The role of social workers in response to genocides and massacres: The case of Gukurahundi

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ABSTRACT

The term 'Gukurahundi' is a direct translation of a Zimbabwean Shona term that refers to "the first rain that washes away chaff before spring" (Eppel, 2008:1). In Zimbabwe, this term is specifically used in reference to the massacres of over 20 000 people in the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces, as well as displacement and torture of innumerable others by the Mugabe-led regime in the 1980's (Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe, 1997). This violence was never acknowledged nor comprehensively addressed at national level.

The perceived silence of the social work profession in the strategic national discourse on social justice issues - despite social justice being a key foundation stone of professional social work values - motivated this study. The aim of the study was to determine the role that social workers can play in response to atrocities, such as Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe, while pursuing the following objectives:

  i.   to explore the narratives of the Gukurahundi survivors and their families,
 ii.   to explore coping mechanisms used by survivors and their families in dealing with their trauma,
iii.   to determine the role that social workers can play in response to atrocities, such as Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe,
 iv.   to differentiate the role of social workers from the role of state actors in response to Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe,
  v.   to develop a framework for social workers to guide their response to atrocities, such as Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe.

Twenty-six semi-structured interviews were conducted with Gukurahundi survivors and family members. In addition, nine interviews were conducted with personnel from Civil Society Organisations. Narrative and exploratory research designs were utilised to formulate the interview questions while thematic data analysis was employed to analyse the data. The social justice theoretical framework was used to inform the emerging findings. The analysed data brought to the fore who the Gukurahundi survivors and their family members are, the challenges they experienced as a result of Gukurahundi, as well as their aspirations in relation to addressing of Gukurahundi. On the basis of the findings, the researcher developed an intervention framework that seeks to provide solutions for how social workers can employ

interventions through awareness, therapy, mediation, advocacy, economic strengthening, research, policy formulation and planning avenues. The research culminates with recommendations for social workers and academics, as well as Zimbabwean state and non-state actors working in the communities affected by Gukurahundi.

ABBREVIATIONS

CCJP	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
GNU	Government of National Unity
ICC	International Criminal Court
IFSW	International Federation of Social Workers
LPC	Local Peace Committees
LRF	Legal Resource Foundation
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
NANGO	National Association of Non-Governmental Organisations
NPRC	National Peace and Reconciliation Commission
ONHRI	Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UN	United Nations
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army
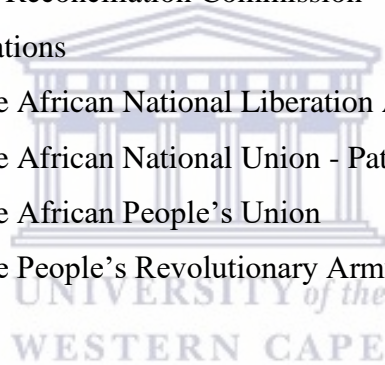
DEDICATION

To all valiant daughters and sons of the soil, some who departed before the vision of a truly liberated Zimbabwe could be realised and some who live to see it materialise. It shall be.

-From colonisation to date-

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To capture this research in its final written format brings great joy and a deep sense of satisfaction and achievement. The feat has finally been realised! This accomplishment could never have come about without the support of the following:

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2. My family – in your various ways, you performed different functions. Mama and Daddy, it has been the constant encouragement, the reminder not to give up and 'just finish.' Hazy and Zviko, it would be the physical 'load carrying' when my own capacity lacked. The companionship and reminder that I was/am a student on days when I wanted to be anything but!

3. Trevor – there were many rough days in these past few years, and you remained supportive and encouraged me to finish. You called me out when I lacked consistency - much to my chagrin; yet I knew you were right! Thank you.

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Date: 28 July 2022

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CHAPTER 1: ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The political landscape of Zimbabwean history is plagued with periods of violence and aggression towards its citizens. Alexander, McGregor and Ranger (2000) allude to Zimbabwe's renowned history of violence which, they assert, commenced long before Zimbabwe's colonisation by the British. Highlighted violent periods include the *mfecane* wars before colonisation, wars against white imperialists, the liberation war, forced agrarian evictions during the land reform programme, the 2008 run-off elections, as well as the Gukurahundi massacres, and illustrate the violent nature of Zimbabwean politics (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013:18). Sachikonye (2011), Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) and Mlambo (2013) emphatically criticise the past three decades of Zimbabwean history as being filled with violence that has dehumanised victims, perpetrators, families, communities and even outsiders when they become privy to the narratives of violence in the country. The notion of Zimbabwe as a violent nation is also voiced by Morreira (2016) who bemoans the tendency to disregard violence by those in power - particularly those who ought to be the custodians of human rights. Morreira further laments that, while Zimbabweans do not forget the violence, they are forcefully restrained into silence. The result of this silencing has stalled transition or healing as 'legal' impunity persists in the country - and wounds continue to fester in the hearts of those affected.

The colonisation of Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) was begun by the British South Africa Company (BSAC) in 1890 when Cecil John Rhodes' pioneer column moved up North after having obtained concessions from the British Crown to explore for minerals in the region (Lebert, 2006). The BSAC did not initially set out to establish governance in Rhodesia but rather to generate profit from natural resources. However, they soon discovered that Rhodesian gold was scattered and almost impossible to extract profitably. As a result, the decision was taken to encourage white settlers to farm with financial support and input from the company. Policies were then formulated and put into practice which coercively forced indigenous people off their land into unproductive lands (Kinsey, 2000). In an attempt to reclaim their occupied territory, the indigenous people rebelled against settlers in 1896, known as the 1st Chimurenga[1]. Due to inferior weaponry, the indigenous people were defeated and

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[1] The 1st Chimurenga also known in Ndebele as Umvukelo was a war that broke out in Zimbabwe between 1896 - 1897 between the white colonisers under the British South Africa Company (BSAC) and the indigenous Shona and Ndebele communities in resistance to colonisation at the hands of the British.

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relegated to second class citizenry until they engaged in the 2nd Chimurenga[2] which eventually led to the independence of the country (Moyo, 2001).

When Zimbabwe obtained its independence in 1980 the former President, Robert Mugabe, announced a blanket amnesty policy of national reconciliation and freedom from retribution or prosecution for human rights offenders who had committed various atrocities during the struggle years. Mlambo (2008), however, is of the opinion that this amnesty extended only to white oppressors as the subsequent events during the Gukurahundi massacres - which were largely seen as an ethnic civil war - proved that political divisions amongst black people remained unresolved. Supporting this view, Mashingaidze (2016) states that, among the higher political echelons, a culture of immunity to being held accountable for human rights violations has become the norm, as political leaders are accorded state-sanctioned exemption from prosecution with no truth, healing or justice being considered. Further cementing this notion, Reeler (2004) emphasises that this culture of immunity has only resulted in fermenting further cycles of violence and emotional torture for victims. Victims know that their perpetrators will never be brought to justice, while the perpetrators know that they will never need to account for their atrocious acts due to their politically attained positions which guarantee them protection. Gibson (2004) contends that the legacy of Gukurahundi will not disappear unless effective peacebuilding mechanisms are put in place as the atrocities have left scars that impede healing and reconciliation processes. This study is, therefore, aimed at exploring the role that social workers can play in response to atrocities, such as Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe, and potentially informing the role of social workers in response to similar occurrences elsewhere.

1.2 CONTEXTUALISING GUKURAHUNDI

Matabeleland and the Midlands are provinces situated in the western and south-western regions of Zimbabwe and are populated predominantly by the Ndebele people. It is understood that between 1983 and 1987, a reign of terror was unleashed in Matabeleland and parts of the Midlands upon the instigation and spearheading of the Mugabe-led regime on the pretext of targeting 'dissidents' who were alleged to have deserted the army and were terrorising civilians (Munemo, 2016). A North Korean-trained 5th Brigade, which was predominantly Shona speaking, was trained to execute this violence which became known as Gukurahundi (Ngwenya, 2014). It is alleged that the unit reported directly to former President Mugabe and did not operate under the normal army chain of command,

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[2] The 2nd Chimurenga refers to the war fought between the Zimbabweans and the white Rhodesian government from the 1960s to 1980 which eventually led to the independence of Zimbabwe.

thereby cementing the allegations that Mugabe was personally responsible for the onset of Gukurahundi.

The training of the 5th Brigade was sealed by an agreement signed in October 1980 by Mugabe and the then North Korean President, Kim Il Sung. Contained in the agreement was the commitment by the North Korean communists to train a cohort of predominantly Shona speaking soldiers answerable to Mugabe which became known at the 5th Brigade (Eppel, 2004; Lindgren, 2005; Munemo, 2015). According to Munemo (2015), the 5th Brigade's sole mandate was the weeding out of 'dissidents' by any means necessary – the campaign to achieve this was brutal and mirrored colonial atrocities.

Upon assignment, the Korean-trained battalion embarked on a concerted attack on an estimated 400 'dissidents', as well as any civilians thought to be offering reinforcement and material support to them (Ngwenya, 2014). Documented Gukurahundi accounts show that atrocities, such as burning people alive, killing parents in front of their children and vice versa, forcing family members to commit incestuous acts in front of other relatives, making people sing while being beaten then forcing them to kill each other or being killed by the 5th Brigade soldiers, as well as people being forced to dig shallow graves and bury their relatives, were among the atrocious acts reported to have occurred during Gukurahundi (Blair, 2002; CCJP, 2007; Meredith, 2009).

Historians, academics, politicians and media circles do not have consensus on precisely what led to the onset of Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) postulated that Gukurahundi was perpetrated to pacify the economic interests of white farmers in order to reinforce the assurance that Zimbabwe was a safe and viable environment for white people after Independence (BBC, 2007). In a contesting view, Vambe (2008) maintains that Gukurahundi was motivated by the need to annihilate the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) - army deserters labelled as 'dissident' forces who were reportedly terrorising ordinary people and abducting foreigners in an effort to destroy government programs. Possibly gaining more traction is the view that Gukurahundi was promulgated to extinguish alleged forces within the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) movement who were predominantly of Ndebele origin and who sought to topple the newly elected Mugabe regime (CCJP, 1997; Reeler, 2004; Doran, 2015). Further adding mystery to the motives of these events is the view which asserts that the Ndebele people were being punished because of the humiliation and cruelty that they had unleashed upon the Shona people in the 19th century when they settled into what is present-day Zimbabwe (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009). From a political stance, the onset of Gukurahundi is also attributed to Mugabe's desire to lead a one-party state (Doran, 2015). However, a social and rather personal view contends that Gukurahundi was motivated by Mugabe's desire to avenge his biological father's abandonment of his family after he had fallen in love with a Ndebele

woman (Rwafa, 2012). The researcher of this study asserts that, while a single truth for the onset of Gukurahundi is illusive, the experienced reality is that, as a result, over 20 000 people died, while many others still bear the trauma and wounds of the massacres (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008). It is from this standpoint that this study is being conducted to explore how social workers can respond to the challenges experienced by survivors and their families.

