

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



**AN ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE PLAYED BY CIVIL SOCIETY IN PROMOTING
PEACE AND TOLERANCE IN ZIMBABWE: A CASE STUDY OF MASAKHANENI
PROJECTS TRUST IN MATOBO DISTRICT (2009-2013)**

BY

NHLANHLA MOYO

STUDENT REGISTRATION NUMBER:

R113801Q

Dissertation submitted in Partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Science
Degree in Politics and Public Management in the Department of Politics and Public
Management

2015

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a critical examination of the role that has been played by civil society organisations in their quest to promote peace, reconciliation and democracy in Zimbabwe, the case study being Masakhaneni Projects Trust. It traces the history of politically motivated violence as far as the liberation struggle for independence. It is also through this study that I seek to expose how a violent political culture has been institutionalized in Zimbabwe's politics as a means of attaining political objectives. I also try to examine the various peace-building initiatives by civil society organisations, their successes and limitations in fighting for a democratic Zimbabwe. It will also try and analyze the relations between the state and civil society organisations and how these relations have had a bearing on the initiatives of civil society. Finally this dissertation tries to analyze the future of civil society in Zimbabwe.

Acknowledgements

First I would like to thank God for guiding me through my dissertation research. This research would not have been possible without the help of my academic supervisor Mr. S. Moyo. A special thanks to Dr. Linda Dube, Dr Mandla Mpofu whose wisdom and guidance made this research possible. Am eternally indebted to my brother Dr Brilliant Sigabade Mhlanga and his wife Nothando Mhlanga for believing in me and supporting me through my academic studies. This dissertation is written in memory of my late father Mr Medas Sigabade Moyo whose love and support is greatly missed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	i
Table of Contents.....	ii
Acronyms.....	iii
Definition of Terms.....	7
Introduction, Background and Rational of Study.....	9
Statement of the Problem.....	10
Masakhaneni Projects Trust.....	10
On the Site of the Chosen Case Study: As a bounded phenomenon.....	11
Significance of the Study.....	12
Research Questions.....	12
Research Objectives.....	12
Research Gap.....	12
Literature Review.....	13
Theoretical Framework.....	15
Research Methodology.....	15
Research Setting and Population.....	16
The Sampling Criteria.....	17
Data Collection Instruments.....	17
Data Collection Procedure.....	18
Reliability.....	18
Validity.....	18

CHAPTER ONE

ORIGINS OF VIOLENCE AND POLITICAL IMPUNITY IN ZIMBABWE

Colonisation and the Process of Decolonisation.....	20
The 1983-1987 Disturbances in Matebeleland and Midlands.....	23
Electoral Violence in Zimbabwe.....	24
Is there Peace in Zimbabwe?.....	26
Conclusion.....	27

CHAPTER TWO

CIVIL SOCIETY INITIATIVES IN PROMOTING PEACE AND TOLERANCE

Origins of Civil Society.....	28
Is Civil Society Relevant in Africa?	28
The role played by Civil Society Organisations in Promoting Peace and Tolerance.....	29
On the causes of conflict which ultimately lead to Violence.....	30
Are Communities better off without NGO's?.....	33
How Sustainable is the work being done by NGO'?'.....	33
Intervention Strategies of Masakhaneni Projects Trust.....	34
The Emergence of Opposition parties and their influence on NGO's.....	38

CHAPTER THREE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Conclusion.....	40
Introduction.....	42
Recommendations to Masakhaneni Projects Trust and other CSO's.....	44

List of Acronyms

CCJP- Catholic Commission of Justice and Peace

CCSF- Church and Civil Society Forum

CSO's- Civil Society Organisations

EFZ- Evangelic Fellowship of Zimbabwe

FDG's- Focus Group Discussions

GNU – Government of National Unity

MDC – Movement for Democratic Change

MDC-T- Movement for Democratic Change (Tsvangirai)

MPT – Masakhaneni Projects Trust

NCA- National Constitutional Assembly

SADC- Southern African Development Community

ZANU (PF) – Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front

ZAPU- Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZANLA- Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

ZCTU- Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

ZINASU- Zimbabwe National Students Union

ZIPRA- Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

ZRP- Zimbabwe Republic Police

Definition of Terms

Accountability – The responsible use of power. It is the process of being held accountable for, and being accountable to all stakeholders particularly those primarily affected by the actions.

Activities – Actions taken or work performed in a project to produce specific outputs by using inputs, such as funds, technical assistance and other types of resources.

Advocacy – A political process by an individual or group which aims to influence public-policy and resource allocation decisions within political, economic, and social systems and institutions.

Gender – Is the range of physical, biological, mental and behavioural characteristics pertaining to, and differentiating between, masculinity and femininity. Depending on the context, the term may refer to biological sex (i.e. the state of being male, female or intersex), sex-based social structures (including gender roles and other social roles), or gender identity.

Gukurahundi – The brutal suppression of Zimbabwean civilians, mostly supporters of Joshua Nkomo and ZAPU, by the government's 5th Brigade in the predominantly Ndebele regions of Matebeleland and Midlands in Zimbabwe between the period of 1983-1987.

Impact – The changes in the lives of rural people, as perceived by them and their partners at the time of evaluation, plus sustainability-enhancing change in their environment to which the project has contributed.

Lobbying – The act of attempting to influence decisions made by officials in the government, most often legislators or members of regulatory agencies.

Marginalisation – Also known as *Social Exclusion*. This is a concept used in many parts of the world to characterise contemporary forms of social disadvantage and relegation to the fringe of society.

Peace – A social and political condition that ensures development of individuals, society and nation.

Poverty – Is the state of human beings who are poor. That is, they have little or no material means of surviving—little or no food, shelter, clothes, healthcare, education, and other physical means of living and improving one's life.

Rights – legal, social, or ethical principles of freedom or entitlement; that is, rights are the fundamental normative rules about what is allowed of people or owed to people.

Sustainability – The likelihood that the positive effects of a project (such as assets, skills, facilities or improved services) will persist for an extended period after the external assistance ends.

Tolerance- Willingness to recognise and respect the beliefs or practises of others.

Values – a collection of guiding principles; what one deems to be correct and desirable in life, especially regarding personal conduct.

Introduction, Background and Rational of Study

Zimbabwe inherited politically motivated violence from the liberation struggle, and has failed to shed that off even in the post-colonial state. This culture of violence was later interpellated into a way of life in the post-liberation war period. Whilst the use of violence was necessary as a way of prosecuting the struggle for independence, with its aim being to deconstruct the colonial order, its structures and broad imperial designs, the post independent Zimbabwe has witnessed unwarranted scenes of politically motivated violence. Scholars like Terrence Ranger (1985) have argued that during the violent struggle for liberation, a lot of politically related differences were settled through violence to such an extent that people internalised the use of violence even on civil matters where it was not warranted. During the liberation struggle impunity accompanied violence as a major factor and was masked under the cover of political muscle, which substituted the seemingly helplessness of the ordinary masses into a kind of ordered lawlessness. The gist of this ordered lawlessness was to make the country ungovernable on the part of the colonial regime.

Upon attainment of independence reconciliation became necessary but it was targeted at sorting out relations between the Whites and Blacks; thus negating the intra-ethnic as well as inter-ethnic challenges that the liberation struggle had to contend with. Therefore an opportunity to deal with impunity in some of the gross violations was missed; thus further compounding the problem of dealing with violence. Violence with impunity seems to be now an entrenched problem since then, as perpetrators will seek to have some form of political cover/mask in their case so as to evade the law or seem to be above the law. This has been more evident around elections where ZANU PF being the ruling party has faced stiff electoral contest such as in the year 2000 referendum, 2002, 2008 elections and certain individuals in the likes of Chenjerai “Hitler” Hunzvi, Jabulani Sibanda amongst others have been the face of violence championing the cause of the ruling party and have never been made to account for their despicable actions.

While Zimbabwe has had some semblance of peace, however, total peace across the whole country has been elusive. Immediately after independence there were the disturbances in the Western part of the country in Matebeleland and Midlands which have become popularly known as Gukurahundi. It has been clearly acknowledged in scholarship and academy that Gukurahundi was a state sponsored program aimed at causing people of Matebeleland to submit to the new ZANU PF leadership, it however culminated into a genocide with more than 30 000 people dead (Mhlanga 2009, 2013). Lives were lost on the part of those who were believed to be dissidents or sympathisers with the dissidents. This political culture of violence and intolerance was also seen in the 1985 Parliamentary elections where members of both ZANU PF and PF ZAPU had violent clashes. It was also witnessed in the run up to the 2000 referendum and the 2008 elections and the attended presidential run-off; which left the country in a state of paralysis and total lawlessness. The violence at this time was overtly sanctioned from the highest levels of political leadership in the land and manifested itself through hate speeches from the ruling party ZANU PF targeting white people and opposition leadership in the MDCs and other political formations. However, in the 2008 election violence was maintained under the guise of waging a “war” on remnants of imperialism. But

the reality as it emerged was that it was black on black people violence based on political and ideological differences. It was violence perpetrated by members of ZANU PF and MDC, the two dominant political parties.

Despite forming the Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration as a fully-fledged ministry in the inclusive government of 2009-13, the government still failed to address the real issues that perpetuate violence which the electorate has always been subjected to. In Zimbabwe as noted by Kriger (2005) violence rides on the shoulders of impunity despite pronouncements of efforts to bring to book perpetrators of the violence. Nonetheless there have been discernible efforts of dealing with violence by non-governmental organisations that operate within a virulent political environment which does not appreciate their efforts in this sector or one that seeks to proscribe them.

This research seeks to examine the various initiatives that have been made by civil society organisations in promoting peace and tolerance. The dissertation will examine the emergence of civil society organisations in the post-colonial state which sought to challenge the ideology of a one-party state by ZANU PF and the emergence of the human rights discourse in the Zimbabwean political arena. These organisations include the likes of Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union (ZTCU), Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU) as well as the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA). However the study will focus mainly on civil society initiatives on peace-building and conflict transformation in the area of Matobo, primarily those of Masakhaneni Projects Trust.

Statement of the Problem

In Zimbabwe there is a culture of political impunity and violence towards members of civil society and opposition parties who in their quest for democracy, good governance and human rights are seen to be challenging the state's hegemonic order. Intolerance is at the heart of politics in Zimbabwe and this leads to violence which usually manifests during electoral processes.

MASAKHANENI PROJECTS TRUST

It is against this backdrop of political violence and impunity that I seek to highlight the work of Masakhaneni Projects Trust in Matobo, a non-political and non-profit and independent organization which was formed in 2008. The organisation's headquarters are in Bulawayo and it works in the areas of Matebeleland North, South and the Midlands region. It seeks to promote sustainable peace, reconciliation and justice in post conflict situations by implementing projects which will help heal and rebuild communities that have been affected by violent conflicts and human rights violations. It works to:

- a) Intensively support small development projects in violence-affected communities to promote more positive patterns of community leadership, community interaction and accountability.

- b) Facilitate local institutionalized leadership reform, including that of traditional leaders and local councils, through equipping communities with skills to hold their leaders accountable.
- c) Promote deeper and better understanding of democratic governance and human rights so that communities with a history of violence are equipped with conflict resolution skills and knowledge of retributive and restorative justice.

The organization aims at building peace around livelihoods programs and to strengthen democracy as well as improve governance at community level. Its concept is based on the understanding that where there is increased poverty, misrule and undemocratic practices, building sustainable peace and transforming communities is virtually impossible. Masakhaneni Projects Trust recognizes that peace is not intended for election events only but for the creation of an environment conducive for full citizen participation, socio-economic and political development of the country. It also seeks to eradicate a culture of intolerance and violence and help communities rediscover themselves as peace loving and tolerant people.

Masakhaneni has a strong pro-gender mainstreaming programming. The gender desk was established in 2009 after it was realized that women in rural communities continue to be a victims of not only structural and direct violence in political conflicts but cultural violence as well as they live in a patriarchal society which undermines them. The organization as such views gender mainstreaming as a high priority in promoting conflict transformation in target areas. While women in rural areas attend workshops or public meetings in large numbers, their participation remains a statistical issue. These women rarely contribute and are overshadowed by their male counter parts. Masakhaneni's interventions have prioritized gender mainstreaming to give women an opportunity to participate as equals with men. Gender equality issues are integrated into all project activities as cross cutting issues. The organisation seeks to see improvements in gender issues with women given space to challenge decisions and actively participate in critical institutions of governance like the chief's council. The gender mainstreaming programming continues to be intensified in the creation of safety nets for the protection of the vulnerable against political violence in the coming elections.

