjee, S. J. P. m. (2006). Structural violence and clinical medicine. 3(10).
- Farmer, P. J. D. (1996). On suffering and structural violence: A view from below. 125(1), 261-283.
- Feltoe, G., & Sithole, E. (2011). Zimbabwe: Review of Rights Discourse. *Norwegian Centre for Human Rights RIPOCA Research Notes*, 11.
- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, peace, and peace research. 6(3), 167-191.
- Galtung, J. (2011). Peace, positive and negative.
- Grebe, J. J. A. S. (2010). And they are still targeting: Assessing the effectiveness of targeted sanctions against Zimbabwe. 45(1), 3-29.
- Howard-Hassmann, R. E. J. H. R. Q. (2010). Mugabe's Zimbabwe, 2000-2009: Massive human rights violations and the failure to protect. 32, 898.
- Jeater, D. (2018). Race, Etiquette and Colonial Nation-Building in Southern Rhodesia: Allison K. Shutt, *Manners Make A Nation: Racial Etiquette in Southern Rhodesia, 1910–1963*

- (Rochester and Woodbridge, University of Rochester Press and Boydell & Brewer, 2015), xiv+ 245 pp., hardback, £ 85.50, ISBN 978-1-58046-520-5. In: Taylor & Francis.
- Kohler, G., & Alcock, N. J. J. o. P. R. (1976). An empirical table of structural violence. *13*(4), 343-356.
- Lane, S. D., Rubinstein, R. A., Keefe, R. H., Webster, N., Cibula, D. A., Rosenthal, A., . . . Underserved. (2004). Structural violence and racial disparity in HIV transmission. *15*(3), 319-335.
- Lee, A. (2015). How (and How Not) to Use Archival Sources in Political Science.
- Mac Ginty, R., Joshi, M., & Lee, S. (2019). Liberal Peace Implementation and the Durability of Post-war Peace. *International Peacekeeping*, *26*(4), 457-486.
- Mac Ginty, R., & Richmond, O. P. (2013). The local turn in peace building: A critical agenda for peace. *Third World Quarterly*, *34*(5), 763-783.
- Makaye, P., & Munhande, C. J. O. B. (2008). Sanctions against Zimbabwe in the new millennium: smart or blanket? , *5*(2), 51-63.
- Mandaza, I. (1986). *Zimbabwe: The political economy of transition, 1980-1986*: Codesria.
- Marowa, I. (2015). *Forced Removal and Social Memories in North-western Zimbabwe, c1900-2000*. University of Bayreuth,
- Moore, D. J. J. o. C. A. S. (2001). Is the land the economy and the economy the land? Primitive accumulation in Zimbabwe. *19*(2), 253-266.
- Morreira, S. (2016). *Rights after wrongs: local knowledge and human rights in Zimbabwe*: Stanford University Press.
- Moyo, O. (2008). Surviving structural violence in Zimbabwe: The case study of a family coping with Violence. (27-28).
- Moyo, S. (2001). The land occupation movement and democratisation in Zimbabwe: Contradictions of neoliberalism. *30*(2), 311-330.
- Moyo, S., & Yeros, P. (2007a). Intervention the Zimbabwe question and the two lefts. *15*(3), 171-204.
- Moyo, S., & Yeros, P. (2007b). The radicalised state: Zimbabwe's interrupted revolution. *34*(111), 103-121.
- Muderedzi, J., & Ingstad, B. (2011). Disability and social suffering in Zimbabwe. 171-188.
- Muderedzi, J. T., Eide, A. H., Braathen, S. H., & Stray-Pedersen, B. (2017). Exploring structural violence in the context of disability and poverty in Zimbabwe. *6*, 1-9.
- Mufuka, K. N. J. A. T. (1977). Reflections on Southern Rhodesia: An African Viewpoint. *24*(2), 51-63.
- Musemwa, M. J. C. (2012). Perpetuating colonial legacies: The post-colonial state, water crises and the outbreak of disease in Harare, Zimbabwe, 1980-2009. 3-41.
- Muvingi, I. J. (2008). The politics of entitlement and state failure in Zimbabwe. *Peace Research*, 77-101.
- Mzamane, M. J. R. o. A. P. E. (1980). The people's mood: the voice of a Guerilla Poet. *7*(18), 29-43.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. J. A. J. o. C. R. (2003). Dynamics of the Zimbabwe Crisis in the 21 st Century. *3*(1), 99-134.
- O'Meara, P. (2019). *Rhodesia: racial conflict or coexistence?* : Cornell University Press.
- Phimister, I., & Raftopoulos, B. J. R. o. A. P. E. (2004). Mugabe, Mbeki & the politics of anti-imperialism. *31*(101), 385-400.
- Raftopoulos, B. (2003). The state in crisis: authoritarian nationalism, selective citizenship and distortions of democracy in Zimbabwe. 217-241.
- Raftopoulos, B. (2006). Reflections on opposition politics in Zimbabwe: the politics of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). 6-28.