Inspite of the above-mentioned information and possible motives, the Zimbabwean government has never formally taken responsibility for Gukurahundi except when former President Mugabe reduced it to a "moment of madness" during the funeral of the late Vice President of Zimbabwe, Dr J.N. Nkomo (Rwafa, 2012:314). To fully capture the insistence of the Mugabe-led regime in ignoring the impact of Gukurahundi, the Legal Resource Foundation (LRF) and the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) presented the president with a report citing remedial action and recommendations to facilitate national healing after Gukurahundi. Mugabe's response was "these people are trying to fan factional and personal divisions among us, digging up the past so that we could end up divided on tribal and even on village lines" (Business Day,1997 in Zinyengere, 2011: 58). As a result, for the past 33 years, the Zimbabwean government appears to have developed voluntary amnesia over this dark period of Zimbabwean history, thereby allowing the bitterness and trauma to prevail.

It is imperative to mention that the current Zimbabwean President, Emmerson Mnangagwa, has attempted to address the Gukurahundi matter by suggesting that public debates be conducted regarding it. This move has been met with mixed reactions as some view Mnangagwa as one of the main strategists of the Gukurahundi massacres (Ntali, 2019). Opposing Mnangagwa's role as a strategist of Gukurahundi, The Mail and Guardian documents that David Coltart, a former opposition minister in Zimbabwe, exonerated Mnangagwa as the chief architect of Gukurahundi as he considers that to have been Mugabe's role. Coltart, however, considers Mnangagwa the main individual tasked with both inciting and executing the Gukurahundi violence (Mail & Guardian, 2017). The association of Mnangagwa with the Gukurahundi atrocities has stalled meaningful progress in addressing this matter. In an interview with the New Statesman, as mentioned by Doran (2015) Mnangagwa himself denied having played any role in these massacres as he alleges that, as Minister of State Security, military operations were not his mandate but that of the State President and the Minister of Defence; hence he could not have been involved in the massacres.

Despite no one taking responsibility for Gukurahundi, the recently declassified Australian High Commission cables, diplomatic correspondence, as well as raw intelligence by ex-Zimbabwean government officials, have begun to shed light on the role of the Zimbabwean government during Gukurahundi. Doran (2015) notes the prevalence of obfuscation and denialism accompanied by

violence and intimidation each time those affected by Gukurahundi seek retribution for the atrocities they or their families endured. Gukurahundi officially ended with the signing of the Unity Accord between the Zimbabwe African Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) in 1987. However, this did not quell the differences between the Ndebele and the Shona people (Zinyengere, 2011). The Ndebele are reportedly still bitter and blame the Mugabe-led Shona regime and the Shona people for Gukurahundi, hence creating deep divisions and animosity between the two main ethnic groups of Zimbabwe.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Gukurahundi resulted in the death of an estimated 20 000 Zimbabweans and left many suffering the pain of violence, abuse, loss of property, income and dignity. To date, it has not been officially acknowledged and comprehensively addressed. Vambe (2012:283) emphasises that structural violence continues in Matabeleland and parts of the Midlands province akin to a "continuing silent genocide." The current discourse and outcry in Zimbabwe is around what social justice and a transitioned Zimbabwe should look like. In January 2018 the National Peace and Reconciliation Bill was signed into law. This bill proposes a healing mandate that ought to address violent periods in Zimbabwean history - including Gukurahundi. Promulgation of the bill was postponed several times as cabinet members could not agree on whether redressing issues, such as Gukurahundi, would re-open old wounds and cause more damage or result in constructive nation building (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Benyera, 2015). With regard to this argument, Misihairambwi-Mushonga, a former Matabeleland South Member of Parliament (MP) was quoted arguing that the Gukurahundi wounds never healed in the first place; hence the fear that they could be reopened is unfounded (New Zimbabwe, 2017).

Despite having been set up, the NPRC tasked with addressing Gukurahundi is evidently having challenges in fulfilling its mandate (Tshuma, 2018). It has become clear that the calls to address Gukurahundi are intensifying; however, the country lacks a clear response framework that can be used to address the matter adequately. The main obstacle identified by the researcher is that, while there is general consensus that Gukurahundi caused harm, for reasons of political expediency, as well as the absence of a framework, efforts to address Gukurahundi have been politicised, thereby dying in their infancy stages. It has become apparent that neutral and non-political professions, such as social work, have been excluded from consultative processes on how to respond to Gukurahundi despite their wealth of skill and training in micro, macro and mezzo work that could provide significantly better outcomes for the country. It is a known phenomenon that Gukurahundi survivors have been calling for Gukurahundi to be addressed, yet to date, there has been no meaningful efforts to address it. As a result, the nation remains fragmented with national healing becoming an illusive goal. The silence of

the social work profession in addressing such atrocities lends social justice in Zimbabwe a pipe dream thereby delaying efforts to bring about national healing. As a result, Zimbabwe has remained a divided nation and this has perpetuated perceptions of powerlessness and marginalisation among the Ndebele people (Vambe, 2008).

Research has also shown that the presented problem has been further cemented by the deep bitterness among many survivors of Gukurahundi and their families as they have not been given a platform to address their challenges as a result of Gukurahundi (Zerh, 2002). The post-Gukurahundi trauma experienced is reportedly so deeply embedded that it continues to manifest through transgenerational trauma carried over to children born after Gukurahundi (Ngwenya & Harris, 2015). Using this study, the researcher therefore intends to provide guidance regarding the role that professional social workers can play in supporting survivors and their families. This study may also inform various stakeholders in Zimbabwe on how to respond to Gukurahundi atrocities. The research findings have culminated in a framework usable by social workers when responding to Gukurahundi in a non-politicised manner.

1.4 MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

The silence of professional social workers' voices regarding addressing Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe has motivated the researcher to conduct this study. It is imperative that Zimbabwean social workers engage in credible research work using the lenses of the Gukurahundi survivors and their families to gain an understanding of their desired response to Gukurahundi in order to facilitate healing. Schaap (2008) and Lederach (1997) assert that when atrocities have affected a community, public consultations are essential and central to facilitating healing and lend legitimacy to the healing process. Both authors further argue that inability to consult in this way results in denied ownership as survivors feel that healing has become an imposed process. The researcher, therefore, wishes to conduct research guided by the aspirations of survivors and their families, while also challenging the silence of social workers in this field. Social justice is embedded in the principles of social work practice as espoused by the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) definition of social work as both a practice-based profession and academic discipline aimed at promoting social change development, social cohesion and liberation of people (IFSW, 2014). Therefore, it is the researcher's goal to propel into action social workers in Zimbabwe in carrying out the social justice mandate as defined by the profession's scope of practice.

From a personal angle, the researcher's biological father is a survivor of the 2008 political violence in Zimbabwe which left him visually handicapped; his assailants were never arrested, as is the case with politically motivated violence in Zimbabwe. Due to the silence of the social work profession regarding

issues of a political nature, he never received any therapeutic or material support with respect to his resultant disability. It is with people such as him in mind that the researcher developed a framework that can possibly be utilised to provide responsive support in place of the failing justice system in Zimbabwe. Lastly, the researcher, as a Shona person, is constantly aware of her ethnic privilege that automatically comes by virtue of being born Shona in Zimbabwe. The wish is that, through this research, she is given the opportunity to play a role in redressing these injustices and contributing to nation building, social justice and healing in the near future.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTION

What role can social workers play in response to atrocities such as Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe and similar atrocities elsewhere?

1.5.1 Aim of the study

The aim of the study was to determine the role that social workers can play in response to atrocities such as Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe and similar atrocities elsewhere.

1.5.2 Objectives of the study

In order to explore fully the primary research question, the following objectives were pursued:

  i.   exploring the narratives of Gukurahundi survivors and their family members,
  ii. exploring the coping mechanisms currently utilised by survivors and their family members in dealing with their challenges,
  iii. determining the role that social workers can play in response to Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe and similar atrocities elsewhere,
  iv. differentiating the role of social workers from the role of state actors in response to Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe,
  v.   developing a framework for social workers to guide their responses to atrocities.

1.6 RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

Research methodology refers to the systematic way of solving a problem; it is the science of studying how research is to be carried out (Kumar, 2012; Flick, 2011). The researcher employed a qualitative research approach as it focuses on understanding people through how they define their own world rather than quantifying the things happening to them (De Vos, et. al, 2011). This approach proved to be very essential in this study as previous efforts to address Gukurahundi have been criticised for taking a top-down approach, i.e., not from the people using the victims' experiences as starting point,

but rather imposing on them through governmental structures, thereby rendering these efforts ineffective (Msido, 2006). The researcher employed the qualitative design in order to compile thick descriptions of the perceptions of Gukurahundi survivors and their families regarding their challenges in light of their lived experiences, so as to inform the role that social workers can play in responding to these challenges. The chosen method aligns with similar research done by Murambadoro and Wielenga (2015) whose findings proved that the starting point to responsive work lies in employing a human security approach that takes seriously the input of survivors and their families following acts of brutality. The afore-mentioned authors' argument stems from their findings that most survivors and their families do not prioritise criminal prosecutions but rather acknowledgement of Gukurahundi as opposed to the current dismissal of the massacres as a "moment of madness" (Doran, 2015:2).

1.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The calls to address Gukurahundi have intensified, thereby signalling that Gukurahundi response work for survivors and their families is long overdue. The researcher hopes that the framework developed as a result of this study will culminate in usable resources for social workers in Zimbabwe. This will be crucial in fostering a healthy debate and possibly propelling into action a transition in which freedom from violence, economic growth, wealth distribution, development and a commitment to rights and responsibilities by all parties involved are realised in Zimbabwe. Additionally, the researcher hopes that, if implemented, the findings from this study work towards the restoration of human, social and civil dignity of the survivors of Gukurahundi and their families. Finally, it is hoped that the findings will provide the necessary material for social workers to play a defined role in nation-building efforts, thereby facilitating national healing at a macro level while upholding and advocating for the inherent worth of all human beings affected by Gukurahundi.