On the Site of the chosen case study: as a bounded phenomenon:

The proposed study will focus on Matobo District which is located in Matebeleland South and is predominantly inhabited by the Ndebele and Kalanga speaking people. The district has a history of conflict around the liberation struggle that resulted in the disappearance of individuals and at times, families. According to Ndlovu (2010) this same district fell victim to politically motivated violence in the 2008 elections, apart from the fact that it also experienced the violence of the Gukurahundi genocide, as manifested by the numerous bodies of victims exhumed in the district, especially at Bhalagwe mine.

Furthermore, the chosen study site has peace and reconciliation projects run by Masakhaneni Projects Trust. This dissertation will seek to latch onto the Masakhaneni efforts to appraise

the contributions and impacts that the project is making towards fostering a culture of peace and tolerance amongst citizens at the local level.

Significance of the Study

Broadly the proposed study would like to understand the genesis of violence in political contestations in Zimbabwe and the efforts that have been made by non-governmental organisations in promoting peace and tolerance.

Research Questions

- 1) What are the key drivers of conflict which ultimately lead to violence in Zimbabwe?
- 2) What is the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe?
- 3) What role has been played by civil society organisations in promoting peace and tolerance in Zimbabwe?
- 4) Examine the emergence of opposition political parties, their contribution in the escalation of violence, the influences that they have in arresting violence as well as their influences in civil society.
- 5) What challenges are being faced by civil society organisations in Zimbabwe and what is the future of civil society in Zimbabwe?

Research Objectives

- 1) To trace the genesis and institutionalisation of violence in the Zimbabwean political sphere.
- 2) To examine various peace building initiatives of non-governmental organisations in Zimbabwe specifically those of Masakhaneni Projects Trust.
- 3) To analyse the sustainability of NGO programs in the rural communities of Zimbabwe.

Research Gap

Although a lot of scholars have written about civil society in Zimbabwe, the main focus has been given to various attempts and initiatives by civil society organisations in fighting for a democratic Zimbabwe in a perceived authoritarian regime which undermines the will of the people. However not much attention has been given to efforts by Non-Governmental organisations in promoting healing, reconciliation and justice in Zimbabwe. It is through this research that I seek to explore efforts by Masakhaneni Projects Trust a peace-building organisation in helping the communities of Matobo heal from their past injustices so that there are in a position to be participate in decision making in their locality and live together as peace-loving citizens.

Literature Review

According to Chigora (2012), the relationship between the state and civic society in any nation can either be co-operative, competitive or antagonistic. It is therefore natural that this relationship will range from co-operation to mutual suspicion and distrust. In the Zimbabwean context civil society organisations operate under an authoritarian regime which seeks to establish its hegemonic influence in all sectors of public life (Ncube 2010). Bayart quoted by Shivji (1991) states that ‘underlying the ideologies of national unity there is a hegemonic imperative which drives the state and the self-proclaimed dominant social groups to seek to control and civil society. ZANU (PF) in its hegemonic agenda imposes a particular version of its truth in order to legitimize its rule over, other less powerful groups.

According to Moyo (1993) the colonial authorities frustrated the development of civil society in Zimbabwe by seeking to remove blacks from mainstream politics, by confining them to the realm of tribal existence where they would as ‘natives’, define themselves in terms of ethnic as opposed to national identities. Civil society was therefore seen from the colonialist’s point of view as a negative force that sought to change the political order of the day since the most radical African nationalists like Joshua Nkomo were found in them. This is the same attitude that has been adopted by the ZANU PF government towards civil society, which it sees as a negative force fighting for regime change.

According to Bhekinkosi Moyo (2009), in almost all African countries, political liberation was supported extensively by people’s movements, faith based formations and various constellations of civil society. There was therefore a strong link between civil society and political society. Moyo further explores the critical role that was played by mass movements like the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Black Consciousness groups in South Africa in dismantling the Apartheid regime. In the Zimbabwean liberation movements it was no different as various groups, trade unions as well as church organisations gave support to the liberation struggle. In the post-independence period in Zimbabwe it was naturally believed that the new regime unlike that of the colonial era will provide a conducive environment for civil society to thrive and flourish. Unlike Smith’s regime which suppressed trade unions, political parties, student groups and community organisations, it was generally believed that the new era of effective and vibrant civil society movements had come.

However, in its efforts to establish a one party state, ZANU (PF) swallowed these organisations and declared that it was the sole legitimate representative of the people (Moyo 1993). The party declared itself the umbrella organisation of all social movements and went about destroying civil society organisations in the name of ‘the revolution’. Those organisations which had operated illegally during the Smith’s regime found themselves between a rock and a hard place. They either had to allow themselves to be aligned to ZANU PF or risk remaining in political oblivion. Those that allowed themselves to be subservient to ZANU (PF) became irrelevant and those that refused to be under the ‘umbrella’ died a natural death as they were forced to operate in a political environment far more hostile than that of the colonial regime. Moyo (1993) acknowledges that the ruling nationalists in Zimbabwe have failed, whether by design or by default to realise that the logic of colonialism was

specifically contrived to limit and ultimately to eliminate the political participation of blacks, that is to weaken and silence civil society.

There is a high level of intolerance against members of the opposition parties and civil society in Zimbabwe. The level of political intolerance in Zimbabwe led Masipula and Makumbe (1997) to term it ZANU PF's Gukurahundi policy which they defined as an 'undisguised, intolerant, commandist, and deliberately violent policy towards the opposition. They argue that ZANU PF's Gukurahundi policy was adopted during the latter part of the liberation war –in 1979 to be precise and was continued until the 1990's (Masipula and Sithole 1997). However this intolerance against opposition members has never ended as was seen in the run-off to the June 2008 Presidential elections.

The area of study concerning civil society in the developing world covers a variety of issues. Civil society is a highly contentious concept with a variety of connotations. Historically according to Moyo (1993), the notion has been used to designate a plurality of social enclaves which exist in contradistinction to the dominance of a particular monopolistic social system within the same social realm or territorial unity. Typically, the various social systems which have been targeted for opposition by civil society in political history have included savagery, anarchy, the Church, the monarchy, the party, the state and the market economy. More recently in liberal industrialised societies, opposition has tended to generate tension between civil societies on the one hand, and, on the other, the over-arching imperatives of the market economy as a ubiquitous social agency for allocating and distributing resources Heller (1998). This has been in contrast to the situation in countries going through some kind of transition to democracy, such as in the former socialist countries in eastern and central Europe and in Africa where the tension has been between civil society and the party-controlled state.

For liberals, the state which was supposed to play a pivotal enabling role in promoting economic growth has not lived up to the expectations of modernisation. To the radical left, the state in Africa has lived up to its expected revolutionary mission of altering and transforming the economic base in favour of the weakest classes in society. Because of the disappointment of the liberals and radicals they have united in proclaiming civil society as the most viable alternative to the failed state. In civil society as stated by J. Moyo (1993) it is now proclaimed, lie not only the prospects of democracy but also the prospects of a regime that will respect human rights. The prognosis is that the state is bad while everything outside is good (Moyo 1993).

In liberal democratic countries like the United States, it is common to find social science literature which describes civil society as something 'outside' the state'. This research disputes that notion as will be pointed out by various scholars. According to David Hume 'the state and civil society should be treated as intertwining parts of the same social reality'. This view is premised on the notion that both the state and civil society belong to one public realm. The dichotomy between the state and civil society is based on a false dualism which negates the historical fact that 'civil society' means the same thing as 'political community'.

Theoretical Framework

Although there are various theories of civil society this dissertation was guided by Gramsci's theory of state hegemony and civil society. The views of Gramsci who perceived civil society as a domain of voluntary associations counterpoint to the state will be illustrated to emphasize the effective role that can be played by both the state and civil society in promoting peace and tolerance. Unlike Hegel and Marx, Gramsci located civil society at the level of the superstructure, along with the state, and he further argued that civil society was the site for contest and conflict for establishing hegemony over society (Gramsci, 2003).

It is important to draw attention to the fact that the state in Zimbabwe has remained the greatest impediment to the growth of civil society. In order to understand why civil society finds it hard to operate in Zimbabwe, one needs to closely examine Gramsci's theory of state hegemony. It therefore becomes necessary to see the impediments of Zimbabwe's civil society within the broader spectrum of state hegemonic power. According to Gramsci (1971) all regimes require a positive construction of ideological hegemony in order for them to function and stabilise. Gramsci further explores the existence of what he calls a 'super structural form' which consists of political, economic and cultural spheres which the state uses to shape human behaviour and expectations in line with the hegemonic order. Generally the ruling elite impose this hegemony as a way of securing leadership and justifying the various courses of action that the state takes.

As noted by Hearn (2004), hegemony is primarily about how to win power, maintain it and impose your domination on the society at large. He further argues that hegemony involves persuasion of the greater part of the population, particularly through the media, and the organisation of social institutions in ways that appear 'natural', ordinary and 'normal'. In the Zimbabwean context as noted by Moyo (1993) ZANU (PF), in its nationalist claims uses African traditional values to clearly define and shape politics in Zimbabwe. The party uses these traditional values, to restrict the political space of the individual by giving cultural legitimacy to monopoly politics under the cover of 'national unity', Moyo (1993). What is most disturbing about this way of thinking by Zimbabwe nationalists is that they believe that African traditional values dictate that there should be one chief, who is unopposed and disagreements must be avoided at all costs.

Such thinking naturally prohibits multi-party politics as opposition parties are seen as those that seek to disturb the current hegemonic social order. In ZANU (PF) for example, it is considered taboo for anyone within the party to challenge Robert Mugabe at Congress to be President of the party. The kind of hegemonic system in Zimbabwe sacrifices individual freedom of political choice. It is on this basis that Gramsci views civil society as opposed to the state and is the arena for conflict and that social domination can be overcome through the development of counter hegemonic associations representing alternative norms and values.

Research Methodology

This research was based on both primary and secondary data sources. Primary data was gathered through focus group discussions (FDG's) and interviews with community members

and leaders in the areas of Fumugwe and Whitewater in Matobo. Furthermore, selected interviews with key informants were undertaken with various stakeholders. These included leaders of political parties, civil society as well as staff from Masakhaneni Projects Trust. Focus group discussions were used because it is easy to extract the relevant information from people in an area who share similar social and cultural backgrounds and have similar experiences and concerns.

On the other hand secondary data was used in the form of readily available documents that gave insight into the study problem, this was either published or unpublished material (the latter sometimes referred to grey area data). Secondary data sources included written texts, newspapers and a number of book and journal articles as well as reports from the organisation of study.

Research Setting and Population

The study was conducted at Fumugwe and Whitewater rural communities which fall under Matobo District. The bulk of the population in these areas is made up of peasant women farmers, whose main source of income comes from the yields they sell amongst each other in the community. Since the 1980's during the period of the 1980-1987 disturbances to present, most of the men sought refuge in neighbouring countries like South Africa and Botswana initially running away from politically motivated persecution and subsequently in search of employment as economic refugees. A number of Non-Governmental Organisations have been in operation in the area, and these range from those distributing food, to those focusing on gender and women empowerment as well as many others. The majority of the locals are Ndebele and Kalanga women and youth. The area of Whitewater has a secondary school within proximity to the shopping centre and most of the youth in the area either dropped out of school because of financial constraints or finished school but cannot seem to find any employment.

According to Burns and Grove (1993), a population is defined as all elements (individuals, objects and events) that meet the sample criteria for inclusion in a study. A convenient sample of 48 subjects was selected from the two areas (Fumugwe and Whitewater). Mouton (1996) defines a sample as elements selected with the intention of finding out something about the total population from which they are taken. A convenient sample consists of subjects included in the study because they happen to be in the right place at the right time (Polit & Hungler 1993). The sample included three groups from each area. The focus group discussions separated the sample population and grouped them according to gender and age. The first group was composed of eight (8) women, (4) four of these were elderly. The second group was composed of eight (8) men, three (3) of these being the elderly. The final group was composed of youth between the ages of eighteen to thirty-five (18-35).

The Sampling Criteria

Subjects included in the sample were selected to meet specific criteria. The villagers had to meet the following criteria to be included in the sample.

They should:

- Be eighteen (18) years or older.
- Be willing to participate and make contributions to the discussion.
- Be aware of what exactly civil society is, and the work that civil society organisations have conducted in their area.
- Be mentally sound in order to consent to participation.
- Be of either sex or any race

Data collection Instruments

Focus Group Discussions and interviews were chosen as data collection instruments. Focus groups are group discussions which are arranged to examine a specific set of topics (Kitzinger 2005). Focus groups interviews involve a group of 6-8 people who gather together with the help of a moderator in a particular setting where the participants feel free and comfortable enough to engage in a discussion for an hour and a half. The successful of the discussion is heavily dependent on the environment and the atmosphere created by the moderator.