- Raftopoulos, B., & Mlambo, A. S. (2008). *Becoming Zimbabwe. A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008*: African Books Collective.
- Raftopoulos, B., & Phimister, I. J. H. m. (2004). Zimbabwe now: the political economy of crisis and coercion. *12*(4), 355-382.
- Rajasekar, S., Philominathan, P., & Chinnathambi, V. J. a. p. p. (2013). *Research Methodology*. Cornell University Library.
- Ranger, T. J. T. (2002). The Zimbabwe elections: A personal experience. *19*(3), 159-169.
- Richmond, O. P. (2014). *Failed Statebuilding: intervention and the dynamics of peace formation*: Yale University Press.
- Sachikonye, L. M. J. R. o. A. P. E. (2002). Whither Zimbabwe? crisis & democratisation. *29*(91), 13-20.
- Scheper-Hughes, N., Bourgois, P. J. V. i. w., & anthology, p. A. (2004). Introduction: Making sense of violence. *4*.
- Scheper-Hughes, N. J. A. o. t. N. Y. A. o. S. (2004). Dangerous and endangered youth: social structures and determinants of violence. *1036*(1), 13-46.
- Simpson, M., & Hawkins, T. (2018). *The Primacy of Regime Survival: State Fragility and Economic Destruction in Zimbabwe*: Springer.
- Siziba, G. J. L. (2017). Reading Zimbabwe's structural and political violence through the trope of the unnameable and unnamed in Brian Chikwava's Harare North. *38*(1), 1-9.
- Sullivan, K., Caparini, M., & Milante, G. (2017). Peace solutions: Learning from what works and adapting to a changing world. *Sipri, 20 June 2017*.
- Taussig, M. J. S. T. (1989). Terror as usual: Walter Benjamin's theory of history as a state of siege. *(23)*, 3-20.
- Wallis, J. (2018). Is There Still a Place for Liberal Peacebuilding? *HYBRIDITY*, 83.
- Winter, Y. J. N. P. S. (2012). Violence and visibility. *34*(2), 195-202.
- Woldeselassie, Z. A. (2019). *Researching Ethnicity and Ethnic Politics Using a Single Case Study Method*: SAGE Publications.
- Yeros, P. J. H. M. (2002). Zimbabwe and the Dilemmas of the Left. *10*(2), 3-15.
- Zamponi, M. J. Z.-T. p. e. o. d. (2005). From social justice, to neo-liberalism, to authoritarian nationalism: Where is the Zimbabwean state going. 27-43.

Archival sources

National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ), MS1194/1/1, The role of Christian Care in Rhodesian conflict; Reports for acting relief officer, 1978-1979.

National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ), MS3/5/1, Southern Rhodesia Government Archives – Box No. A7/2/1-2 Folder No.53; Letters of Captain T. B. Baines, 1940-1959

National Archives of Zimbabwe NAZ, RG3/DEF-4, Rhodesian Ministry of Defence report of the Secretary for Defence, 1978.

National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ), MS1082/5/18, Our path to liberation, 1976.

National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ), MS1082/5/18, Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace; The man in the middle report, 1975.

National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ), MS1082/5/18, Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace Report; Rhodesia at war – A story of mounting suffering, 1979.