1.8 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Civil Society Organisations: Keane (2009:1) defines civil society as a complex and dynamic ensemble of legally protected non-governmental institutions that tend to be non-violent, self-organising, self-reflective and permanently in tension, both with each other and with the governmental institutions that frame, constrict and enable their activities. This may include, but is not limited to, international humanitarian organisations, faith-based organisations, cooperatives, trade unions, academic institutions, think tanks, community and youth groups.

Genocide: Article II of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide defines genocide as "any acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group such as:

  (i)   killing members of the group,
  (ii)   causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group,
  (iii)   deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part,
  (iv)   imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group, and
  (v)   forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."
          (United Nations, 1948:277)

Gukurahundi: The term 'Gukurahundi' is a direct translation of a term from the Zimbabwean Shona language which refers to 'the first summer rain that washes away chaff in preparation for spring' (Eppel, 2008:1). The first rain is considered a necessary cleansing in preparation for a new season. In relation to Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe, this term is specifically used in reference to the massacres of over 20 000 people in the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces, as well as the displacement and torture of innumerable others by the Mugabe-led regime. This term became synonymous with 'cleaning' the newly independent country of the so-called 'dirt', i.e. so-called 'dissidents', ZAPU members, the Ndebele people and anyone else who was perceived to be sympathetic to the ZAPU leadership (CCJPZ, 1997).

Ndebele: The term 'Ndebele' may refer both to a language and the actual ethnic group itself. The Ndebele are Bantu people originally known as the Khumalos who belonged to the Nguni sub-ethnic group that traces its origins to South Africa's KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003). The Ndebele settled in present day Zimbabwe around 1838 under the leadership of Mzilikazi who fled the rule of Shaka Zulu in South Africa. During the trekking from the Zulu Kingdom to north of the Limpopo, Mzilikazi and his army conquered and assimilated various ethnic groups, including the Sotho, Kalanga, Venda, Tswana, as well as some Shona people, who all became incorporated into the Matabele kingdom. Hence the Ndebele in Zimbabwe are not necessarily a monolithic ethnic group (Lindgren, 2005). Supporting this notion, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) posits that in some instances, Ndebele classification has been based on Nguni origination, residing in Matabeleland, ability to speak isiNdebele or supporting ZAPU during Gukurahundi. He therefore advocates that Ndebele be viewed as a socially constructed identity as opposed to a primordial identity. In this study, the term 'Ndebele'

has been used in reference to all the above stated categories, the key determining factor being the inclusion of all who identify themselves as Ndebele.

Shona: The term 'Shona' may refer both to a language and an ethnic grouping in Zimbabwe. Historians generally agree that the Shona are part of the Bantu people who migrated into Southern Africa during the first millennium and settled on the central plateau of present day Zimbabwe (Beach, 1984; Chigwedere, 1985 and Mudenge, 1988). Some theories place the Shona people as originating from the Great Lakes region (Mupepereki, 2014). Zimbabwean History curriculums taught in schools are generally silent on the theories regarding the origin of the Shona people and imply that the Shona are indigenous natives of most of present day Zimbabwe. The term 'Shona' as an ethnic grouping was used by the Ndebele before colonisation and was largely seen as a derogatory term used to describe Rozvi people (Mungwini, 2019). The term was cemented by colonial officials as a blanket term in reference to all non-Ndebele people for classification purposes. This included the Karanga, Ndau, Zezuru, Korekore and Manyika people who became known and identified as a uniform collective despite their obvious differences (Brutt-Griffle, 2002:83). Inadvertently, as a language, Shona is now used in reference to various Shona dialects which are spoken by about 80% of Zimbabwe's population, thereby making Shona the major ethnic grouping in the country (Mungwini, 2019).

1.9 THESIS LAYOUT

Chapter 1: This chapter provides an orientation of the thesis in order to bring about understanding of Gukurahundi and its relevance to this academic study. The researcher gives insight into the origins of Gukurahundi and its possible causes, as well as its aftermath. The problem statement, aims and objectives, as well as research questions are carefully laid out. The chapter ends with detailing the significance of and motivation for the study, as well as a definition of the main terms used throughout this study.

Chapter 2: In this chapter, an in-depth history of Zimbabwe's events that led to Gukurahundi is documented. The chapter articulates the contesting theories with regard to Gukurahundi classification. A review of literature analyses the impact of Gukurahundi on survivors and their family members, as well as various Zimbabwean stakeholders' attempts to address Gukurahundi. The chapter concludes with a critique of the justice and legal frameworks in Zimbabwe and how they have impacted the way Gukurahundi response has unfolded in the country.

Chapter 3: A continuation of the literature review, this chapter expands on the issue of Gukurahundi by providing a global perspective on atrocities across the world. World-wide occurrences of brutalities similar to Gukurahundi are profiled. The chapter explores mechanisms that have been used by other

African countries in response to atrocities experienced within their borders. The chapter ends with recommendations as to how one can position oneself in justice conversations.

Chapter 4: The role of social workers in response to Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe is the fundamental question of this study. This chapter seeks to define the scope of practice of social workers as espoused by the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW). Additionally, the chapter explores social work training and practice by highlighting roles which social workers currently occupy in Zimbabwe, as well as the absence of certain roles, which explains the silence of the profession in response to Gukurahundi. The chapter ends by detailing opportunities for social workers in relation to the subject matter.

Chapter 5: The social justice theoretical framework underpins this study. In this chapter, the researcher details the relevance of the social justice theoretical framework as a basis for this study. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the extent to which the social justice framework adequately positions the study, as well as its limitations.

Chapter 6: This chapter provides the methodological processes undertaken in executing this study. The researcher provides an overview of the qualitative methodology and its explorative research design employed throughout this study. The two-part data collection process that was carried out, as well as the subsequent analysis of the data methods, is explained in detail in this chapter.

Chapter 7: In this chapter, the researcher presents an analysis of the demographic details of the study participants. Through a demographic analysis, the researcher contextualises who the Gukurahundi survivors and their family members are in order to set the stage for an analysis of their narratives based on their lived experiences.

Chapter 8: This chapter builds on the previous one and seeks to analyse the participants' Gukurahundi experiences based on their narratives. The researcher presents five main themes and subsequent sub-themes tabulated after an analysis of the semi-structured interviews conducted with participants. The emerging themes and their analysis are positioned in relation to relevant literature while depicting how the study findings either align with or contradict existing literature regarding experiences of those that went through Gukurahundi.

Chapter 9: The search for an answer to the main research question in this study was done by investigating and explicating the role of social workers in response to atrocities such as Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. The chapter addresses the question of what needs to happen in resolving Gukurahundi by proposing a framework for social workers based on the findings emerging from the data.

Chapter 10: Chapter 10 provides recommendations and the conclusion for different role players such as social workers, state and non-state actors potentially involved in the resolving of Gukurahundi. Furthermore, recommendations for academics who wish to explore the Gukurahundi issue further are given. The chapter ends with a conclusion to the study and its findings as a whole.

1.10   CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to place Gukurahundi in the context of past and present-day Zimbabwe by highlighting the gap in research on how it can be resolved which has convinced the researcher that the role of social workers in response to Gukurahundi is an important researchable topic. Terms relevant to Gukurahundi have been defined and the background to how Zimbabwe came to experience Gukurahundi, its impact on survivors and their families, as well as the gaps in social justice response - which prompted this study – have been provided.

CHAPTER 2: BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER GUKURAHUNDI

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will contextualize the Gukurahundi massacres by previewing Zimbabwe's composition as a nation and illuminating the Zimbabwean liberation struggle history in relation to Gukurahundi. The chapter will also delve into the events that led to Gukurahundi while exploring various reasons that have been proffered to explain its occurrence. Thereafter, the researcher will elucidate what actually transpired during the massacres, the extent of damage caused as well as provide insight into what life after Gukurahundi looks like for Zimbabwe as a country and for survivors and their family members. The purpose of this chapter will be to set the stage for the phenomenon under discussion in order to rationalise why the role of social workers in response to Gukurahundi is a subject worth studying.

2.2 BACKGROUND OF ZIMBABWE AS A COUNTRY

Fig 1: Map of Zimbabwe. Source: Janssen and Meldrum (2017)[3].

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[3] Fig 1 above depicts the map of Zimbabwe according to its provinces. The areas highlighted in Red are the areas that were ravaged by the Gukurahundi massacres.

For ninety years, Zimbabwe was under British colonial rule enforced by the British South Africa Company (BSAC). Mapuva (2007) backgrounds that colonial rule in Zimbabwe was notable for its oppressive and repressive legislation which disenfranchised black Zimbabweans in favour of white settlers. Notable during Zimbabwe's colonial period was the banning of African political movements and resistance groups. Mapuva (2007) further elucidates that these repressions resulted in African resistance groups being formed under the guise of civic groups, social clubs and labour movements.

Zimbabwe finally gained its independence in 1980, following a protracted liberation war (1960-1980) against the British colonisers. The liberation struggle was jointly fought by the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) - predominantly Ndebele and originating from ZAPU - and the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) - predominantly Shona and originating from ZANU. It is reported that, following negotiations at Lancaster House in London to end the armed struggle in Zimbabwe and prior to his leaving Lancaster, Mugabe unilaterally decided that ZANU, independent of ZAPU, would contest the national elections - a decision not discussed with Nkomo, the leader of ZAPU (Rwodzi, 2020). This allegedly further fuelled the already tumultuous relationship that ZANU and ZAPU shared during the liberation struggle. Mugabe went on to win the national elections with an overwhelming majority and ZANU-PF became the official ruling party in Zimbabwe – a position it retains to this day, forty years later.

Despite the initial national euphoria at the attainment of independence in 1980, three years later Zimbabwe was plunged into a civil crisis that saw the ZANU government unleashing Gukurahundi on its citizens. Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru and Makuvaza (2014) portray Zimbabwe as a country in need of social integration, healing and reconciliation now more than it did at the dawn of democracy in 1980 following the various periods of human rights abuses and violations against its citizens by the government.