Focus group discussions were chosen because:-

- They are seen as the method which can provide results quickly as observed by Kroll (2007).
- Generally focus group discussions are not expensive to conduct.
- Individuals are more likely to provide responses which are straight forward and direct without reservation or secretiveness.
- They provide an opportunity to the moderator to explore new and unique perspectives.
- They are useful in identifying the needs of the participants.
- They are useful in assessing program effectiveness.

Despite the advantages that have been stated above, focus group discussions have their own weaknesses; for example, they generate a lot of qualitative data that may be difficult to analyse. There is also the danger of the discussions being dominated by outspoken individuals.

Data collection procedure

The researcher conducted the discussions in Ndebele, a language which is well spoken and understood by the members of the communities. In the area of Whitewater, 3 group discussions were held. The first was with the elderly in the community. The second discussion was held with the youth from the area. The women in the area of Whitewater were comfortable holding the discussion on a Wednesday as it was the day were everyone was free and culturally not allowed to work in their fields or gardens. The same process was repeated in the area of Fumugwe.

Reliability

Polit and Hungler (1993) refer to reliability as the degree of consistency with which an instrument measures the attribute it is designed to measure. The focus groups discussions conducted with the different members of the community revealed consistency in responses. The discussion with the elders of Fumugwe for example revealed knowledge that was almost similar to the one with those of Whitewater although the two places are almost 30 kilometres away from each other. Data collection bias was minimised by the researcher being the only one to administer the discussions. The physical and psychological environment where data was collected was made comfortable by ensuring privacy, confidentiality and general physical comfort.

Validity

As stated by Polit and Hungler (1993), the validity of an instrument is the degree to which an instrument measures what it is intended to measure. The validity of the information obtained refers to the extent to which the instrument used represents the factors under study. To achieve validity, the focus group discussions and interviews included different questions on what the communities expected of government, its limitations and the role that civil society then plays in bridging the gap left by government.

The focus group discussions and interviews were based on information that was gathered during literature review to ensure that they were a representative of what the participants should know about civil society and its role in the peace building process. To further ensure validity, there was consistence in the questions that were asked by the researcher in the group discussions. The questions asked by the researcher were in the locally understood language Ndebele and were in the simplest form possible so as to ensure that the subject of study is understood by everyone regardless of their social standing in society or academic

qualifications. All persons approached to participate did so in a satisfying manner as the discussions were lively and gave the researcher a new perspective on issues relating to violence, peace and political impunity.

CHAPTER ONE

ORIGINS OF VIOLENCE AND POLITICAL IMPUNITY IN ZIMBABWE

In understanding the critical role that civil society has played in the Zimbabwean context, one must have a general appreciation of the culture of political violence which is predominant in Zimbabwe and usually manifests itself during electoral processes. In this chapter I seek to trace the genesis of violence in modern day Zimbabwe and examine how violence has been institutionalised in the political culture of the post-colonial state as a means of attaining political objectives.

Colonisation and the Process of Decolonisation

Colonialism by its very nature was sustained through violent means as the colonizer imposed his rule by means of guns and machines (Fanon 1963). Paulantzas is in agreement with Fanon when he says that the state is a product of violent construction and also arrogates itself the monopoly of violence. Therefore colonialization became not just a violent process alone but a dehumanising one as well as the white colonialist in establishing his hegemony sought to reduce the indigenous blacks to something less human, an animal sort of creature which lacks morals, principles and the general rule of law.

The entire process of colonisation dehumanises the native, or to put it in Fanon's terms, it turns him into an animal. In fact the terms the settler uses when he mentions the natives are zoological terms (Fanon 1963). International propaganda portrayed Africans as uncivilised, living in a state of nature where life was short, nasty and brutish. Ultimately the coloniser used such strategies to justify his actions which he perceived were a necessary evil which had to be done in order to bring 'civilisation' to the lost natives. According to Gatsheni (2011), violence in coloniality was used not only to 'inferiorize' black people in villages, but to deny their very humanity, so as to justify such forms of violence as slavery, colonial conquest, dispossession, imprisonment, rape and killing.

Therefore colonisation by its very nature not only exploited the resources of the indigenous black African communities but also damaged the black man's perception of himself. As stated by Fanon (1963), colonisation left the black man in an identity crisis as his whole existence revolved around escaping his blackness. Decolonisation therefore had to become a violent process which sought to not only uproot the white colonialists' hegemony but is a process of becoming 'human' for the black man (Fanon 1963). It is on this basis that Fanon justified the armed liberation struggle waged by the natives against their 'white masters' as a means of not only attaining political and economic freedom but also as a way of removing the stigma of inferiority that the black man has about himself. The black man by virtue of being colonised has lost his self-esteem and value and cannot see himself outside of the borders and parameters that have been set by his oppressor. It is only when the native has fought and defeated the coloniser in physical combat that he is able to see that the white man is no god but is human like him. As stated by Moyo (1993), the armed struggle in Zimbabwe was an effective means of defeating oppressive and intransigent elements of colonialism and racism.

Since the 1960's, Zimbabweans waged a war of independence against the white minority regime, a war which became popularly known as the Second Chimurenga. The formation of ZIPRA (the military wing of ZAPU), and ZANLA (the military wing of ZANU), all act as proof of the steps that were being taken by blacks as a means of liberating themselves from the chains of colonialism. However it is important to note that the coming in of the war also brought with it a culture of political impunity as a lot of atrocious crimes were committed all in the name of the struggle. By its very nature the armed struggle was violent and lacked a guiding moral ethic (Moyo, 1993) and was thus amenable to manipulation by unscrupulous nationalist politicians and military commanders who personalised the liberation war for their own selfish ends.

A culture of political violence was predominant in the 1970's as locals feared for their lives, both in the hands of the Rhodesian regime and also in the hands of the guerrillas. Liberation fighters' usually hosted *pungwes* (night vigils) amongst the locals which were designed to gather support from the locals for the war but these *pungwes* were also used as an opportunity to identify those who were said to be 'sell outs' and enemies of the struggle. At times women were raped during these *pungwes*, some coerced to kill their cattle for the guerrillas, and some accused for being witches and killed, and so on. Those who were identified as sell outs were killed brutally in the eyes of other villagers so as to instil fear amongst the locals. As noted by Magure (2009), fear was instilled into the locals through various forms and songs were also composed warning people not to betray the struggle because 'comrades slit throats'. Magure further explores how the war also provided a way for locals to settle personal scores against each other or with their traditional leaders. Even the young soldiers who carried out such acts of violence were traumatised by the experiences. The living conditions of the soldiers in the camps were also unbearable as they sometimes went without sufficient food, water and sufficient clothing,

As stated by Moyo 1993:-

"Life in the training camps and during military operations was obviously very difficult, even sometimes unbearable for the young people who took up arms. For example inside the military training camps discipline was arbitrarily and autocratically enforced by politicians-cum-military commanders who had little or no military professionalism...Ideological education in the training camps was crudely based on fostering a common hatred. Young men and women, many whom are still unaccounted for, lost their lives in the guerrilla camps under the most appalling circumstances".

Amongst the liberation movements which engaged in the struggle for nation liberation there was a lot of tension and animosity which sometimes led to violent clashes as seen in those between ZAPU and ZANU in Tanzania. From the time ZANU broke away from ZAPU in 1963, the two movements were hostile towards each other although they both remained committed to the struggle. As noted by Sithole (1999) human beings are by their very nature self-seeking and such power struggles were inevitable given the nature of the war. But however how these disagreements are handled becomes the critical issue. Unfortunately as Sithole puts it, many revolutionaries in the 'Third World', get so engrossed in ideological recitation that their commitment to a borrowed "ism" overwhelms even those "pushing" the

drug. This was the cases with the liberation movements of Zimbabwe as ideological differences and personality issues often took precedence over the primary objective of liberating the nation.

Even within the liberation movements there was a lot conflict which was sometimes along tribal and regional lines what Sithole (1999) refers to as ‘The Struggles within the Struggle’. Within ZAPU for example there was a struggle for power amongst Kalangas, Ndebeles and Zezuru’s. As a result of such struggles, George Nyandoro and Chikerema broke away from ZAPU in 1970 and formed FROLIZI. Within ZANU this was also the case as there were silent wars between Karangas, Zezuru, and Manyikas (Sithole, 1999).

Ndabaningi Sithole (1975) sighted in Mhlanga (2013, p2) had this to say:-

‘When we formed ZANU in 1963, it was called the Zimbabwe African National Union, but by 1974 and the beginning of 1975, it had become in practice ‘Zimbabwe African Tribal Union’ masquerading under the respectable garbs of the ZANU of 1963. The tribalised or regional Dare had therefore ceased to represent ZANU as we know it. It has come to represent in effect ZATU (Zimbabwe African Tribal Union) or ZARU (Zimbabwe African Regional Union).’

This is why the question to who assassinated Hebert Chitepo in 1975 remains unanswered as some scholars have often blamed it on the ‘struggles within the struggle’. Political leaders within ZANU attacked the Zambian government for complicity in the death of Chitepo. However a report referred to as *Report of the Special Commission on the Assassination of Hebert Wiltshire Chitepo* (sighted by Masipula Sithole) which was compiled by the International Commission which inquired into the matter (this Commission was made up of 13 African countries, Botswana, Congo, Ivory Coast, Libya, Malagasy, Morocco, Mozambique, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Tanzania, Zaire and Zambia) blamed the assassination on the members of the Dare and ZANU High Command. Even within ZAPU, the death of Nikita Mangena remains mysterious and clouded with a lot of myths. It is therefore clear that there was a lot of political impunity within the liberation movements as the revolution fed on its children but all this was disguised under the banner of nationalism and socialism. In other words, the end justified the means.

Friedrick Nietzsche states that ‘He who fights with monsters should look to it that he himself does not become a monster’. And when you gaze long into an abyss, the abyss gazes into you. This is the case with many revolutionary leaders in Africa who fought colonialism. Fanon (1963) noted with concern that the statesmen of the new post-colonial states continued to exhibit some aggressive tendencies even when they delivered public speeches which in the normal way ought to have disappeared. According to Gatsheni (2011) the colonial authoritarian culture of violence was able to reproduce itself on the African national psyche. He further states that, the liberation struggles that needed nationalist violence to eject colonial violence further formed a seed bed for future cultures of violence. In the process of fighting the monster of colonialism, some liberation heroes have become the monsters.

THE 1980-1987 DISTURBANCES IN MATEBELELAND AND MIDLANDS

As from the period of 1980-1987 there were disturbances in Matebeleland and Midlands, what has become popularly known as the Gukurahundi. As Masipula Sithole (1999) highlighted above, there was tension between the dominant liberation movements ZANU and ZAPU. It is therefore no surprise that the Gukurahundi has often been perceived as an extension of underlying conflicts between the two parties tracing back to the liberation struggle. According to Mashingaidze (2005), the conflict was a spill-over from the nationalist politics of the 1960s and 1970s. ZAPU's stronghold was in Matebeleland and the Midlands areas, whilst ZANU's support base was largely in Mashonaland and Manicaland. There were reports in 1982 of dissidents who were said to be former ZIPRA forces that had fled the army with their weapons and were terrorising villagers and tourists.

According to the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) report (1997), some of the soldiers who deserted the army and became dissidents say they had no choice but to take to the bush because they were being persecuted within the army in various ways. This was in the assembly points where they say that their fellow comrades began to disappear mysteriously. The CCJP Report states that the dissidents were roughly 200 and murdered at least 33 white commercial farmers or members of their families. In response to the dissident crisis the government of Zimbabwe deployed the 5th Brigade into the areas of Matebeleland and Midlands. Within weeks after it was deployed in 1983 it was said to have murdered 2000 civilians. The ZANU government at the time claimed that the dissidents were actively supported by ZAPU which wanted to overthrow the government. ZAPU on the other hand believed that the ZANU PF government was using the dissident issue as an excuse to permanently crush ZAPU for good and create a one party state.

It is however important to note that the South Africa government played a part in worsening relations between ZAPU and ZANU. South Africa was still under white minority rule and therefore felt threatened that its northern neighbour had gained independence. South African soldiers (*as sighted by the CCJP report*) destroyed a major munitions dump at Inkomo barracks in 1981. In December 1981 they destroyed the ZANU PF Headquarters as well as the Thornhill Air Base in Gweru and blamed it on ZAPU supports. ZANU blamed all this on ZAPU and deployed the 5th Brigade into the areas of Matebeleland and Midlands which were ZAPU strongholds. From the time the 5th Brigade was deployed in the areas of Matebeleland, a lot of human rights violations occurred as those who were said to be ZAPU supporters were sympathizing with the dissidents were eliminated and others disappeared. However as the CCJP Report (1997, p6) states:-

‘One of the saddest outcomes of the violence in the 1980s is that many have come to see the conflict during the time as ethnic in nature. It has been misinterpreted as a civil war between Shonas and Ndebeles. This is not accurate. Most people in Mashonaland had no idea of what was really happening, nor would have wished ordinary people in Matebeleland to have been persecuted. Similarly, most people in Matebeleland did not become dissidents, nor did they support what the dissidents did’.