News papers

Health Times, #BREAKING: Suicide Cases Reach Alarming Rates in Zimbabwe, 21 June 2019, <https://healthtimes.co.zw/2019/06/21/breaking-suicide-cases-reach-alarming-rates-in-zim/>

NewsDay, Government backs down on doctors, November 2019, <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2019/11/government-backs-down-on-doctors/>

NewsDay, Government jobs freeze saves \$10m monthly, 13 June 2017, <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/06/govt-jobs-freeze-saves-10m-monthly/>

NewsDay, Parliament discusses ‘sex-selling’ children, September 2017, <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/09/parly-discuss-sex-selling-children/>

Sunday News, Government freezes hiring, promotions, 2 August 2016, <https://www.sundaynews.co.zw/govt-freezes-hiring-promotions/>

Online archives

263 Chat, Corruption a huge tax on Zimbabwean – Tendai Biti, 14 December 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8R9GFC6dRv4>

Al Jazeera English, Zimbabwe doctor strike: Healthcare system is on the brink, 24 December 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ktDPuMECssI>

Al Jazeera English, Zimbabwe doctors strike: Hundreds fired, 24 November 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GqiSLd6PY0Q>

BBC News, Zimbabwe crisis: Army seizes broadcaster but denies coup - BBC News, 15 November 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-gGcJShW5Jg>

Hopewell Chin’ono, Bishop Tudor Bismak tells an emotional testimony of seeing a woman eating a dog, 15 December 2019, <https://twitter.com/daddyhope/status/1206653614321799169>

Journeyman Pictures, Interview with President Mugabe (2003) - June 2003, 5 June 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X0pSt14HudE>

Journeyman Pictures, The Truth About Mugabe's Violent Land Grabs – 2 March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xp2nGvezb5g&t=861s>

Ministry of Information publicity, 25 October 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vgKJlcRu-Qs&t=433s>

Nelson Chamisa | Full Address and Q&A | Oxford Union, 11 May 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P7NpGdODIBI>

Nelson Chamisa, Hope of the Nation Address, 20 November 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O1kSedMq5n4>

SABC News, FULL SPEECH: Robert Mugabe addresses the 72nd UN General Assembly, 22 September 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cuImHrjZyIA>

SABC News, Reaction to abduction of doctors in Zimbabwe, November 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p-yEpiR9aEA>

ZBC Online, President Mnangagwa urges medical staff to resume work, 20 September 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=INx8AjRjeiI>

ZBC Online, President Robert Mugabe State of the Nation Address, 9 December 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TzV_OOJvmlI

Zimpapers Digital, Mr. George Charamba speaks on ZHRC report, 23 January 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=loDsNTgqHpY>

Appendix A

5/2/2019

NSD - Min side

NSD Personvern

10.04.2019 14:51

Det innsendte meldeskjemaet med referansekode 567589 er nå vurdert av NSD.

Følgende vurdering er gitt:

Our assessment is that the processing of personal data in this project will comply with data protection legislation, presupposing that it is carried out in accordance with the information given in the Notification Form and attachments dated 10.04.2019, as well as dialogue with NSD. Everything is in place for the processing to begin.

NOTIFY CHANGES

If you intend to make changes to the processing of personal data in this project it may be necessary to notify NSD. This is done by updating the Notification Form. On our website we explain which changes must be notified. Wait until you receive an answer from us before you carry out the changes.

TYPE OF DATA AND DURATION

The project will be processing special categories of personal data about political opinions and philosophical beliefs, and general categories of personal data, until 01.05.2020.

LEGAL BASIS

The project will gain consent from data subjects to process their personal data. We find that consent will meet the necessary requirements under art. 4 (11) and 7, in that it will be a freely given, specific, informed and unambiguous statement or action, which will be documented and can be withdrawn.

The legal basis for processing special categories of personal data is therefore explicit consent given by the data subject, cf. the General Data Protection Regulation art. 6.1 a), cf. art. 9.2 a), cf. the Personal Data Act § 10, cf. § 9 (2).

PRINCIPLES RELATING TO PROCESSING PERSONAL DATA

NSD finds that the planned processing of personal data will be in accordance with the principles under the General Data Protection Regulation regarding:

- lawfulness, fairness and transparency (art. 5.1 a), in that data subjects will receive sufficient information about the processing and will give their consent
- purpose limitation (art. 5.1 b), in that personal data will be collected for specified, explicit and legitimate purposes, and will not be processed for new, incompatible purposes
- data minimisation (art. 5.1 c), in that only personal data which are adequate, relevant and necessary for the purpose of the project will be processed
- storage limitation (art. 5.1 e), in that personal data will not be stored for longer than is necessary to fulfil the project's purpose

THE RIGHTS OF DATA SUBJECTS

Data subjects will have the following rights in this project: transparency (art. 12), information (art. 13), access (art. 15), rectification (art. 16), erasure (art. 17), restriction of processing (art. 18), notification (art. 19), data portability (art. 20). These rights apply so long as the data subject can be