2.3 THE COMING OF THE NDEBELE INTO PRESENT DAY ZIMBABWE

To understand the Gukurahundi massacres, it is important to understand the pre-colonisation relationship between the Ndebele and the Shona as some theories posit that the Gukurahundi seed was planted pre-independence. Abrams (2006) postulates that the history between the Ndebele and the Shona is burdened with myth and controversy that make understanding the Gukurahundi origins a challenge. This, he explains, is because colonialists, the Ndebele and the Shona politicians have often exploited history for political expediency, thereby accounting

only for aspects that put their desired narrative in a positive light while downplaying narratives that may dispute their chosen stance. To capture better the dimensional narratives regarding Gukurahundi, the researcher will explore and discuss the different theories pertaining to the pre-colonisation relationship between the Ndebele and the Shona and how they may be used to understand more fully the events that led to Gukurahundi.

Beach (1994) chronicles what he considers a 'mild version' of how the Ndebele came into Zimbabwe. He maintains that the Shona were a dominant and discernible language group which controlled lucrative trade routes up to the Indian Ocean around 900 AD. Furthermore, according to Beach, the coming of the Portuguese as a dominant colonial force in the 1700s resulted in the diminishing of Shona power as they became prone to attacks from various groups, including the Ndebele. This school of thought posits that when the Ndebele arrived in present day Zimbabwe under the leadership of Mzilikazi, a powerful Southern African chief who had fled the Zulu kingdom following a dispute with the equally powerful King Shaka Zulu around 1840, his army easily subdued the Rozvi empire[4] with little resistance, resulting in a relatively peaceful co-existence which saw the Shona paying tribute to the Ndebele in order to avoid being raided (Abrams, 2006).

In heavy contestation to the above theory, a more radical version portrays the Ndebele as extremely aggressive and abusive towards the Shona. This view contends that during Shaka's uprising in the 19th century when he instituted a reign of terror through the *mfecane* (meaning the crushing), Mzilikazi fled from what is now South Africa into present day Zimbabwe which was Shona land (Beach, 1994). It is alleged that the Ndebele instituted a despotic reign of terror that thrived on subjugating, raiding, killing, looting and selling off of their Shona subjects. This version disputes that there was ever a peaceful co-existence between the Shona and the Ndebele pre-independence. This school of thought is argued to have been a key contributor to the ethnic divisions between the Ndebele and the Shona during the liberation war which reportedly also led to Gukurahundi manifesting itself in the reversal of roles with the Shona now becoming the abusive aggressors. This was reportedly attributed to a desire to punish the Ndebele for their pre-colonisation crimes against the Shona. It must be noted that this is the current version of

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[4] The geographical location and vastness of the Rozvi state is disputed. Some scholars determine it to being an empire that covers the entire Zimbabwean plateau (Beach, 1994) while some have estimated it as covering a much smaller area (Machiridza, 2012). In this thesis, the Rozvi Empire will refer to the geographical locations subdued by Mzilikazi. These represent the ethnic groups now identified as the Shona people.

events as taught in Zimbabwean schools and allegedly propagated by British, South African, Rhodesian and Shona historians (Abrams, 2006).

2.3.1 The role of the Ndebele during Zimbabwe's liberation war struggle

At the onset (in the 1950s) of the armed struggle against the British Rule ZAPU led the liberation strategy and movement. At its creation, ZAPU comprised both Ndebele and Shona people. However, in 1963, a split occurred in ZAPU, purportedly based on ethnic lines with both Shona and Ndebele leaders wanting to set themselves up for national leadership post-independence (Ndlovu, 2010). As a result, ZAPU split and two liberation movements emerged, i.e. ZANU-PF and ZAPU. ZAPU became known as the Patriotic Front Zimbabwe African People's Union (PF-ZAPU). Owing to the ethnic tensions that had resulted in the split, PF-ZAPU became predominantly Ndebele, while ZANU became predominantly Shona. At the dawn of Zimbabwe's independence and due to intervention from other regional leaders, ZANU whose fighting army was called ZANLA and ZAPU whose fighting army was called ZIPRA forged a political alliance called the Patriotic Front (PF) (Masunungure, 2006). Therefore, Zimbabwe's liberation war was ultimately jointly fought by ZAPU (predominantly Ndebele) and ZANU (predominantly Shona) equally.

After the Lancaster House Agreement[5] in 1979 which marked the end of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe, ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU fielded their political candidates to stand in the national elections in 1980. ZANU won with a majority of 57 of the 80 Black seats and became the ruling party. However, some PF ZAPU members were included in the new government and given seats in parliament. In addition, the ZANLA and ZIPRA forces were consolidated to become one national army of the Zimbabwean state. Despite the well-known role played by ZAPU in Zimbabwe's liberation war struggle, ZANU has often been accused of undermining and under-reporting ZAPU's role in the annals of history (Murray, 2004). Soon after independence and just before the onset of Gukurahundi, ZANU politicians allegedly used state-controlled media to cast the Ndebele and ZAPU, with its leader Joshua Nkomo and its military wing ZIPRA, as less than heroic liberators, as not committed nation-builders, but as a threat to the country's hard-won independence (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013:6). This fuelled tension between the two liberation war movements which was later seen to manifest strongly during Gukurahundi.

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[5] The Lancaster House Agreement was reached in 1979 at a constitutional conference between the British Government, ZANU, ZAPU and the United African National Council (UANC). The purpose of the conference was to decide on the proper basis for granting legal independence to Rhodesia, as well as to reach an agreement on the terms of an Independence Constitution, elections, as well as settling of political differences by political means.

Alluding to Zimbabwe's ethnic composition and politics, Masunungure (2006) concludes that the most significant and permanent line of both social and political cleavage is entrenched in its ethnic polarisation between the Ndebele and the Shona. Masunungure criticises former President Mugabe for adopting a bipolar power structure that desired to create a united one-party state yet failed to acknowledge the deeply divisive history that existed between the Ndebele and the Shona. He further adds that the 1980 attainment of Zimbabwe's independence failed to heal old wounds between the Ndebele and the Shona despite there being a century's lapse and many political generations since the Ndebele settled in Zimbabwe (Masunungure, 2006).

2.4 THEORIES SURROUNDING GUKURAHUNDI

As alluded to in Chapter 1, there is no consensus in academic and political circles regarding what led to Gukurahundi. It is the researcher's opinion that Gukurahundi may have been triggered by a series of events and reasons which will be explored in the following sections.

2.4.1 Political factors

The 'dissident' factor

The theory that Gukurahundi was unleashed by the Mugabe-led regime in an attempt to quell the national army deserters who were terrorising civilians is the closest the government has come to taking responsibility for commissioning the atrocious acts that characterised Gukurahundi. These defectors became known as 'dissidents' - a derogatory term because they had deserted the national army and allegedly taken up arms against the new government (Kriger, 2003). The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace[6] (CCJP) report details that the Zimbabwe National Army's (ZNA) attempts to integrate ZIPRA and ZANLA soldiers were proving difficult owing to unresolved mistrust and hostilities carried over from the liberation war movement. In addition, perceptions that the Shona aligned comrades were receiving preferential treatment and appointments post-independence created a hostile environment. Further complicating the integration of ZANLA and ZIPRA was the forced integration with the White-aligned Rhodesian Defence Forces (RDF) against which former guerrillas had fought during the war. This resulted in some soldiers, both from ZIPRA and ZANLA,

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[6] The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace is a non-governmental organisation established in 1972 whose aim is to highlight the plight of the Zimbabwean people and assist in cases of human rights abuse. It became the first civil society organisation to extensively investigate Gukurahundi and submit substantive findings that have shaped the understanding of what really happened during Gukurahundi.

disregarding the command to report to Assembly Points (APs) that had been set up for integration or demobilisation purposes. As a result, calls to integrate or demobilise were not headed by a small fraction of soldiers who then deserted the army and left with their weapons. This is the first group of alleged 'dissidents.'

In addition to those who outrightly refused to integrate into the ZNA, a second group of 'dissidents' defected after having initially integrated into ZNA (CCJP, 1997). A clash between ZIPRA and ZANLA soldiers who were being housed in an ex-combatant's housing scheme in an area called Entumbane also added to the deserters' numbers. Between November 1980 and February 1981, following conflict between the ZIPRA and ZANLA ex-combatants rehoused in Entumbane and exacerbated by Enos Nkala's (a former ZANU minister) inflammatory speech against ZAPU, battles broke out in Entumbane. Supporting their fellow comrades perceived to be in danger and under undue attack, some ZIPRA soldiers who had integrated into the ZNA left their Assembly Points to help their fellow comrades fight. The CCJP reports record that about 300 soldiers were killed before the former Rhodesian Defence Forces summoned by Mugabe quelled the battle. Several ZIPRA soldiers who had left Assembly Points to join this battle did not return to camp citing it as a potentially life-threatening decision as they no longer felt safe. In agreement with this sentiment, Alexander (2006) maintains that, while viewed as a political move, most 'dissidents' interviewed indicated that their decision to desert had been motivated by a need to survive as opposed to political rifts.

The third group of 'dissidents', which was probably more politically inclined than the previous two groups mentioned above, was known as the Super ZAPU. This group was allegedly recruited by a double agent for Rhodesia's Central Intelligence Organization (CIO) and the South African apartheid government. CCJP investigations revealed that this group comprised disgruntled ex- ZIPRA combatants motivated by revenge and most likely recruited from the Dukwe refugee camp in Botswana. These were allegedly supplied with ammunition with the intention of capitalising on the already brewing tensions in Matabeleland and Midlands between ZIPRA and ZANLA while also destabilising Zimbabwe under the code name "Operation Drama" (Hanlon, 1986). Hanlon alleges that the SA apartheid government sought to fuel the Gukurahundi crisis in retaliation for the use of Matabeleland as an entry point into South Africa by the African National Congress (ANC). This move was instigated to achieve the collapse of Matabeleland and provide a halt to ANC infiltration into SA through Zimbabwe's Matabeleland province. In addition, Super ZAPU missions were carried out as part of South Africa's grand plan of weakening Frontline States (ibid). Major disruptive acts

of this 'dissident' group include acts of sabotage at the Inkomo barracks in August 1981 and the destruction of several Zimbabwean Air force jets at Thornhill Airbase in July 1982 (Mashingaidze, 2010:84-85).