The general perception that is held in most of the areas that were affected by the Gukurahundi like those of Matobo, Lupane and Tsholotsho is that ZANU PF was out to kill Ndebeles. Villagers state that they were made to sing Shona songs praising Mugabe and ZANU PF. Most of the villagers in these communities continue to hold on to painful past memories of the period as they witnessed their family members who were said to be supporters of dissidents brutally murdered. Some of them lost their relatives who disappeared during this period and have since not returned. (*Chapter 2 will further explore the subject matter*)

However since the Unity Accord was signed in 1987, there has been very little effort on the part of government to achieve national healing as most people who were affected by the disturbances have not been reconciled and continue to hold on to past memories of injustices. As noted by Mashingaidze (2005), the 1987 Unity Accord ended the war but did not bring peace and reconciliation; it was elitist and embodied a top-down approach to governance. Nkomo and Mugabe signed the Accord and then sold it to the people. Most people generally feel that unity was achieved amongst ZANU and ZAPU politicians but did not bring true reconciliation at grassroots level.

As noted by Makumbe (2007), Mugabe's regime has not democratised itself, the party has failed to make a transition from a militant and militaristic liberation movement to a democratic political party. It has failed that transition, so the style of management, its style of governance is fashioned along the socialist authoritarian system, which is largely commandist and does not tolerate both internal and external criticism. It is also important to note that because Tsvangirai rose to a position of influence and leadership within the ranks of civil society, ZANU PF therefore has always been sceptical of the operation of civil society which are seen as trying to achieve regime change. Its fears were made worse by the fact that most political activists in civil society eventually join opposition parties. A good example is that of Gordon Moyo who was the Director of Bulawayo Agenda joined MDC and was given a senior political post.

Although during the period of the Inclusive Government (2009-2013) there was a government ministry of National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration which was formed specifically to look into cases of past political injustices like the disturbances of the 80's, very little was done in terms of achieving true healing and justice. There was no commitment to this and the ministry was shared leading to bickering over policy instead of getting to work on critical matters before the ministry. The President Robert Mugabe has often referred to it as a 'moment of madness' and up to now has not released the findings of the Chihambakwe Commission which was tasked to make a formal inquiry into the matter.

ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN ZIMBABWE

A culture of political violence with impunity remains common in Zimbabwe as usually seen during electoral processes. As noted by Gatsheni (2012), elections in Zimbabwe have never been happy moments for Zimbabwe because, since the country's first election in 1980, election campaigns and post-election politics have gone hand in glove with violence and death. Every election in Zimbabwe provides ZANU PF with an opportunity to exercise its

Gukurahundi policy (Masipula and Sithole 1996) against members of the opposition and anyone perceived to be an enemy of the state. Not much is done to persecute those that perpetuate acts of violence as all this is just referred to as 'politics'. This violence which usually manifests itself during elections was also witnessed in the 1990 elections where Patrick Kombayi a businessman from Gweru was assassinated in broad daylight for challenging ZANU-PF member and the country's Vice President Simon Muzenda (Moyo, 1992).

As noted by Gatsheni (2012), ZANU-PF has since 1980, presided over a pseudo-democracy. Larry Diamond (1996) sighted by Gatsheni (2012) defined pseudo-democracies as consisting of regimes that 'have legal opposition parties and perhaps many other features of electoral democracy, but fail to meet one of its crucial requirements: a sufficient fair arena of contestation to allow the ruling party to be turned out of power'. Since the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999, a lot of human rights activists and journalists have disappeared and not much assistance is provided by members of the Zimbabwe Republic Police on these mysterious deaths. As a result of the failure by the state to persecute perpetrators of violence a culture of fear like the one in the liberation struggle has been deeply instilled in the populace. As noted by Kriger (2005), ZANU PF in the 2000 election campaign engaged in violence and intimidation and relied on the youth and war veterans to carry out acts of violence against members of the opposition parties. This reluctance to punish violators of human rights at election times or other moments of political crisis has created a culture of impunity in Zimbabwe, and a notion that violence and intimidation of opponents are the appropriate modalities for transacting political business (Mashingaidze 2009).

Since the year 2000 after the implementation of the Fast Track Land Reform Program, elections and referendums have been preceded and followed by sanctioned campaigns of violence mainly targeting perceived supporters and sympathizers of the opposition parties. In 2008, for the first time since independence in 1980, Zimbabwe conducted four elections rolled in one, hence the term 'harmonised' elections. Until 2005, Presidential and Parliamentary elections were held separately with Presidential elections after every 5 years and Parliamentary elections after every six years.

In 2008 after the harmonised elections held in March, the government unleashed violence on defenseless citizens after the March 29 elections which upset ZANU PF's dominance in the House of Assembly for the first time since independence. In Mashonaland East for example, a reign of terror was allegedly unleashed on MDC supporters at the All Souls Mission in Mutoko, a development that reportedly saw some victims seeking refuge in nearby mountains painfully watching as their homesteads were burnt to the ground. As noted by the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN, 2008) report of the 2008 elections, freedom of assembly and movement were heavily restricted with rural areas virtually sealed off from opposition rallies, the opposition leadership subjected to sporadic arrests and detention.

Hate speech, incitement of violence and threats of war characterized electoral campaigns, with members of the ruling party threatening to go back to war if the election was lost to the

MDC. The ruling party ZANU PF's political rallies were laced with slogans such as *Pasi ne MDC*, use of military language, swearing, labelling of other contestants as enemies of the state, sell outs and puppets of the West and betrayers of the revolution. Political opponents have been dismissed as dissidents, puppets and reactionaries (Kriger 2005). Military service chiefs have also contributed to this political intolerance as seen by the utterances of Major General Nyikayaramba who vowed that he would not salute any Presidential winner who did not have liberation war credentials. Simba Makoni a former politburo member of ZANU PF who had exercised his constitutional right and decided to stand for presidential office against his former leader Robert Mugabe was labelled a sell-out and a rebel. This actually shows the magnitude of political intolerance in Zimbabwe which ultimately results in violent clashes between members of different political parties.

The level of intimidation and political violence was so high from March up to June 2008 when the run-off elections were held. African icons such as Nelson Mandela, Desmond Tutu and Kofi Annan as well as the United Nations Secretary General and members of the international community called for the cancellation of the run-off. As a result of political violence leading to the run-off elections, the outcome of the elections was rejected by a number of countries such as Botswana, Zambia, Britain and the United States. The government of Botswana openly called for the expulsion of Zimbabwe from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union. The election outcome was generally condemned by various bodies including the Pan African Parliament Observer Team, the AU Observer Mission as well as the SADC Election Observer Mission (SEOM). The election was perceived as 'not giving rise to the conduct of free, fair and credible elections'.

Is there Peace in Zimbabwe?

Although peace is difficult to define, according to Webster (1993), it is a state of mutual concord between government and the people. This therefore means that peace is the absence of war and hostility. However according to Galtung (1969) when defining peace one should distinguish between positive peace and negative peace. Positive peace includes structures and values which enhance mutual respect and the unfolding of the full potential of all people. On the other hand negative peace is when there are a lot of unresolved political issues of the past which create a lot of conflict and tension in society. Although on the surface Zimbabwe appears to be a peaceful nation, the kind of peace which exists in the nation is negative as the citizens live in fear of state security personnel like the army and secret service.

Galtung (1969) identified three manifestations of violence which exist and are predominant in developing poor countries. There is direct violence which is characterised by physical and verbal attacks, where citizens are brutally murdered like the case in the Rwandan genocide or the killings which happened in Zimbabwe between 1982 and 1987. Direct violence in Zimbabwe was witnessed during harmonised elections like those of 2008 where villagers in places like Masvingo and Chiredzi lost their relatives to electoral violence. The second type of violence which Galtung talks about is structural violence. This one is hidden in structures which are repressive, segregative or exploitative like the Apartheid regime in South Africa or

Rhodesia prior to independence in Zimbabwe. In order for one to understand structural violence there is a need to examine the society as a whole with particular focus being given to political, economic and social networks, individuals' institutions and organisations. According to Galtung structural violence assumes that states and individuals do not make decisions only on the basis of rational choice.

There is also what Galtung refers to as cultural violence. This is when culture is used as an instrument to justify or legitimise the application of direct or structural violence. A good example is that of women in Zimbabwe and Africa in general where culture is used to deny women positions of leadership and influence. As a result of patriarchy their job is only restricted to taking care of their families, cooking and bearing children.

As a result of fear that I alluded to earlier on, citizens are not in a privileged position of fully enjoying their rights. Because of a political culture of violence which breeds fear, Zimbabweans are generally afraid to air out their political views freely. Although the constitution adopted in 2013 is more liberal and progressive as compared to the previous one in empowering the citizens as seen in the Bill of Rights (Section 48-80) which gives citizens freedom of association, expression and political assembly, fear of political prejudice hinders its application. The constitution puts a mandate on the government to form the Gender Commission which will look into the issues that affect women but nothing has been done by government to get the Commission fully functioning. The Human Rights Commission as well as the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission have been constitutionally mandated to make investigations into issues relating to past human rights violations and come up with ways to promote true healing and justice but very little has been done to ensure that these Commissions are fully functioning.

As a result of structural, direct and cultural violence one can safely say that Zimbabwe is not a peaceful country. The violence (cultural, direct and structural) which Zimbabweans have been exposed to since the 2nd Chimurenga has left them in a state of fear which paralyses them from effectively participating in decision making in their communities and this has hindered development in these localities.

Conclusion

In this chapter I examined the origins of modern day political violence in Zimbabwe. I traced political violence and impunity as far as the liberation struggle for independence and how this violence was later integrated into the political culture of Zimbabwe. This chapter also shed some light on the tensions which existed between PF ZAPU and ZANU PF which later led to the Gukurahundi massacres. It is also in this chapter where highlighted the nature of electoral violence and how such violence has been perpetrated in impunity. Finally this chapter tried to analyse whether there was peace in Zimbabwe. The presence of direct, structural and cultural violence led the researcher to conclude that there is no peace in Zimbabwe as the masses live in fear of the state and its security personnel.

CHAPTER TWO

CIVIL SOCIETY INITIATIVES IN PROMOTING PEACE AND TOLERANCE

In this chapter I closely examine the role that civil society organisations have played in promoting peace and tolerance in Zimbabwe. The chapter will first outline what civil society is, its origins and whether it is relevant in Zimbabwe. It is also in this chapter that I will highlight the causes of conflict in Matobo which ultimately lead to violence and intolerance. I will also dwell much on the interventions of civil society organisations in Zimbabwe and finally I will latch into the work of Masakhaneni Projects Trust in promoting peace, democracy and tolerance in Matobo.

ORIGINS OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil Society emerged in Europe as scholars 'sought to come to terms with' the rapid expansion of capitalism. It is western philosophers like Alexis Tocqueville, John Locke and John Stuart Mill who developed the relationship and relevancy of civil society towards democracy. With the emergence of industrialisation in Europe and the growth of capitalism, various views began to emerge on how best the state should relate to the private sector. Civil society sought to question the kind of powers that a state should be allowed to have, how the state ought to exercise these powers and how should the state intervene in the private sector or should the state not be allowed at all to intervene in the affairs of the private sector.

IS CIVIL SOCIETY RELEVANT IN AFRICA?

Although some scholars argue that since the concept of civil society emerged in Europe and from Western traditions and value systems contrary to those of African societies therefore it is not relevant. However this dissertation dismisses such a notion as there is a universal need for political projects which are geared towards building tolerance, accountability, transparency and the rule of law. According to (Allen 2007) 'civil society' has been widely used despite its manifest weakness and has remained popular because of its ideological component (or what Mamdani calls it 'programmatic' elements). Civil society is relevant in Africa because of these three important reasons stated below:-

- 1) The emphasis on democracy, accountability, rule of law, good governance, and gender equality by civil society which seeks to act as a watchdog to the state is necessary as this ensures that the holders of public office do not abuse their powers and remain transparent to those who elected them into office. This has been the case in Africa where holders of public office abuse and loot state resources without any mechanisms from government to curb such behaviour.
- 2) Herbeson (1994) (quoted by David Lewis 2001) argued that civil society is crucial to Africa's political development as it fills the gap on issues relating to economic and social development in Africa as both African governments and donors have failed in the post-colonial state to develop sound policies.

- 3) Civil society through its lobby and advocacy initiatives encourages citizens to be involved in the decision making process within their localities. This has proved important in Zimbabwe where there is a passive political culture amongst the citizens.