Activities against civilians

The CCJP (1997) documented difficulties in ascertaining the damage caused by 'dissidents' due to the often exaggerated and biased nature of state reporting at the time. In addition, allegations that government operatives working in the Central Intelligence Organization were posing as 'dissidents' made it difficult to distinguish the actual 'dissidents' from imposters. Be that as it may, testimonies from victims of 'dissidents', as well as documented evidence of their operations, indeed point to the violent nature of their activities during the period in question.

In a case study of two areas in Matabeleland, the CCJP reported that between 1982 and 1983, 'dissidents' killed at least 33 predominantly white farmers and their families in addition to a reported 21 people in the Nyamandlovu area while decimating small scale farming operations and affecting the livelihoods of many families. Murders in other areas are also documented; however, the report casts doubt on the reported figures as government media at the time of the atrocities reported 700 – 800 civilian deaths caused by 'dissidents.' The allegations of 'dissidents' terrorising civilians are also corroborated by victim testimonies who reported of well-known 'dissidents' who used pseudonyms, such as 'Fidel Castro,' 'Danger,' and 'Idi Amini', as boastful indications of how dangerous they were (CCJP, 1997). The following is taken from the CCJP (1997:39) report and documents a witness testimony:

Fig 2: Excerpt from CCJP (1997) report

Case 2611 A By, 2612 X

District: Nkayi
Perpetrator: Dissidents
Date: November 1985
Witness: Wife of murdered victim
Victim: 47 year old farmer, married with 8 children- murdered: Wife, wounded with an axe and beaten
OUTLINE OF EVENTS:
At about 5 pm, about 8 dissidents came to our home, asking for my husband. I told them he was ploughing the field and they said they would wait for him. When he came, they took us to a neighbour's and made us enter a hut. They accused him of being a sell-out, and of having reported the dissidents at the Police camp. Then they beat him on the head.

When he collapsed, they told me, his wife, to kill him with an axe. I refused, so they hit me on the head with an axe. When I regained consciousness, I was covered with blood. They had chopped my husband on his legs and back with the axe. They made me kill him. They made me chop him on the neck with the axe. They chopped him head right off. They put his severed head in a plastic bag and told me to take it to the nearest hospital the following day. The dissidents eventually left at 2am, and the next day I took my husband's head, in the bag to the hospital, like they told me to do.

According to 'dissident' testimonies, the CCJP (1997) reported that interviewed 'dissidents' confessed to destroying government projects as a form of economic sabotage. In agreement with these confessions, Mashingaidze (2010) adds that 'dissidents' were also known for attacking government personnel, tourists and government infrastructure designed to improve the economic standing of the country, thus simultaneously threatening regime security. In addition, 'dissidents' also confessed to conducting petty crimes and store robberies, as well as more aggravated crimes, such as raping young girls as part of their *modus operandi*. The CCJP (1997), however, addresses allegations that the 'dissidents' enjoyed popular support among the communities by revealing that interviewed 'dissidents' acknowledged that their actions gained them little sympathy from the bulk of the population, and most of the support they received was coerced and forced upon residents. These revelations, therefore, cast suspicions on Mugabe's government's claim that 'dissidents' enjoyed wide support, and therefore justified the killing of ordinary citizens who, purportedly, were 'dissidents' or supported these. Owing to the ravaging activities of 'dissidents' the years 1982 - 1987 became known as the dissident era in Zimbabwe (Mashingaidze, 2010:85). Mashingaidze adds that 'dissidents' were known to attack mainly Shona civilians, particularly in the Midlands district particularly in Mberengwa, causing extensive mayhem and creating an atmosphere of insecurity amongst civilians.

Suffice it to say, the 'dissident' factor was used as a reason by the Mugabe-led regime for unleashing Gukurahundi in a bid to curtail the activities of these deserters and extinguish them. The actual number of alleged 'dissidents' is disputed. Private sources have placed the number of 'dissidents' at about four hundred maximum (Vambe, 2012). Be that as it may, whatever the number of dissidents, the violence that was perpetrated during Gukurahundi was disproportionate to the number of deserters (CCJP, 1997). In addition, the acts of violence during Gukurahundi targeted civilians with few records ever detailing attacks on the 'dissidents' themselves. The ZANU-PF government thus employed the mantra used during the liberation war struggle, namely that the peasants were the 'water' in which the 'fish' (i.e., guerrillas) hibernated, implying that the civilians' homes were the hideouts of the alleged 'dissidents'; hence violence meted out against them was justifiable (Vambe, 2012:282).

Critical to note on the subject of so-called 'dissidents' is the mystery that surrounds this group. Certain sectors in ZAPU and academia, as well as some historians, dispute the presence of 'dissidents', claiming that it was a made-up entity to justify Gukurahundi. One such account is given by Kevin Woods, a former CIO officer who published his story in a book that details the

government's involvement in Gukurahundi atrocities. He alleges that ZANU created 'dissidents' and planted them in Matabeleland, thereby creating an excuse for the 5th Brigade to be deployed in the region to destroy ZAPU and its supporters by any means necessary (Woods, 2008). Donald Trelford, the Editor of The Guardian newspaper credited with breaking the story of Gukurahundi to the international community, revealed that when he asked Mugabe whether he would consider a political rather than a military solution in Matabeleland he replied bluntly:

> *"The solution is a military one. Their grievances are unfounded."*

> (New Zimbabwe, 2010).

The theory of 'dissidents' as a reason for perpetrating Gukurahundi is thus flawed and riddled with discrepancies. Having analysed the various theories regarding the 'dissident' factor, the researcher concludes that there is sufficient evidence to prove that, while 'dissidents' indeed existed, atrocities in Matabeleland and Midlands appeared to have been directly aimed at citizens with little effort made at finding the actual 'dissidents.' While the response of the government may have been a strategic solution which reasoned that, if sufficient terror was unleashed in the region, it would force both civilians and 'dissidents' into submission, the government never acknowledged this.

The one-party state factor

The desire by the Mugabe-led regime to create a one-party state in Zimbabwe is also ranked highly as a probable cause for the occurrence of Gukurahundi. Rwafa (2012) and Vambe (2012) both assert that ZANU meted out Gukurahundi in a bid to destroy PF-ZAPU as an opposition party that had garnered 20 votes in the national election. It is alleged that, following ZANU's victory in the national elections in 1980, former President Mugabe offered Joshua Nkomo, the leader of PF ZAPU, the ceremonial post of President of the Republic while he himself would remain the Prime Minister - and Nkomo rejected it. This is said to have increased the tension between the two leaders (Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru & Makuvaza, 2014).

Munemo (2012) maintains that ZANU-PF remained uncomfortable with sharing political space with ZAPU despite its landslide victory in the 1980 national elections. Leaders within ZAPU were constantly suspected and accused of harbouring political ambitions to stage a coup and strip ZANU PF of its election-based mandate to rule Zimbabwe. Munemo (2012) further terms ZAPU's 20 parliamentary seats as the 'elephant in the room' that stood in the way of ZANU-

PF's desire for a one-party state, therefore requiring a mechanism to obliterate it. In a recorded statement in 1982, former President Mugabe is quoted as declaring that it was:

> *"Not a matter of whether a one-party state was feasible, but when it shall come about"* (Rich, 1983:502).

It has, therefore, been argued that ZANU PF trumped up charges and allegations against ZAPU leaders in order to set Gukurahundi in motion so that it could establish its one-party state.

The CCJP (1997) report supports this notion and further argues that, although the 'dissidents' problem was a reality, the ZANU PF government exaggerated the 'dissidents' factor by accusing ZAPU leaders of funding and commissioning the 'dissidents' despite there being no evidence of ZAPU leadership having become involved in their activities. Further cementing this line of thought, Mandaza and Sachikonye (1991) allege that Mugabe's desire for hegemony caused him to set Gukurahundi into motion in order to annihilate not only Joshua Nkomo, but also ZAPU's leadership in totality, its supporters, ZIPRRA, its associates and all those seen to be sympathetic towards ZAPU. The analysis and explanation of why Gukurahundi turned out to affect ordinary civilians as opposed to the so-called targeted 'dissidents' is given by Ndlovu (2010) who contends that crushing the power base of ZAPU could only be achieved by attacking its perceived supporters in Matabeleland and Midlands. Gukurahundi was, therefore, a tool to force ZAPU to submit to ZANU's political hegemony (CCJP, 1997). This view, therefore, casts doubt on the view that Gukurahundi was an ethnically motivated attack as anyone perceived to be a ZAPU supporter was unsafe regardless of their ethnic origin. The CCJP (1997) report supports this analysis as its findings concluded that, while ZAPU was predominantly Ndebele and ZANU predominantly Shona, their military wings were initially not tribalistic by policy as each group included representation of the other. However, with time and due to regional recruitment and the mutual antagonism that had led to divisions, the political formations became largely homogenous, representing either the Ndebele or the Shona.

'Discovery' of armed caches factor

While many theories exist regarding the onset of Gukurahundi, the 'discovery' of armed catches in ZAPU-owned properties was employed to justify the actual start of Gukurahundi. The Mugabe-led government announced its 'discovery' of weapons cached at properties owned by ZAPU and ZIPRA. These weapons were also close to Assembly Points housing ex-combatants. Hence ZANU used this as evidence to prove their long-held suspicion that ZAPU

was planning to stage a coup (Mashingaidze, 2010:83). Munemo (2012) warrants ZANU's suspicion by agreeing that ZIPRA/ZAPU had indeed violated the Lancaster House Agreement of 1978 by retaining a significant number of weapons and not fully demobilising, thereby fuelling suspicions that it intended to use these at an opportune time. This reasoning is also supported by Martin and Johnson (1981) who agree that the situation created a suspicious scenario in which ZIPRA/ZAPU appeared to be intending to nullify the people's vote by accessing through the barrel of the gun what they had failed to acquire through elections. In keeping with this line of argument, Kriger (2003:53) confirms that, in 1979, the Soviet Union provided ZAPU exclusively with arms valued at US$60 million despite Zimbabwe going through a transition period in which arms were not needed due to the cease fire and demobilisation of ex-combatants. In addition to the arms, the Soviet Union allegedly increased its funding to ZIPRA after the elections. As a result, ZANU became increasingly uncomfortable with ZAPU as it appeared that unresolved struggles for power and political control which had led to the original ZAPU split were still a cause for concern. Munemo (2012) adds that, during the liberation struggle, it was a known fact that ZIPRA/ZAPU had sophisticated military hardware in comparison to ZANLA/ZANU; hence the increased suspicion that they intended to use it to topple the newly elected government.

The 'discovery' of these armed caches coincided with the merging of the ZANLA and ZIPRA forces when tensions were arising along ethnic lines after the violent clashes within the national army at Entumbane (Ndlovu, 2010). This led to the arrest of ZAPU leaders as they were accused of planning a coup (CCJP, 1997; Eppel, 2008; Muzondidya & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007). The Commanders Lookout Masuku and Dumiso Dabengwa were also arrested on treason charges, further escalating turbulence in the army and destabilising the security situation even more (Stiff, 2000). In protest to the arrests of these leaders an estimated two-hundred ZAPU army wing members, who had been conscripted into the national army, deserted (Muzondidya & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007). These deserters are alleged to have joined the 'dissidents' discussed in paragraph 2.4.1 and caused the havoc discussed in the same section. In an effort to stop the actions of the 'dissidents', Mugabe then dispatched the 5th Brigade into Matabeleland and Midlands. The 'discovery' of armed caches as a causal justification of Gukurahundi has been disputed by ZAPU, historians and other academics who claim it to have been a ruse by the ZANU-led government to justify the annihilation of ZAPU as an opposition party in Zimbabwe. They, therefore, argued that the 'discovery' was, in actual fact, not a 'discovery' at all.

2.4.2 Economic factors

Contrary to the view that Gukurahundi had been initiated because of 'dissidents' and their perceived threat to the new government, Mashingaidze (2010) reasons that Gukurahundi occurred because the ZANU-led government wanted to assuage the anxieties of the white minority over landownership and socio-economic privilege. Therefore, unleashing black- on-black violence was intended to cement the perception that intra-black reconciliation was a peripheral goal of independent Zimbabwe. In support of this view, Masunungure (2006) argues that employing Gukurahundi as a means of dealing with the perceived and real enemies of ZANU was diametrically opposed to the reconciliation policy preached by Mugabe at Independence. This, he argues, is because, where reconciliation sought to resolve differences by bringing diverse groups together, Gukurahundi sought to eliminate differences and their sources through annihilation - thus a military solution to a troublesome political problem that had economic consequences.

2.4.3 Social factors

Further compounding the mystery of Gukurahundi is a school of thought that believes that Gukurahundi was perpetrated against the Ndebele in revenge of the manner in which they raided the Shona in pre-colonial times (Mabhena, 2014). Discussing this inter-ethnic conflict, Soyinka (2000) questions how far one ought to go back in history to come up with a conclusive answer as to what really led to Gukurahundi. However, he warns that refusal to acknowledge the historical and pre-colonial Ndebele-Shona conflict as one of the main reasons for Gukurahundi is similar to editing out those parts of history that we do not like. Concurring with this school of thought, Huyse (2003) contends that silence and amnesia are enemies of justice and foil reconciliation. Critical to note is that to date, sizable Ndebele communities perceive Gukurahundi to have been an ethnic cleansing by the Shona (Alexander, McGregor & Ranger, 2000; Lindgren, 2005). Alexander et al. (2000:222) quote a witness statement during an interview which elucidates how some Ndebele people came to the conclusion that Gukurahundi was an ethnic cleansing:

> *'They said, "Your forefathers ate our cattle - where are they?" We were attacked for being Ndebele. They actually said it.'*

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) reasons that this perception has heightened Ndebele ethnic nationalism as survivors and their families live with bitter memories of Gukurahundi.

Analysing interviews with some participants regarding Gukurahundi in a documentary by Zenzele Ndebele, Rwafa (2012) quotes a participant who claims that Gukurahundi was perpetrated because Mugabe wanted to settle personal scores with the Ndebele as his biological father had left his mother to settle with a Ndebele woman in Bulawayo. This view has not been widely accepted as a credible reason for Gukurahundi; however, it should not be ignored as it has been used by some to prove that Gukurahundi was an ethnic battle. Mugabe himself alluded to the ethnic composition of both ZANU and ZAPU. However, he argued that the ethnic relations had been cordial until colonial authorities capitalised on the ZAPU and ZANU divisions by using a divide-and-conquer tactic, accentuating tribal consciousness, in order to weaken the national consciousness and nationalistic cause (Mugabe, 1989:338). Teuten (2015) reasons that social and ethnic issues were never the cause of Gukurahundi; however, they became a means to an end: ZANU dominance and the creation of a one-party state. Teuten (2015) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008), however, both agree that, while ethnicity was not the driving factor, Gukurahundi definitely resulted in the evolvement of Ndebele particularism and further division between the Shona and Ndebele ethnic groups in Zimbabwe.

2.5 THE 5TH BRIGADE OPERATIONS

The CCJP is probably the only institution that widely documented the atrocities that occurred during Gukurahundi. In their report, based on witness and victim statements, they allege that political and ethnic reasons were used to justify the violence during Gukurahundi. People in the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces (mainly civilians) were raped, tortured, murdered, detained or made to disappear in great numbers by the 5th Brigade (CCJP, 1997; Eppel, 2004). Permanent disabilities including impotence, infertility, blindness, paralysis, deafness, partial lameness, recurring head- and backaches, as well as damage to kidneys, were reported as some of the most predominant consequences of the violence which the survivors of Gukurahundi had suffered at the hands of the 5th Brigade (CCJP, 1997). The report added that 95% of the atrocities of Gukurahundi were visited upon innocent victims with only 5% targeting the alleged 'dissidents.' Abrams (2006) argues that, as with organised violence, the actual numbers of victims cannot be reliably estimated; however, he places the number of fatalities to be between one thousand and twenty thousand people. It, therefore, became a fact that innocent civilians became the main casualties of this civil war between the military arms of the two predominant political groupings that had, ironically, brought the same civilians freedom.

In addition to acts of violence, the 5th Brigade also performed degrading acts against their victims. Victim testimonies alluded to being forced to open their mouths so that 5th Brigade soldiers could urinate into their mouths (Ngwenya, 2016). Killander and Nyathi (2015) add further grim details to the degrading nature of the 5th Brigade atrocities by revealing rape as a tool used particularly against women and young girls. They further record that genital mutilation of both men and women was prevalent. In some instances, women's vaginas were burnt with plastic before they were brutally killed. Other reported sexual violent acts perpetrated included the practice of forcing sharp objects into women's vaginas resulting in painful, wide-legged gaits. In some recorded instances, men were subjected to beatings primarily on their genitalia with their testicles being bound by rubber while they were beaten using truncheons to the point of burst scrotums (Killander & Nyathi, 2015).

In addition to the above-mentioned atrocities, even more bizarre (and recorded) acts against ordinary civilians included incidences in which a victim reported that she had been forced to axe her four-month-old child to death and eat the dead child's flesh on the accusation of being a sell-out. In addition to these bizarre acts, public executions were reportedly the order of the day, and night vigils were occasionally conducted during which Ndebele people were forced to sing and dance to Shona praise songs in which Mugabe, or ZANU in general, was praised. Maedza (2017) purports that these night vigils were witch-hunt exercises designed to ascertain who was a 'dissident' and who was not, as well as to weed out those accused of supporting 'dissidents' with information, material or logistical support. During the public executions, civilians were forced to dig their own graves, were burnt alive or shot dead afterwards in front of fellow villagers. Most of those killed during this time were buried in mine shafts, shallow graves or in mass graves (ibid). Reflecting on life during Gukurahundi, Munemo (2012) likens the 'extinguishing' of Ndebele life to what Mignolo (2009) refers to as 'dispensable bare lives' and likens it to colonialism's terror which featured the devaluation of life. In a bid to conceal the deaths, Crimes Against Humanity Zimbabwe (2010:55) and Sokwanele (2010) divulge that following the killings during vigils, the 5th Brigade would dig up some mass graves and burn the corpses to destroy the bodies and all material evidence of the murders.

Another sinister form of violence perpetrated against the Matabeleland North province during Gukurahundi was a food embargo in 1984. To effect the food embargo, all forms of transport into and out of the province were prohibited and all stores were forcibly closed thereby resulting in severe food shortages in a region that was already experiencing drought. This was designed to starve the people to death in a bid to force them to support the ZANU-led

government. In addition, curfews were put into place to restrict movement of people from rural to urban areas (Alexander, 1998:159). Further worsening the economic situation in affected areas, the 5th Brigade also stands accused of adopting scorched earth tactics which destroyed peasant villagers' crops, livestock and homesteads (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013).

The CCJP report documented that camps designed to torture and kill people were also established with the most notorious of these camps being the Bhalagwe Camp in the Matobo district of Zimbabwe. It was estimated that in these camps at least fifty people died daily, and their bodies were ferried to unknown destinations where they were buried in mass graves without their families' knowledge or consent. The report further suggests that some of these people were ferried alive and forced to dig their own shallow graves in which they were buried alive either by the 5th Brigade soldiers or by fellow detainees (CCJP, 1997; Eppel, 2004).

Mills and Wilson (2007) estimate the Zimbabwe Liberation war death toll to have been around 25 000 civilian deaths, while accepted estimates of Gukurahundi place deaths at around 20 000 with some estimates even putting the figure at 30 000 deaths (Evans, 2008; CCJP, 1997). Calculating the death toll during these two violent periods of Zimbabwean history, Maedza (2017) established that an average of 4,000 people were killed annually for five years during Gukurahundi, while an average of 2,143 people were killed per year during the fourteen-year liberation war struggle. It can, therefore, be concluded that Gukurahundi entailed, on average, more deaths than the seemingly more deadly and brutal liberation war.

Juxtaposing the liberation war and the Gukurahundi massacres, Alexander et al. (2000) conclude that for most survivors, the two violent periods in Zimbabwean history are indistinguishable. This assertion is supported by Ngwenya (2014) who, while conducting studies in Matabeleland, found that survivors often failed to draw a distinction between the liberation war and Gukurahundi thereby regarding the latter as a continuation of the former. Drawing similarities between the 5th Brigade *modus operandi* and the liberation war methods, CCJP (1997:26) asserts that, 'in addition to inheriting a formidable array of repressive laws from the previous regime, Zimbabwe also inherited an army and CIO which retained some men well versed in the techniques of torture.' Maedza (2017) claims that the same 'hit squad', together with 5th Brigade, used their military expertise to torture and murder civilians during Gukurahundi.