The role played by Civil Society Organisations in promoting peace and tolerance

In the Zimbabwean context one can never undermine the role that has been played by civil society in both the colonial and post-colonial period in pushing for the rights of citizens. One of the first black trade union movements to emerge in colonial Zimbabwe was the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) that was formed around 1920 to deal with the stagnation in wages among other grievances (Magure 2009). The Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (RICU) was formed in 1946 under the leadership of Charles Mzingeli and was instrumental in fighting against state controls on Africans in urban areas. Most of the nationalist leaders that emerged in the colonial era like Joshua Nkomo were active members of civil society groups. Since independence civil society organisations like the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union (ZCTU), National Association of Non-Governmental Organisation (NANGO), Churches and Civil Society Forum (CCSF) have been lobbying government to implement policies. NANGO and CCSF in collaboration with COPAC also played a pivotal role in the drafting of the constitution which was eventually adopted in 2013.

Although civil society organisations in Zimbabwe operate in a hostile political environment as mentioned by the leaders of NGOs interviewed, some of them have played a pivotal role in peace building and conflict transformation. Civil society organisations in Zimbabwe have kept the issue of democracy in Zimbabwe on the agenda. The general belief being that a nation that respects democratic principles and the rule of law will ultimately be a peaceful nation. Since 1990, ZCTU was one of the first few organisations which campaigned vigorously against the ideology of ZANU PF of a one party state as they saw this not only as dictatorial in nature but did not give enough political space to civics to lobby the government on issues of concern. Participants mentioned how a number of organisations carried out awareness campaigns in the area encouraging them to be involved in the constitution making process of 2000 and 2013. The organisations interpreted the constitution and the legal statutes in local languages, Ndebele and Kalanga and this helped a lot of citizens who could not speak or write English.

The National Constitution Assembly (NCA) in its early days managed to push the government to implement the necessary constitutional changes that would promote justice, the rule of law and avoid abuse of power. In conjunction with the MDC they successfully campaigned for the NO VOTE on the 2000 constitutional referendum which would have given ZANU PF more draconic powers. Directors of CSO's interviewed, mentioned how it was through their effort and partnership with government that they were able to push for the 2013 constitution which incorporated the Human Rights, Gender and the Peace and Reconciliation Commissions which they feel will be the pillars of peace, justice and political tolerance in Zimbabwe.

The Evangelic Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ) and other churches in conjunction with other civics through the Church and Civil Society Forum (CSF) have been pushing government to implement laws which would promote national healing and reconciliation. It is through their efforts that the constitution of Zimbabwe adopted in 2013 puts a mandate on government to form a national Peace and Reconciliation Commission. Other civics like the Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights, Solidarity Peace Trust and Bulawayo Agenda have also played a pivotal role in the democracy and human rights discourse.

Non-governmental organisations like ZESN and the Election Resource Centre (ERC) have engaged the government and the Zimbabwe Election Commission (ZEC) in issues relating to vote rigging, violence and intimidation during elections. They have provided government and the general population at large with relevant information relating to irregularities in the election processes of Zimbabwe.

On the causes of conflict which ultimately lead to violence.

From the Focus Group Discussions and the interviews conducted in Matobo, participants identified three main factors as the precipitates of politically motivated violence; poverty, misgovernance (here issues of corruption and bad leadership emerged) and structural marginalisation. Also given that this research was conducted in Matebeleland South, specifically, Matobo historical factors had a bearing on the contextual issues that emerged. For example, locals traced structural marginalisation to the disturbances of the 80's where they were tortured by the 5th Brigade which they as an attempt by government to eradicate and eliminate ZAPU and its Ndebele supporters. Since the Gukurahundi genocide locals feel they have not been involved in decision making in Zimbabwe as there are still perceived as 'dissidents' by the state. In all the discussions and interviews carried out, the issue of Gukurahundi seemed to emerge from the participants. Some openly stated that they have not seen any meaningful change from the Ian Smith regime to the current ZANU PF government as they have constantly been victimised by the state and its agents and have been side-lined in the decision making process in their localities.

Although people are generally afraid to talk of their experiences of the period, some have been willing to open up and talk of their experiences in the hands of the 5th Brigade. The elderly participants to the focus group discussions made mention of how they were victimised in the hands of state agents and were subjected to hunger as there were food curfews which lasted for months especially in 1984. As stated by the CCJP report (1997) on the disturbances in Matebeleland it was only in 1984 when the 5th Brigade began a systematic process of mass beating and detention in the region.

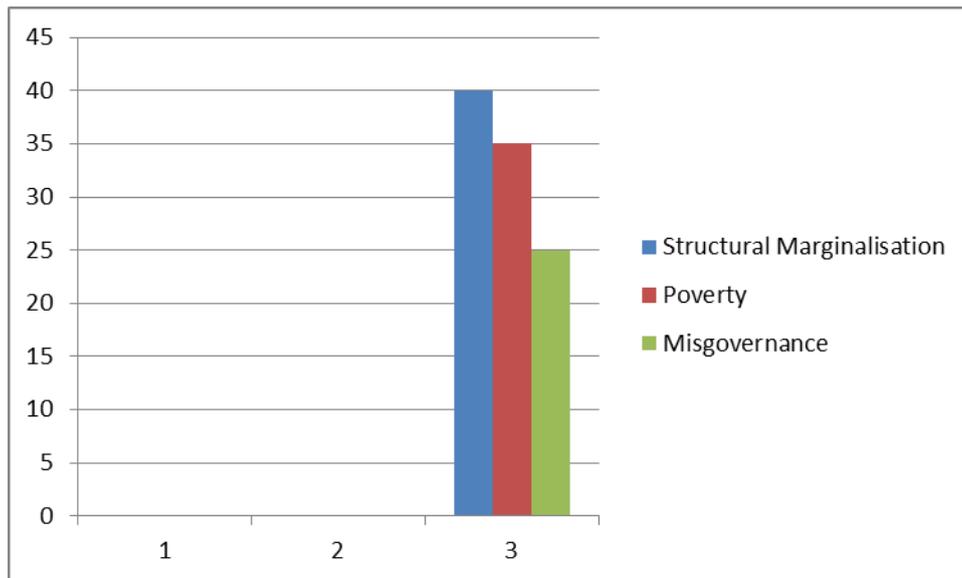
The focus group discussions revealed that it is also in Matobo where the Bhalagwe Camp was located which was originally a military camp for ZIPRA but in 1982, the army unit was accused by the government of being dissidents. Up to today villagers mention how the camp became a torture base where thousands of civilians were trucked in and detained there. Local people studied expressed disappointment at the failure of government to create a conducive environment to discuss the 1980s genocide. As noted by Mashingaidze (2005), the most

conclusive way of bringing about sustainable peace and reconciliation in communities is through truth telling and a shared willingness to reconcile by all the major actors or protagonists in the conflict.

The conflict that has been bedevilling Matobo District in the post-independence era was escalated after ZANU (PF) lost the majority of the seats for the first time in parliament in the 2002 harmonized election. This led to ZANU (PF) “whipping in line” those that were said to be voting for the opposition party. This was rampant in areas that supported the opposition party. Matobo District was also heavily affected as it was the second district in Matabeleland South that had a majority of councillors from the opposition party. This later led to the district being the only one that had police camps in every ward. The community perceived this as ZANU (PF) strategy of crushing the opposition because perpetrators of violence from ZANU (PF) went unpunished despite the heavy presence of the police in the district. Unlawful arrests and detentions of members of opposition parties is common in the area and the general belief is that since there is a police base in every ward, the police would curb such incidences of violence. However, participants in the study mentioned how the police always state that they have no intention of getting involved in politics. This is despite the fact that they are the ones who unlawfully arrest members of opposition parties and detain them for days without any legal representation on the part of the arrested.

Participants in the study trace conflict in the area of Matobo back to the colonial era when the Smith’s regime created National Parks in the area and pushed local people to the peripheries where they were overcrowded and had insufficient land for both grazing and ploughing. This obviously caused a lot of disgruntlement to the locals as traditionally Africans are heavily depended on their land for agricultural purposes. Although the government of Zimbabwe embarked on a land reform programme in the 1980s which was however, fast tracked in the year 2000 and beyond, not much was done in addressing the issues of overcrowding in the area. As noted by the Herald, 17 June 2002, in Matobo District the great majority of former white-owned farms and ranches have been in the hands of government for nearly 15 years. Therefore, if there has not been a just redistribution of land in this part of Matabeleland South, this has not been because of white farmers or British vested interests. Those in power have exploited the land for their own profit at the expense of the ordinary citizens. The locals claim that the entire program in the District was characterised by corruption as only people from Bulawayo with political ties and influence were mostly accommodated by the program whilst the rest of the masses were neglected.

As a result of inadequate farming land and poor rainfall which the District is subjected to, poverty has taken centre stage as the locals are heavily depended on the food inputs that they receive from government. The distribution of farming inputs is usually along partisan lines and the selection of those who benefit from government schemes is also along partisan lines and this causes conflict amongst the locals. Poverty remains a key driver of conflict as the locals mention how on numerous occasions people have fought over government inputs.



Causes of Conflict

As highlighted by the graph above, 40% of the participants identified structural marginalisation by the government as the major cause of conflict, whilst 35% blamed it on poverty which they saw as the one which fuels conflict. On the other hand, 25% of the participants identified misgovernance by local leaders who are unaccountable and abuse power as the cause of conflict.

Participants in the study stated that most NGO interventions have been in the form of humanitarian aid as seen through the works of World Vision, USAID, ORAP and the World Food Programme (WFP). They mentioned how the work of these NGOs alleviated poverty especially during the period of 2000-2009 where they received cooking oil, barley, rice as well as mealie-meal from these organisations. In terms of peace building and conflict transformation, one organisation which stands out in the area of Matobo is Amani Trust. The organisation carried out exhumation exercises between the periods of 1994-1995 where those who were massacred during the Gukurahundi period and buried in shallow graves were given proper burial. As noted by Chabal (2009) In Africa the place of birth and burial matter greatly for a number of religious, cultural and sociological reasons.

The bones of the deceased are greatly respected and hence in most cases locals are not willing to be moved from the location of their ancestral bones. With the help of forensic psychologists from Argentina the locals in conjunction with Amani Trust identified sites where people had been buried and they were exhumed. From the exhumation exercise the locals were able to identify their relatives and they were given descent burials. The locals who benefited from the work of Amani Trust still mention how the exercise brought healing to their families and the community. It was however unfortunate that the work of Amani Trust was short-lived due to financial challenges but the locals mention how the exercise improved community relations.

Are Communities better off without NGO's?

The researcher sought to find out whether communities feel they can survive on their own without the intervention of Non-governmental organisations. One of the participants to the focus group discussions had this to say:

'Mtanami kungasi msebenzi yenhlanganiso lezi ezisipha ukudla zisifundisa ngokuthula nga lapha vele akuphileki. Lokufa ngakudala sabulawa yindlala lezo mbangilizwe. (My son if it wasn't for the work of these organisations which provide us with food and teach us to live in harmony with each other, we would have died of hunger and the struggles of power in this nation')

From the discussions with the researcher, members of the Matobo community value the contributions that have been made by civil society organisations, not only in alleviating poverty but also in improving community relations. Members of political parties that were interviewed also value the contributions of NGOs although those of ZANU PF strongly felt that these organisations should limit themselves to issues of food security and leave issues of governance to the government. These were the same sentiments that were expressed by the party in the crafting of the NGO Bill of 2004. However civil society leaders say that it is difficult to run away from politics because the problems that have confronted the communities and Zimbabwe at large are in nature political.

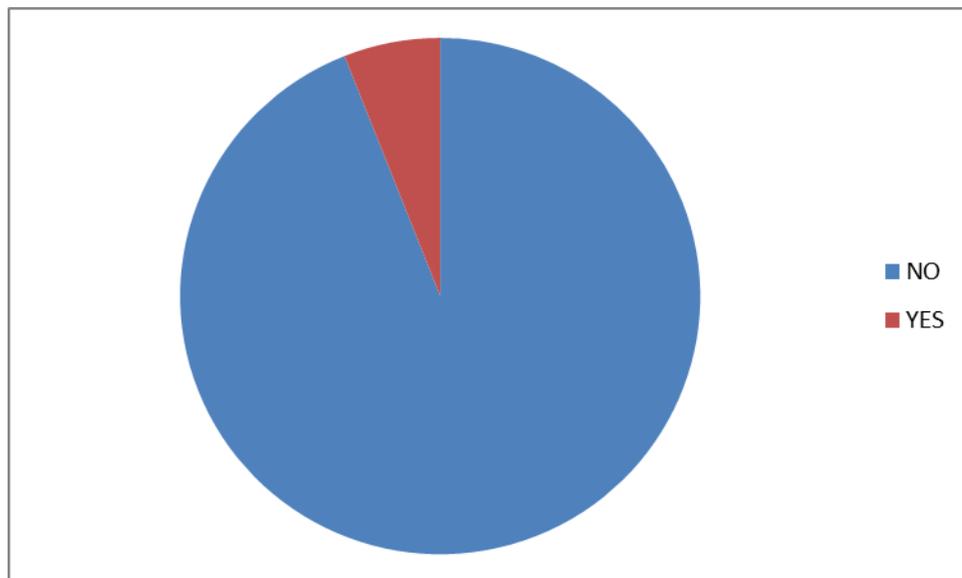


Chart representing the views of the communities concerning NGO's. 96% were in favour of NGO interventions in Matobo.