The tragedy for the ordinary civilians in relation to the atrocities was that they suffered both ways. The government unleashed violence on them upon suspicion that they were providing a

sanctuary for 'dissidents.' On the other hand, the 'dissidents' unleashed violence on them upon suspicion that they were informing the government forces of their whereabouts and movements (Vambe, 2014). Lindgren (2005:161) castigates the 5th Brigade for employing overtly 'tribalistic' rhetoric during its operations. This, therefore, justifies witness testimonies which view Gukurahundi as an ethnic-incited war on civilians. Mugabe himself is said to have admitted to the extreme measures employed by the 5th Brigade when he commented:

> *"Of course where you are having a war, you have people complain about certain excesses done by your soldiers'.* (Rwafa, 2012: 327)

The above account has attempted to put into context the nature and extent of atrocities experienced by the people of Matabeleland and the Midlands during Gukurahundi, both at the hands of 'dissidents' and the 5th Brigade. It is the opinion of the researcher that a framework to bring about social healing and reconciliation must first take stock of the experiences of those affected and then make recommendations that conclusively address the resulting damage caused by both 'dissidents' and the 5th Brigade as perpetrators. Research has tended to focus either only on the activities of the 'dissidents' while negating those of the 5th Brigade or vice-versa. It is, therefore, the argument of this thesis that survivors and their families need healing to deal with both the 'dissidents' and members of the 5th Brigade as perpetrators.
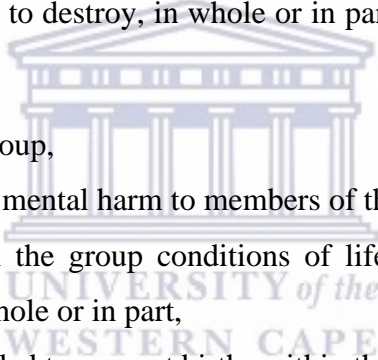
2.6 A GENOCIDE? POLITICIDE, MASSACRE OR A DISTURBANCE?

The classification of Gukurahundi has been debated by politicians, academics, historians, activists and victims. To date, there is no consensus on how to classify this dark period of Zimbabwean history. The former President Mugabe called it a 'moment of madness', some called it a genocide, some a politicide, others a mass massacre while other terms such as democide, ethnocide and disturbance are used interchangeably. Various terms are used in everyday discourse in relation to acts of extreme cruelty. The terms 'crimes against humanity', 'war crimes', and 'genocide' have often been used interchangeably. However, it must be noted that the above-mentioned terms are, in actual fact, legal categories with very strict definitions. The researcher will distinguish between these terms as she moves closer to a fitting label for Gukurahundi. This section will attempt to analyse Gukurahundi and assign it a label that will prove relevant to the question of how best to address Gukurahundi.

2.6.1 A genocide

The term genocide has been used in reference to crimes against the Jewish, Armenian, Cambodian, Rwandan, Darfur and Herero people amongst others with the Jewish holocaust being considered the most extreme and grotesque form of genocide (Day & Vandiver, 2000). Raphael Lemkin, a lawyer during the Second World War, coined the term 'genocide' in reference to the intentional destruction of nation groups based on their collective identities. It is understood that he endeavoured to provide a definition that could be accessible in international law to address what former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had described as "a crime without a name" with regard to genocide-like occurrences (Ruebner, 2005:1232). To his credit, Lemkin's work yielded results as the United Nations then drafted the UN Convention on Genocide in direct response to the Nazi and their collaborators for crimes against humanity. Article II of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide defines genocide as follows:

"Any acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group such as:

(a) killing members of the group,

(b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group,

(c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part,

(d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group,

(e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group". (United Nations, 1948:277).

It is critical at this point to state that the above is the only legal definition of genocide. This definition is, however, not without its own controversy and limitations as many scholars have found fault with it on the grounds that it was too narrow and restrictive, as well as demanding too much proof, before an atrocity could be declared a genocide. Drost (1959) defined genocide as simply the deliberate destruction of physical life or individual human beings by reason of their membership to any human collectivity. In an extension of Drost's definition, Dadrian (1975:204) defined genocide as 'the successful attempt by a dominant group, vested with formal authority and/or with preponderant access to the overall resources of power, to reduce by coercion or lethal violence the number or a minority group whose ultimate continued extermination is held desirable and useful and whose respective vulnerability is a major factor

contributing to the decision for genocide.' In line with the role of state actors and those in power, Horowitz (2018) contended that genocide is the structural and systematic murder of citizens through the use of state bureaucratic apparatus whose ultimate goal is the liquidation of minorities as well as ensuring conformity and participation of citizens.

Later definitions of genocide have sought to include aspects, such as mass murder, starvation, systematic rape, ethnic cleansing, restricting of reproduction and forced displacements (Porter, 1982; Wallimann & Dobkowski, 1992; Fein, 1994). Charny (2003) also introduces into his definition a further feature, namely that victims of a genocide are usually killed in masses while not engaging in any form of military action themselves and are thus considered defenseless victims. Kelman (1973) describes genocides as ruthless and indiscriminate, usually ordered or tacitly approved by those in authority - often governments - against a defined group of people. Referrring to the Rwandan and Armenian genocides as cases in point, Theriault (2010) claims that most genocides are met with denials by the perpetrators, usually by directly denying that the events being regarded as genocides are happening at all and are a pure fabrication. In other instances, they are called something other than genocide thereby reducing the intensity of their damage, a concept termed 'definitional denial' (Charny, 2003). Morgan (2020) contends that perpetrators of genocides often escape the genocide label by reducing them to local massacres or spontaneous intercommunal violence as opposed to centrally intended, planned and controlled mass exterminations. Hirsch (1999), Totten & Markusen (2013) and Powell (2004) unanimously agree that in some instances, world leaders deliberately organise mass killings in such a way that they do not quite fit the United Nations' definition based on technicalities to avoid being tried in the International Criminal Court (ICC). The above-mentioned authors use the Serbian genocide as an example of their assertion. This view is supported by Doran (2015) who argues that, when the Zimbabwean government began to receive outcries from the international community in response to Gukurahundi, they simply reconfigured the massacres and kept them below a certain threshold so that they did not entirely fit the UN definition.

Gukurahundi has been classified as genocide in some circles despite some arguments against labelling it as such. Zinyengere (2011), Doran (2017) and Msindo (2006) contend that Gukurahundi warrants the genocide label mainly because it specifically targeted the Ndebele ethnic group and anyone who was seen to support it. Furthermore, Vambe (2012) supports the claim that Gukurahundi was an instance of genocide, as defined by the number of victim casualties, as it is postulated that the number of deaths exceeded 20 000. Following extensive

research on Gukurahundi, the CCJP and the Legal Resource Foundation (LRF), upheld the notion that Gukurahundi targeted the Ndebele ethnic group, as the so-called 'dissidents' targeted through Gukurahundi were exclusively Ndebele (CCJP, 1997), thereby asserting it as a genocide. Gregory Stanton, a leading international authority on crimes against humanity, is quoted as stating that there should not be any debate on labelling Gukurahundi as genocide as it clearly was genocide (The Zimbabwean, 2010:2). Stanton juxtaposed the Armenian and Rwandan genocides with Gukurahundi and concluded that the common factor in these three cases was ethnicity.

Disputing the classification of Gukurahundi as genocide, Rwafa (2012) considers Stanton's analysis misinformed as he claims that, although ethnicity was used to justify the killings, it was not the central reason behind the atrocities. Another factor that has delayed classification of Gukurahundi as genocide by the United Nations has been attributed to the increasing scepticism with regard to engaging western scholars to describe political conditions in Africa, the fear being that western nations might use this as an opportunity to meddle in African politics in addition to ascribing to Africa words with western interpretations which are then used to describe an African situation, thereby dictating the process (Rwafa, 2012).

Owing to the legal and academic challenges to arriving at a definitive definition of genocide, Semelin (2003:435) advocates the use of the word 'massacre' which he finds non-normative and non-legal in framing occurrences, such as the Gukurahundi. In Semelin's view, a massacre denotes a form of action - most frequently a collective action - that destroys defenseless individuals and has been used in reference to animals. Semelin, therefore, draws on the comparison of how animals and people are killed in a massacre, pointing out that the comparison is significant as it alludes to the inhumane nature of massacre killings or genocide-like killings. However, he cautions that not all massacres fall within the genocide definition, although genocides in themselves are comprised of one or more massacres during their execution.

2.5.2 A disturbance

The controversy over the classification of Gukurahundi is intensified by the CCJP report which described Gukurahundi as 'disturbances.' The usage of the word 'disturbances' has been seen as an implication that the Gukurahundi issue was just one of the incidents in Zimbabwe's history that temporarily altered the course of events. The image of temporariness that was attached to the Gukurahundi atrocities by the CCJP report in its language of description is

criticised for failing to foresee the social, economic and political repercussions of the killings. Contemporary research, such as one carried out by Ndlovu (2010), has shown that Gukurahundi delayed development in the areas affected and continues to do so. In addition to loss of life, Gukurahundi also resulted in the destruction and closure of schools, businesses and personal property. Economically active people who could have contributed to the development of Matabeleland and Midlands also fled to neighbouring countries resulting in brain drain and a reduced workforce. Considering the significant impact of Gukurahundi, the classification of it as a mere disturbance down-plays its consequences. It is, therefore, the researcher's view that, while being well-meaning and possibly politically expedient in assuaging the government of the day, the CCJP's classification of Gukurahundi as a mere disturbance was too simplistic in comparison to the experiences during its occurrence and the consequences thereafter.