How sustainable is the work being done by NGOs?

From the study participants, the responses were rather inconclusive as they were both optimistic and equally sceptic. 50% of those interviewed felt that NGO interventions were unsustainable as they were heavily depended on donor funding. Projects like those of ORAP, WFP and World Vision were sighted as examples. Some civic society leaders felt that food hand outs promoted a culture of unproductivity as the recipients remained perpetually

dependent on it. However, interventions like those of Amani Trust, Christian Legal Society and Masakhaneni Projects Trust seemed to have a lasting impact as they constantly addressed the key drivers of conflict which were identified as structural marginalisation and bad governance characterised by unaccountability, abuse of power and rule of law. Villagers mentioned how the work of Masakhaneni and Amani Trust has helped the communities to heal and see themselves beyond the scope of politics.

INTERVENTION STRATEGIES IMPLIMENTED BY MASAKHANENI PROJECTS TRUST

Masakhaneni Projects Trust has been operating in the area of Matobo since its inception in 2008, specifically during the period of the Governemnt of National Unity (2009-2013). The organisation works through its locally based facilitators who were appointed by communities with the approval of the traditional leadership. Deliberately, those chosen to be facilitators were members of political parties in the area. These included members of ZANU PF, MDC-T, MDC and ZAPU. The idea behind this selection criteria was the belief by the organisation that it is easier to build sustainable peace when you involve all relevant stakeholders who contribute directly to violence and political intolerance. The facilitators were then trained by the organisation on key issues that are fundamental for the attainment of sustainable peace and these included the rule of law, democracy, gender equality, political participation as well as the respect for human rights.

The key objectives of MPT's Intervention strategies were:-

- Identifying and capacitating community-based conflict transformation facilitators to promote coordinate and sustain conflict transformation in the area.
- To lobby local political parties so as to create an environment conducive to dialogue and democratic decision making processes, with a particular focus on elections, human rights, conflict transformation and democracy.
- Monitoring and advocating for institutional, constitutional and legislative reforms and gender main-streaming of processes.
- Building the capacity of traditional leadership structures, faith based organisations, the youth, women and political leaders from remote and marginalized communities to contribute and participate in local and national peace building initiatives.
- Promoting and capacitating women and youth participation in conflict transformation and decision making in local areas.
- Promoting resuscitation or conceptualisation of new community-led and owned development projects so as to bring people together outside of the drivers of conflict.

Through the facilitators there was the creation of Peace Clubs in the area of Matobo. These Peace Clubs were composed of the youth in the area who belong to different political parties. The idea behind the incorporation of youth into these Clubs was because of their involvement

in the past in political violence. They have over the years been the ones who are used by politicians to carry out acts of political violence against their political opponents.

Members of the Peace Clubs who have been trained in conflict management and peace building use two approaches in attending to the conflictual situations. Through working in liaison with local peace committees they organize workshops at ward level targeting different political leadership active in that area. In partnership with Masakhaneni they host workshops, discussion forums and seminars which are organized for special interests groups like women, youths, war veterans and traditional leaders. The Peace Committees also played a crucial role in facilitating dialogue platforms for COPAC in the constitution making process. The organisation also has one- on- one sessions and meetings with those that have been identified by the community as the perpetrators of political violence. The one- on- one engagements have proved to be very effective in dealing with key perpetrators and sensitive polarization and political tensions at community level. Through its partnership with Ukuthula Trust, Masakhaneni is also able to provide counselling to those who have been victims of rape and violence in times of political conflict.

One of the major reasons for the intervention in Matobo was because there was a serious breakdown in local leadership structures which was as a result of political conflict amongst the different political parties. As a result of this breakdown service delivery was affected and conflict relating to distribution of food inputs from government was very high as these inputs were distributed along partisan lines. The conflict affected the culture of productivity. Youth and men who are mobile were able to move out leaving out women and children who are not able to fend for themselves produce. Dependence increased, directly in relation to the level of conflict. One of the biggest effects of conflict was the destruction of governance system in local communities.

From the interviews conducted by the researcher with members of staff from Masakhaneni, traditional leaders in the area like those of other regions in Zimbabwe have over the years played a part in promoting political violence, undemocratic governance system, exclusive decision making processes, and the marginalisation of women from decision making just like those of the colonial era. They are known for partisan behaviour and preside over customary laws and institutions that are gender insensitive and are always heavily involved in denial of food aid and freedoms of association, expression and assembly. Armed with the understanding of that reality, Masakhaneni made it mandatory to conduct leadership seminars with the traditional leaders. These seminars and workshops mainly focused on issues relating to good governance, accountability, gender, rule of law and the participation of citizens in local decision making. These have proved effective over the years as Chief Masuku in the area has incorporated three (3) women into his committee which is made up of nine (9) people. Previously there was no female in the committee and this was particularly a challenge for women as they had no one to represent their grievances. The women in the group discussions made mention of how there has been a progressive improvement in having women in the Committee. They have been able to approach these women who then discuss their issues with the Chief. This has proved effective especially in sensitive issues like rape cases.

Towards the 2013 harmonised elections, Masakhaneni trained the local based facilitators on election observation and had them registered with ZEC. (As highlighted above, these facilitators are from members of the local parties within the area). The idea was to familiarise them with electoral process of Zimbabwe as well as monitor whether the elections were being conducted in a peaceful and transparent manner. Although there was tension politically in Matobo towards the 2013 harmonised elections just like in all elections in Zimbabwe, the work that Masakhaneni had been engaged in with the communities proved to be a success as members of Peace Committees were able to persuade their members to desist from acts of violence.

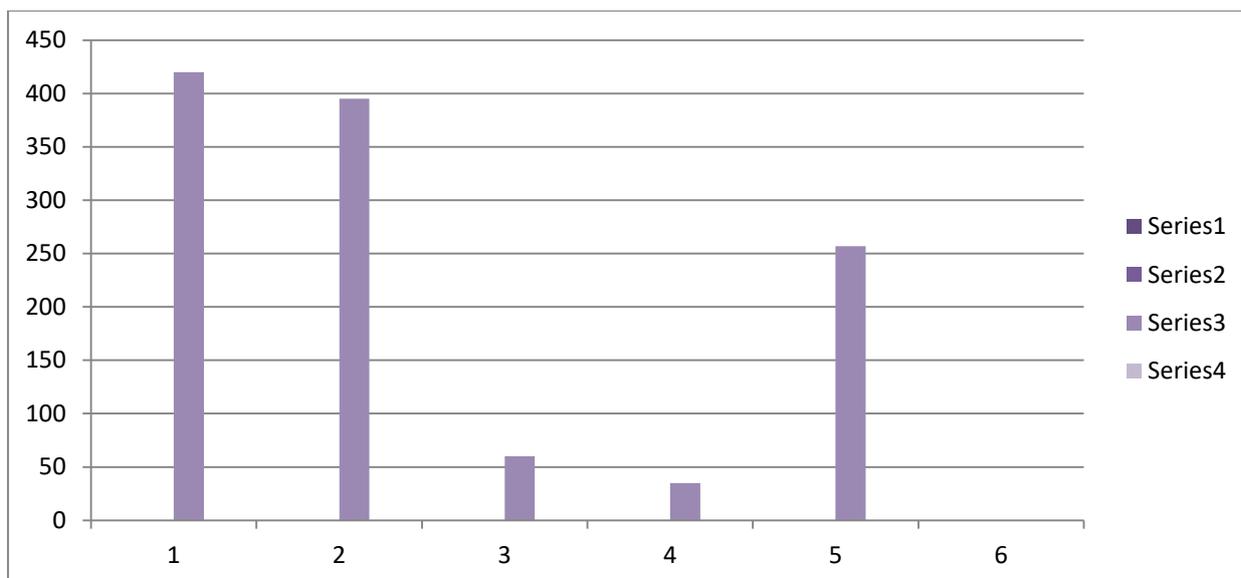
One of the key drivers of conflict in the area of Matobo is poverty. Matobo District lies in Natural Region IV of Zimbabwe which is characterised by rainfalls of between 450-600mm. This area is subject to frequent seasonal droughts and severe dry spells in the rainy seasons. It has in the past been affected by the vagaries of nature and this has left many families with little to no form of livelihoods. Households in this region depend on rain fed agriculture and generally cultivate crops that are not recommended for this region such as maize. This has resulted in reduced yields and ultimately food insecurity in the majority of households. Most, if not all, families lost their livestock (cattle and goats) to persistent droughts over the years and have had to sell off chickens and other household assets to meet their household food needs.

Households are affected by high levels of emigration with youth in the productive age group moving to neighbouring countries such as Botswana and South Africa. This decreases the amount of labour available for farming and subsequently the productivity of the households. As a result, households in this region are food insecure and have unsustainable livelihoods options. They, therefore, depend on food hand-outs from non-governmental organizations and the government. Household safety nets are ultimately affected, leaving households vulnerable to economic, political and environmental shocks.

In order to achieve sustainable peace, Masakhaneni saw it mandatory to support and initiate development schemes in the area. These were in the form of livelihood gardens whose main focus was on women and youth. Women are the most vulnerable to political and cultural violence and hence the need for gender mainstreaming in development programs. In Whitewater and Fumugwe, five (5) gardens were created and Masakhaneni constructed water tanks and fitted pipes and pumps which draw water from a nearby river. The garden committee was made up of women leaders of different political parties within the area. The idea behind the project was that building a culture of trust, tolerance and productivity amongst the locals. It is through working together that community members began to tolerate each other and see themselves as humans first before being members of political parties. The gardens have proved to be a success as the women have established markets in Bulawayo where they go and sell their produce on a daily basis.

Despite the political and financial challenges that Masakhaneni Projects Trust is subjected to, the focus group discussions and the interviews conducted by the researcher in the area of Matobo, the locals revealed that the organisation has:-

- Improved community relations as its programming was specifically inclusive of all relevant stakeholders in the community, from political parties, youth, women, traditional leaders, church leaders as well as war veterans.
- Through working together in development projects, the organisation has managed to promote political tolerance amongst members of different political affiliations.
- Facilitated continuous dialogue on conflictual issues among target communities. Thanks to its projects, communities are in conversation over elections, violence, pastures, political parties and other things with a view to transforming attitudes and structures that perpetuate violence in communities.
- Facilitated the participatory identification of critical development projects that collapsed due to conflict.
- Begun the process of resuscitating local leadership structures like the Village Development Committee (VIDCO) and capacitated these and the Ward Development Committees (WADCOs) on conflict transformation skills, inclusive processes, women empowerment, youth participation, citizen participation, and reconciliation capacities.
- Facilitated the appreciation of gender equality and women's participation by local patriarchal and traditionalist structures known for excluding women;
- Lobbied government and political parties for the full implementation of the Global Political Agreement, constitutional and legislative reforms, and civil society participation; and
- Trained women, traditional and youth leadership on gender equality, gender mainstreaming, democratic governance, human rights, and conflict transformation.



Graph representing the people who have attended MPT's workshops and seminars in 2013

Series 1- **Youth** , Series 2- **Women**, Series 3- **War Veterans**, Series 4- **Community Leaders**, Series 5- **Men**

It is the youth and women who have benefited the most from Masakhaneni's interventions as highlighted by the bar graph above. The workshops and seminars were on human rights, leadership, democracy, tolerance as well as gender equality. Although men tend to be a bit reluctant to attend workshops on gender equality, their attitude and acceptance on issues relating to the protection of women and children in times of political conflict has considerably improved. This has been seen by the community's ability to create safety nets primarily for women and children in times of crisis.

Despite the successes that have been mentioned above the research revealed that the participants have expressed concern on the fact that the organisation's programming has been heavily centred on peace building and has paid inadequate attention to issues relating to food security. Although generally the war veterans who participated in the discussion are of the opinion that Masakhaneni's programming has brought about positive change in their communities they remain skeptical and are of the opinion that the organisation seeks to undermine the authority of the government in power. Elderly men from the discussions also felt that the gender mainstreaming agenda being pushed by the organisation was undermining what they believed was culturally expected of women. Masakhaneni's Programs Manager also expressed concern on the sustainability of the organisation's programmes considering the financial challenges that civil society organisations have been facing since the 2013 harmonised elections.

The Emergence of Opposition Parties and their Influence on NGOs.

The researcher sought to establish the nature of the relationship between NGOs and Opposition parties and examine whether these parties have complimented or hindered the work that is being done by NGOs. From the interviews conducted by the researcher with

politicians, academics and civil society leaders, it is clear that NGOs in Zimbabwe have worked closely with opposition parties as they were viewed as the ones pushing for democracy, human rights and the rule of law. The reason for the close relationship was the fact that the government had in the past presented itself as intolerant to views which were contrary to its ideology or perceived as challenging its hegemonic order. Opposition parties have often acknowledged and appreciated the role of civil society organisations and have often involved them in decision-making regarding policy formulation. However, the researcher sought to establish how communities perceived this close relationship between civics and opposition parties.

From the FDG's 60% of the participants did not see any link between the work being done by NGOs and that which is done by opposition parties. The 60% felt civil society organisations are fighting for accountability and good governance whilst opposition parties seek to capture state power. However, 40% were of the opinion that most NGO interventions on peace, governance and democracy are similar to the issues being addressed by opposition parties. They might not have been working together, but they sought to achieve the same results.

Interviews conducted with various academics by the researcher revealed that it is hard for NGO's to be independent in Zimbabwe as their efforts alone without the backing of political parties were impossible to achieve. The nature of the crisis in Zimbabwe and the politicisation of public institutions and rural structures of leadership have forced NGO's to work closely with opposition parties as a means of attaining meaningful political change in communities.

CHAPTER THREE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The efforts of civil society organisations in Zimbabwe have been centred on promoting democracy, rule of law, human rights, freedom of political association as well as gender equality. After 1987 organisations like ZCTU, ZINASU, and NCA have been at the forefront of the human rights agenda. ZCTU for example played a crucial role in fighting for the rights of the workers and was one of the first civil society organisations in Zimbabwe to openly condemn the creation of a one party state by ZANU PF. The National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) during its first days as noted by Moyo (2011) played an important role of lobbying government to abide by the law and enforce a culture of constitutionalism.

Despite its numerous efforts of promoting democracy, peace and tolerance, civics in Zimbabwe have always operated in a hostile political environment. Such hostility can be seen in the crafting of the NGO Bill of 2004 which sought to control and micro-manage the activities of civil society. In June 2008, the government suspended NGO operations country-wide and NGO's were ordered to reapply for registration. ZANU PF prior to 2013 had been suffering from what scholars call backlash politics which refers to 'efforts of groups who sense a diminishing of their influence and power, or who feel threatened economically or politically to reverse or stem the direction of change through political means'. In its hegemonic order, ZANU PF has always sought to control public space, and in doing so uses African traditional values in shaping politics in Zimbabwe (Moyo, 1993). Since the emergence of the MDC in 1999, human rights activists as well as journalists have fallen victim to violence which has only many occasions been instigated by the state which seeks to silence the voices of those that challenge the status quo.

Through the study of Masakhaneni Project Trust's interventions in Matobo, the study identified three major causes of conflict in the area which are structural marginalisation, poverty and misgovernance. The organisation's peace building initiatives have revolved around addresses these key drivers. The researcher was in a position to see that despite the repressive and antagonistic political environment civics operate in; progress has been made in promoting peace and tolerance. The organisation's programs which incorporate members of different political parties in the area of Matobo have proved quite effective. The organisation's locally based facilitators and the Peace Clubs during the period of 2009-2013 successfully coordinated dialogue platforms at ward level. In these dialogue platforms political activists from different political groups participated and shared notes on their campaign activities, a development that contributed in the reduction of intolerance and tensions at community level.

The organisation's Conflict Transformation model continues to provide a basic framework for the intervention. The model uses the community based approach, ensuring that what is going on at that level is reported by the affected at national level. At the same time providing the communities an opportunity to know and participate at national level. The intervention creates opportunities for sponsors of violence, perpetrators of violence and the victims of

violence to interact and work out a solution to end conflict together. The organisation's theory of change which states that through dialogue and information citizens will be empowered to fight for change leading to transformed communities being able to develop and reclaim their democratic rights.

The study however revealed that one of the major weaknesses of civil society organisations has been an apparent absence of a medium and long term strategy against the authoritarian state. Such a strategy would require a great deal of planning, weighing up of pros and cons of tactics and methods to be used. Another great obstacle to civil society operations is that most of them operate hand to mouth. Interventions by donors seem to be short-lived and therefore the effectiveness of these donor dependant organisations is compromised. Most civil society organisations take a top-down approach in the implementation of their projects and turn to impose peace-building projects to the rural communities instead of working closely with these communities and identifying areas of intervention. The bulk of the civil society organisations in Zimbabwe are urban-centric and this has always proved problematic as locals are not in a position to identify with the projects.

It should however be noted that civil society organisations have in the past closely aligned themselves to the opposition parties like MDC-T, MDC, Mavambo etc. The reason being that, civics saw ZANU PF as a perpetrator of injustice and violence and opposition parties were therefore seen as an alternative to authoritarianism. Another reason was for the sake of survival and attracting funding from donors, which during the period of 2000-2013 was not being channelled to the government but was rather going to civil society organisations. However civics should not have gone to bed with political parties. The relationship should have been at arm's length. Civil societies were not able to separate their role from that of opposition parties. They turned a blind eye towards the violence that rocked the MDC in 2005 which eventually contributed to the split of the party. They didn't provide constructive criticism to the MDC but rather romanticised it. It is for this reason that the failure of the MDC to capture state power also automatically meant the failure of civics to achieve their objectives.

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This dissertation sought to critically analyse the role that has been played by civil society organisations in their quest to promote peace and tolerance in Zimbabwe. Although Zimbabwe on the surface appears to be a peaceful country, the kind of peace which is prevalent is negative as the citizens live in fear of the state. The institutionalisation of a violent political culture leads one to boldly conclude that Zimbabwe faces a marked death of political tolerance and peace. Further, the kind of paranoia that exists within different political circles has its root in the struggle for independence where villagers were subjected to violence from both the Rhodesian soldiers and the guerrillas. The Rhodesian soldiers tortured and murdered villagers who refused to disclose the whereabouts of the guerrillas, while on the other hand the guerrillas murdered those who revealed their whereabouts to the Rhodesian soldiers. The liberation movements especially ZANLA which was a military wing for ZANU usually hosted *pungwes* as forms of nationalist pantheon (Mhlanga 2013) in which villagers were subjected to nationalist meta-narratives punctuated with scenes of violence. These *pungwes* (night vigils) as noted by Ranger (1974) were a mobilisation strategy that was used by ZANU to gather support for the war. However these *pungwes* also provided the guerrillas with an opportunity to terrorise villagers. Women were sometimes raped all night, villagers forced to slaughter their livestock for the guerrillas and those that the community labelled as ‘sell-outs’ were brutally killed. Magure (2009) notes that the war also provided a way for locals to settle personal scores against each other or with their traditional leaders.

The violent crushing of political enemies during the liberation struggle was later interpellated into the political culture of Zimbabwe in the post-liberation era. Political impunity was so deeply enshrined in the liberation movement and on many occasions as noted by Gatsheni (2003), the revolution fed on its children. All this was done under the banner of nationalism as it was believed that the ends justify the means. The hope was that upon independence in 1980, a new political culture which is not founded on intolerance and political impunity will emerge but however the state has not lived up to its expectations. The level of political intolerance in Zimbabwe led Masipula and Makumbe (1996) to term it ZANU PF’s Gukurahundi policy which they defined as an ‘undisguised, intolerant, commandist, and deliberately violent policy towards the opposition. This policy has been seen in manifestation during all electoral processes in Zimbabwe from 1980 to present.

In 1982-1987 there were disturbances in Matebeleland and the Midlands area which have become popularly known as Gukurahundi. These disturbances were as a result of a few dissidents who were terrorising villagers, farmers and tourists. Some of them were former ZAPU cadres who were disgruntled about the unfair treatment they got from the army and eventually deserted. According to the CCJP report (1997) on the disturbances, the dissidents were less than 300, but this provided ZANU with an opportunity to crush its long term political rival ZAPU and establish a one-party state. As noted by Magure (2009) the disturbances were a continuation of a barbaric tradition that was ingrained during the war of liberation. A lot of lives were lost in these areas and villagers who participated in the focus

group discussions mention the traumatic experiences they went through in the hands of the 5th Brigade. As part of my research I tried to examine the various peace building initiatives by civil society organisations in the area of Matobo which was also affected by the Gukurahundi genocide. This case study mainly focused on the nature of the conflict in Matobo which was traced back to the colonial period, the work carried out by Masakhaneni Projects Trust, as well as other organisations like Amani Trust.

The research also unpacked the important role that was played by civil society organisations in the struggle for independence in Zimbabwe. It is through civil society organisations like trade unions, residential associations and youth clubs were most of the leaders of both ZAPU and ZANU emerged. They conducted strikes, demonstrations, lobbied the white colonial regime on issues that were of grievance to the blacks and supported the liberation movements in numerous ways. These civil society organisations operated in a hostile political environment and hoped independence will create a conducive environment for civil society to thrive and adequately address the grievances of the masses they represented. However in its quest to create a one party state ZANU felt threatened by these civil society organisations and declared itself the ‘umbrella’ organisation that would address the needs of the people (Moyo, 1993).

The study also explored the nature of relations between the state and civil society. As highlighted by Chigora (2009), the relationship of the state and civic society in any nation can either be co-operative, competitive or antagonistic. In the Zimbabwean context the relationship is antagonist as the ZANU PF government views civil society organisations as a weapon that is being used by the West to bring about regime change. Civics in Zimbabwe operate in a hostile political environment with a government which seeks to control public space and undermine their operations. Since independence, civil society organisations like ZCTU, NCA, ZINASU, and Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR), Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA), and Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) which have been fighting for democracy, human rights and rule of law have been persecuted by the state. Members of civil society organisations have been unlawfully detained, beaten and had their premises unlawfully searched by the government.

As noted by Makumbe (2007), ZANU PF has failed to make the transition from a military movement to a democratic political party; its style of leadership does not tolerate internal and external criticism. The government of Zimbabwe inherited the repressive apparatus of the Rhodesian state. These include emergence laws, intelligence personnel, specialised military units which are on standby always to crush any voice of opposition. It is therefore clear that in Zimbabwe that ZANU PF never abandoned its idea of creating a one-party state as violence has been institutionalised and is always used as a means to achieve political objectives by those in power.

Political intolerance is a dominant phenomenon in Zimbabwean politics. And this intolerance usually manifests itself during the nation’s electoral processes. Political violence is common as members of different political parties often clash as seen in the 2008 elections. However the state has continued to be at the forefront of political violence. As noted by Mashingaidze

(2009) Zimbabwe had never before attempted to persecute or compel perpetrators of politically motivated violence to acknowledge their transgressions. This was primarily because the national leadership regularly exploited constitutional prerogatives to pardon perpetrators. The Amnesty Ordinance of 1979 and 1980 as well as the Clemency Order of 2000 gave the perpetrators of violence the belief that extreme violence is never punished (Reeler 2004). Members of the secret service, the army and the police have been fingered by civil society as perpetrators of violence. Zimbabwean securocrats like Major-General Nyikayaramba have on numerous occasions stated openly that they would not salute anyone who did not have the required war credentials. Slogans of political parties have also contributed to violence. ZANU PF slogans such as *Pasi ne MDC*, *Pasi na Tsvangirai* have instigated political violence and intolerance.

Recommendation to Masakhaneni Projects Trust and other Civil Society Organisations

There is a need for a study that will focus on how best civil society organisations can complement governmental efforts on peace building and reconciliation. Future research will have to focus on how civil society organisations can engage with government so that Commissions provided for in the constitution can function. The Human Rights Commission, Gender Commission as well as the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission in the constitution adopted in 2013 provide civil society organisations with a great opportunity to deal with issues of direct, structural and cultural violence. Masakhaneni Projects Trust should therefore lobby government to equip these institutions so that they can be functional as their operations will be fundamental in the promotion of peace and tolerance. Civil society organisations need to begin to be based on solving specific issues rather than on challenging the government in power. ZANU PF's victory in 2013 harmonised elections acts as proof that it will be in power for a while, therefore civil society organisations need to be lobbying the government to address specific issues that will promote peace in the communities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Althusser, L. (1971). Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. In L. Althusser (Ed.), *Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Amani Trust (2002) Organised Violence and Torture in the June 2000 General Elections in Zimbabwe: A report prepared by the Mashonaland Programme of the Amani Trust. Harare: Amani Trust.

Bayart, J.F. (1986). 'Civil Society in Africa', in Chabal, P. (ed). *Political Domination in Africa: Reflections on the Limits of Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barber (1995) *The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bhekinkosi Moyo, *The Legislative Environment for Civil Society in Africa: a Synthesis Report*, Trust Africa, May 25, 2009, available at:<http://www.trustafrica.org/documents/LegislativeEnvironment.pdf>.

Breaking the Silence. Building True Peace. A Report of the Disturbances in Matebeleland and the Midlands 1980-1988 (Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe and Legal Resource Foundation, Harare, 1997)

Brilliant Mhlanga (2008). "Civil Society's Double Standards Inimical to Change in Zimbabwe".www.kubatana.net

Burns and Grove (1993) *The Practice of Nursing Research*. London: W.B. Sanders Co; 2nd Edition

Chandhoke, Neera. "The 'Civil' and the 'Political' in Civil Society." *Democratization*, vol. 8, no. 2 (Summer 2001):1-24.

Chandhoke, N (1995) *State and Civil Society in Africa*. London: Sage Publishers.

Cohen.J and Arato, A (1992). *Civil Society and Political Theory*. Cambridge: MIT Press

Cohen & Rogers (1995) *Associations and Democracy*. Penn State University: Penn

Commonwealth Foundation (2004). *Framework for Action on Maximizing Civil Society's Contribution to Development and Democracy*, London: Commonwealth Foundation.

Cornelius Ncube (2010). 'Contesting Hegemony: Civil Society and the Struggle for Social Change in Zimbabwe, 2000-2008' PhD Thesis, International Development Department, University of Birmingham.

Diamond, L (1996) Is the Third Wave Over? *Journal of Democracy*, 7 (3): 17-39

Fanon, Frantz (1966). *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press

Fanon, Frantz (1968). *Black Skin, White Mask* translated by Charles Lam Markmann. New York: Grove Press

- Fatton, R (1995) *Africa in the Age of Democratisation: The Civic Limitations of Civil Society*. Africa Studies Review, vol. 38, no. 2
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *The Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers
- Hearn, J., (2004) . ‘From Hegemonic Masculinity to the Hegemony of Men’ *Feminist Theory*, vol. 5, no 1.
- Haberson, J. W. (1994). Civil Society and Political renaissance in Africa. In J. W. Haberson, D. Rothschild and N. Chazan (eds.), *Civil Society and the State in Africa*, Lynne Reinner, Boulder, Colorado.
- Hann, C and Dunn, E (1996). *Civil Society: Challenging Western Models*. London: Routledge.
- Heller. A (1978). ‘Past, Present and Future of Democracy’. *Social Research*. 45 (4): 866-889
- Hegel. G.W. F. (1969) *Hegel’s Science of Logic* (Trans. A.V. Miller) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hirst (1994). *Exploring Civil Society: Political and Cultural Contexts*. London: Routledge
- Johan Galtung, *Violence, War, and Their Impact: On Visible and Invisible Effects of Violence*, (Polylog: Forum for Intercultural Philosophy 5, 2004). Also available online at <http://them.polylog.org/5/fgj-en.htm>.
- Johan Galtung, *Violence, Peace, Peace Research* (1969) 6.3 *Journal of Peace Research*.
- Kagoro, B.(2003) ‘The Opposition and Civil Society, in Bond, P, etal. *Zimbabwe’s Turmoil: Problems and Prospects*. Pretoria: Institute of Security Studies.
- Kitzinger, J. (1994a). The methodology of focus groups: The importance of interaction between research participants. *Sociology of Health and Illness* 16(1), 103–121.
- Kothari (1999). *Civil Society and Accountability*. London: London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Kruger, Norma (2005) ‘ZANU (PF) Strategies in General Elections, 1980-2000: Discourse and Coercion,’ in *African Affairs*, 104 (414): 1-34
- Lewis, D. (2001) *Civil Society in Non-Western Contexts: Reflections on the ‘usefulness’ of a concept*, London School of Economics and Political Science. London.
- Liamputtong P. (2004). *Focus Group Methodology*. London: Sage Publishers.
- Magure, B. (2008) ‘The State, Labour and the Politics of Social Dialogue in Zimbabwe, 1996-2007: Issues Resolved or Matters Arising?’ *African and Asian Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1

Magure, B. (2009) 'Civil Society's Quest for Democracy in Zimbabwe: Origins, Barriers and Prospects, 1900-2008'. PhD Thesis, Department of Political and International Studies. Rhodes University.

Makumbe John. 'Is there a Civil Society in Africa?'. *International Affairs*, vol.74, no 2 (1998):305-317

Mashingaidze, T. (2009) *Zimbabwe's Illusive National Healing and Reconciliation Processes: From Independence to the Inclusive Government. 1980-2009*. Midlands State University

Mashingaidze, T. (2005) *The 1987 Zimbabwe National Unity Accord and Its Aftermath: A Case of Peace without Reconciliation?* Midlands State University

Masipula Sithole. (1999) *Zimbabwe: Struggles within the Struggle*. Harare: Rujeko Publishers.

Masipula Sithole. 'Well Done NCA! It was good for the Country' *NCA Agenda*, vol. 3, no 1 (Feb 2000).

Moyo, Jonathan N. "Civil Society in Zimbabwe". *Zambezia*, vol. 20. No. 1 (1993):1-13

Moyo,S, John Makumbe and Brian Raftopolous. (2000) *NGO's, the State and Politics in Zimbabwe*. Harare: SAPES

Nietzsche, F. (1990) *Beyond Good and Evil*. New York: Penguin

Norma Kriger (2003) *Guerrilla Veterans in Post-war Zimbabwe: Symbolic and Violent Politics, 1980-1987*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Norma Kriger (2005) *ZANU (PF) Strategies in General Elections, 1980-2000: Discourse and Coercion*. Royal African Society.

Parekh, B & Berki, R.N (1972). 'Introduction', in B. Parekh and R.N. Berki (Eds.). *The Morality of Politics*. New York: Crane, Russak & Company. Inc

Polit and Hungler (1993). *Essentials of Nursing Research: Methods, Appraisals and Utilization*. New York: JB Lippincott

Reeler, A.P (2004) *Sticks and Stones, Skeletons and Ghosts*. In Harold-Barry, David (e.d) *Zimbabwe: The Past is the Future*, op. cit., p 236

Rosario Laratta (2012). *Contemporary Civil Society Theory Versus Hegel's Understanding of Civil Society, Social Welfare*, Dr. Rosario Laratta (Ed.), ISBN: 978-953-51-0208-3, InTech, Available from:<http://www.intechopen.com/books/social-welfare/contemporary-civil-society-theory-versus-hegel-sunderstanding-of-civil-society>.

Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003, 'Zimbabwe's Failed Peace Building Projects: An Analysis of Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 and the Unity Accord of 1987', paper presented at the

Department of History and Development Studies, Midlands State University, May. Also available at <http://home.planet.nl/~loz/maneng77.htm> *Sunday Mail*, 2 July 2000.

Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni 'The Logic of Violence in Africa', Ferguson Centre for African and Asian Studies Working Paper No. 2, (Open University, February 2011), www.open.ac.uk/Arts/ferguson-centre/working-papers.

Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012 'Elections in Zimbabwe: A Recipe for Tension or a Remedy for Reconciliation? Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, South Africa

Shivji. G. I. (1991) *State and Constitutionalism: An African Debate on Democracy*. Harare: SAPES

Sithole, Masipula and John Makumbe. '*Elections in Zimbabwe: The ZANU (PF) Hegemony and Its Incipient Decline*'. African Association of Political Science, vol. 2, no 1(1997).

Streak (1992) *Civil Society and Political Transition in Africa*.

Ranger, Terence (1994). African Identities: Ethnicity, Nationality and History: The Case of Matabeleland, 1893-1993, in Heidrich, J. (ed), *Changing Identities: The Transformation of Asian and African Societies Under Colonialism*. Berlin: Das Arabische Buch Verlag

Ranger, Terrence. Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: The Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 30, no. 2 (June 2004):16-34.

Ranger, Terrance (1985) *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe*, London: James Currey

Whaittes. A. (1998). '*Let's get Civil Society straight: NGO's, the State and Political Theory*. Development in Practise vol. 6, number 3.

White, L (2003). *The Assassination of Hebert Chitepo*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Wilkinson, S. (2004). Focus groups: A feminist method. In S.N. Hesse-Biber & M.L. Yaiser (eds.), *Feminist perspectives on social research* (pp. 271–295). New York: Oxford University Press

Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) *Report on the Zimbabwe 29 March Harmonised Elections and 27 June Presidential Run-Off*.

Newspaper

Herald, 17 June 2002

Appendix: 1

Appendix 1: Matrix Table of Research Questions, Respondents and Methods

RESEARCH QUESTION	RESPONDENTS	METHODS
<p>1. What are the causes of conflict which ultimately lead to violence in communities?</p> <p>-Can you trace the genesis of violence in Zimbabwe?</p> <p>-Who are the perpetrators of violence?</p> <p>-What has the state done to curb violence?</p> <p>-What has happened to perpetrators of violence?</p>	<p><u>Civil Society Actors</u></p> <p>Directors</p> <p>Program Managers</p> <p>Members of Staff</p> <p><u>Other Actors</u></p> <p>Academics.</p> <p>Politicians.</p> <p>Community Leaders.</p> <p>Political Party representatives.</p> <p>Youth.</p> <p>Women.</p> <p>Men.</p> <p>War Veterans.</p> <p>Church Leaders.</p>	<p>Interviews</p> <p>Interviews</p> <p>Focus Group Discussions</p>
<p>2. What is the nature of the relationship between the state and civil society?</p> <p>-Is there co-operation?</p> <p>-How does the state view CSO's?</p> <p>-How do CSO's view the state?</p> <p>-How is the Legal</p>	<p><u>Civil Society Actors</u></p> <p>Directors</p> <p>Programs Managers</p> <p>Members of Staff</p> <p><u>Other Actors</u></p> <p>Academics</p>	<p>Interviews.</p> <p>Documentary Analysis.</p>

<p>Framework for CSO's in Zimbabwe?</p>	<p>Politicians Political Party Representatives.</p>	<p>Interviews.</p>
<p>3. What role has been played by CSO's in promoting Peace and Tolerance?</p> <p>-What is the nature of NGO intervention in Zimbabwe?</p> <p>What impact or changes can be seen by their interventions?</p> <p>-Are communities better off without NGO interventions?</p> <p>-How sustainable is the work being done by CSO's?</p> <p>-How gender sensitive are NGO interventions?</p>	<p><u>Civil Society Actors</u></p> <p>Directors Programs Managers CSO members of staff.</p> <p><u>Other Actors</u></p> <p>Academics Politicians Political Party Representatives.</p> <p>Members of Community (Men, women, Youth). Church Leaders. War Veterans.</p>	<p>Interviews.</p> <p>Interviews.</p> <p>Focus Group Discussions.</p>
<p>4. The Emergence of Opposition Parties and their influence on CSO's</p> <p>-What is the nature of the relationship between CSO's and Opposition Parties?</p> <p>-How have opposition parties complimented or hindered operations of CSO's in</p>	<p><u>Civil Society Actors</u></p> <p>Directors Programs Managers CSO members of staff.</p> <p><u>Other Actors</u></p> <p>Academics.</p>	<p>Interviews.</p>

<p>communities?</p> <p>-Are CSO's independent and immune from the influence of political parties?</p>	<p>Community Leaders.</p> <p>Political Party Representatives.</p> <p>Community (Women, Youth, Men)</p> <p>War Veterans.</p> <p>Church Leaders.</p>	<p>Interviews.</p> <p>Focus Group Discussions.</p>
<p>5. Challenges and Future of CSO's in Zimbabwe.</p> <p>-What are the challenges being faced by CSO's?</p> <p>-Can the challenges be overcome?</p> <p>-Is there room for improvement in the relations between the State and CSO's?</p>	<p><u>Civil Society Actors</u></p> <p>Directors.</p> <p>Programs Managers.</p> <p>CSO members.</p> <p><u>Other Actors</u></p> <p>Academics</p>	<p>Interviews.</p> <p>Interviews.</p>

Appendix: 2. Table of Individuals from Organisations Interviewed.

ORGANISATION	POSITION	DATE
Masakhaneni Projects Trust	Director	06/04/15
	Programs Manager	06/04/15
Ukuthula Trust	Programs Officer	06/04/15
Tree of Life	Programs Officer	07/04/15
Habakkuk Trust	Director	07/04/15
Bulawayo Agenda	Programs Manager	08/04/15
Christian Legal Society	Programs Officer	09/04/15
ZPRA Veterans Trust	Programs Officer	09/04/15
ZANU PF	Youth Organising Secretary	10/04/15
MDC-T	Member of Parliament	10/04/15
MDC	Women's League Member	11/04/15
ZAPU	Provincial Secretary	11/04/15
Midlands State University	Lecturer	15/04/15
National University of Science and Technology	Lecturer	17/04/15