2.6.3 A civil war

Further adding to the controversy around the classification of Gukurahundi, the late former President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, also gave his government's opinion regarding this issue. Mugabe, in one of his speeches during Gukurahundi, clearly stated that his government was fighting a 'war' against 'dissidents.' Crimes against Humanity Zimbabwe (2010:4) quotes Mugabe as stating the following:

> *'Of course where you are having a war, you have people complain about certain excesses done by your soldiers…We eradicate them. We don't differentiate when we fight because we can't tell who is a dissident and who is not.'*

Analysing Mugabe's words above, the Sokwanele (2010) report concluded that Mugabe's use of the words 'war' and 'fight' determined his government's position; namely, that they were fighting an enemy equally armed and as in a war. In this interpretation, therefore, no amount of force could be considered excessive. Following Sokwanele's argument, one must thus conclude that the reason why Mugabe's government turned a deaf ear to the reports on how Gukurahundi was impacting civilians was that it had concluded that 'all is fair in love and war', and civilians were collateral damage to be accepted as in any war. Rwafa (2012), however, argues that Mugabe's government was astute enough to use official language to cover up what were, in fact, crimes against humanity by merging 'dissidents' with civilians, thereby justifying the excessive force unleashed during Gukurahundi. It is the researcher's considered view that Mugabe's government's description of Gukurahundi as 'war' fails the war litmus test as there

is no account of civilians taking up arms during this time and fighting back, neither is there a recorded account of combat in which the so-called 'dissidents' engaged in battle with the 5th Brigade soldiers.

2.6.4 A politicide

The term *politicide* was introduced into atrocity diction by Harff and Guur (1987:3) in response to the legal genocide definition which they considered lacking in its exclusion of victims killed on account of their political affiliation. They opined that the exclusion of political victims in the genocide definition was made for political as opposed to moral reasons and should never have been omitted. Providing a definition for politicide, Harff and Guur (1987) defined it as the massacre of political opponents who are profiled by virtue of their political hierarchical position or perceived political oppositional affiliation in relation to the regime or dominant political grouping. In 2003, Harff added to this definition by stating that, in a politicide, victims are attacked because they are perceived to be engaged in oppositional activity deemed undesirable by those in power (Harff, 2003). As Harff's work on politicides continued to evolve, he reasoned that the only difference between a genocide and a politicide is that, in a genocide, victimised groups are defined by perpetrators in terms of their communal characteristics, whereas in a politicide, they are defined primarily in terms of their political opposition to the dominant group (2003:58). In essence, Harff argues that the atrocious acts that accompany a genocide are present in a politicide as well.

While there is documented proof that the Ndebele were the main casualties of Gukurahundi, there is no consensus on whether Gukurahundi was essentially executed for the specific reason of killing the Ndebele people due to their ethnic grouping. Vambe (2012:282), in proffering this argument, contends that there is no evidence that, had 'dissidents' emerged from any other ethnic grouping, the same violence would not have been unleashed on them. Vambe, therefore, argues that political dominance and the desire to create a one-party state were the main drivers of Gukurahundi. Adding doubt to the argument that Gukurahundi was an ethnically motivated genocide, Mashingaidze (2005:85) argues that, during Gukurahundi, Shona people perceived to be amenable to the 'dissident' cause, especially those who fell under the ZAPU spheres of influence during the liberation struggle in such areas as Hurungwe and Gokwe, were also attacked during Gukurahundi. He, therefore, agrees with Vambe that regardless of one's ethnicity, political allegiance was the main reason driving Mugabe's government to exterminate opponents and their supporters during Gukurahundi.

In support of the argument that Gukurahundi was neither a genocide, nor an ethnic cleansing or a civil war but rather a politicide, Rwafa (2012) argues that the role of key Ndebele political leaders, such as Enos Nkala, in instigating and defending Gukurahundi disqualifies the atrocities as targeting Ndebele people simply because they were Ndebele. He further argues that Gukurahundi discussions are compounded by fixed binaries intended to firmly establish the theory of Shona versus Ndebele bitter relations at the centre of Gukurahundi (Rwafa, 2012). However, according to him, these fixed binaries are negated by the existence of prominent Ndebele people, such as Enos Nkala, who openly supported Gukurahundi. While there is some validity to Rwafa's argument, the researcher argues that using Enos Nkala as an example to underpin this argument is essentially flawed as Enos Nkala was publicly quoted during Gukurahundi as stating that, if he could wash away his 'Ndebeleness', he would do so. The researcher, therefore, argues that Enos Nkala may simply have been a Ndebele person who exhibited self-hate and thus actively participated in the decimation of his fellow Ndebele people.

Having considered all the above arguments regarding the classification and labelling of Gukurahundi, it is the researcher's guided view that Gukurahundi aligns with the description of a politicide. The main reasons for this view stem from the events that preceded Gukurahundi: i.e., the immediate arrest of ZAPU leaders, the attacks on ZIPRA-affiliated comrades, the ZANU government's fear around being toppled by ZAPU, the accounts of survivors in relation to accusations of supporting ZAPU/ZIPRA, as well as the attacks on all civilians perceived to be in support of the ZAPU political formation. All these details point out that, while the Ndebele ethnic group suffered the most by virtue of their proximity and domicile status in Matabeleland, their main crime was perceived support for ZAPU/ZIPRA, and not necessarily their ethnic origin.

The researcher further agrees with arguments that find the UN definition of genocide limited and flawed resulting in Gukurahundi struggling to find academic definitional perfection in fitting UN's legal parameters. Questions, such as how many people need to be affected before an occurrence can be determined a genocide, remain unanswered. In the researcher's opinion, this has led to cases such as Gukurahundi that would otherwise fit the genocide label being dismissed for missing perfection in the legal classification despite meeting most of the criteria for what should be termed a genocide. The researcher agrees with authors who argue that classifying Gukurahundi as a mere disturbance betrays the intensity of the atrocities and their impact on victims, survivors and their families, as well as on the nation of Zimbabwe as a

whole. In addition, the classification as a civil war is discounted as the unfolding events proved that it was one group (the government) fighting against defenseless citizens with no record of their fighting back. Hence classification as a civil war is not considered in this thesis. In concluding the discussion on the classification and labelling of Gukurahundi, the researcher points out that other crimes against humanity, such as mass killings, forced labour and forced displacements, usually are a prelude to genocide or are part of its execution even if they may not necessarily lead to a genocide or necessarily constitute a genocide as per UN strict definition. Consequently, the classification of Gukurahundi, therefore, fits the definition of a politicide closest as it meets all the criteria as it is apparent that political hegemony and the need for dominance by the ZANU government were the main triggers that set into motion the events that followed thereafter. The researcher is however of the view that the execution of this politicide led to and fits the definition of a genocide and ought to be classified as such due to its target of specifically those belonging to or seen as affiliated to ZAPU who were consequently mainly Ndebele people. If tribe cannot be utilised as the grouping, perceived affiliation to ZAPU can be considered as the basis upon which the genocide was executed.

2.7 THE ENDING OF GUKURAHUNDI

Gukurahundi came to an end in 1987 when leaders of ZANU-PF and ZAPU signed the Unity Accord. The Unity Accord was a political solution that was agreed upon between the two political parties and in which they entered into a coalition government which, amongst other resolutions, put an end to the Gukurahundi massacres (Masunungure, 2006). The signing of the Unity Accord resulted in Gukurahundi perpetrators and survivors forming a government of national unity that was thought to be a step in the right direction towards addressing Gukurahundi. Former President Mugabe, as part of his government's concession to ZAPU, announced that his government was granting amnesty without trial to the alleged 'dissidents', security forces, and any other person who was perceived to have been involved in the Gukurahundi massacres (Eppel, 2004).This, however, was later perceived to have been a largely ceremonial process that primarily addressed the political elites with no real impact on the masses as it neglected important processes to bring about healing (Mashingaidze, 2010; Murambadoro & Wielenga, 2015).

In support of these assertions, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) maintains that the Unity Accord and the new government that came into power thereafter failed to set up frameworks to render justice, compensation or institutional psycho-social support to survivors of Gukurahundi.

Munemo (2012) is even more scathing in his analysis of the Unity Accord as he castigates it as an insincere commitment that coerced ZAPU into signing an agreement under duress in the interest of peacekeeping. Noteworthy is that despite misgivings around the genuineness of the agreement and the process, Unity Day is celebrated in Zimbabwe to this day and is set aside as a national public holiday to commemorate the amalgamation of ZANU-PF and ZAPU. Mashingaidze (2010), Msindo (2012) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) all question the commemoration of Unity Day which, they argue, merely symbolises the silence of the government with regard to dealing with Gukurahundi.

Adding to the voices against the Unity Accord process, Moyo (2014) regards the Unity Accord a mere attempt to swallow ZAPU by introducing it into a coalition government as a junior partner, thereby weakening it as a political force to reckon with. Possibly because of these and other reasons, the coalition government proved to be a failure as it is argued that ZANU governed as though the other partner did not exist thereby fuelling conflict (Masunungure, 2006). This view is supported by Ngwenya (2014) who argues that Zimbabwe neglected conventional wisdom which dictates the need for nations to undertake healing processes following violence, especially when it is ethnically perceived. The author goes on to regard the Unity Accord as an 'elite pact' which served only to entrench impunity and suppression of those affected by Gukurahundi (Ngwenya, 2014:1). Eppel (2008:8) is brutal in her analysis of the Unity Accord and writes that the invitation to sign the Unity Accord was tantamount to ZANU saying to ZAPU "you cease to exist and we will stop killing you", meaning that ZAPU had no option but to become part of ZANU-PF in order for the violence to stop.

In keeping with criticisms of the Unity Accord, Masunungure (2006) rejects it as a unipolar solution to a multi-polar problem because there was misalignment between the nature and origin of the Ndebele-Shona problem and the solution thereof. He argues that, due to Mugabe's desire for a one-party state, Zimbabwe has never implemented an honest and functional multi-partite solution able to genuinely address the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-racial realities which were highlighted during Gukurahundi. In analysing the dictates of the Unity Accord, Ndlovu (2010) notes deficiencies in the agreement in that it did not mention the violence or the impact of the atrocities on victims and survivors. The author adds that, while Gukurahundi killings were evidently well organised and resourced with a clear implementation strategy, how leaders chose to resolve it revealed a lack of political will to acknowledge it fully. This view is supported by Mpofu (2008) who argues that the commemoration of the signing of the Unity Accord unscrupulously celebrates the coming together of ZAPU and ZANU, yet

consistently and conveniently never mentions the reasons that led to the signing of the accord. This, Ndlovu argues, is akin to what Brockmeier (2002) termed the act of remembering as entailing forgetting at the same time, as the National Unity Day is commemorated to remember the merging of the two parties but not the violence that brought the need to unite in the first place.

Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007) conclude that the unrealised dream of the Ndebele people to receive affirmative action to redress the Gukurahundi atrocities to which the under-development of Matabeleland and Midlands provinces after independence is linked, further fuels the people's disappointment with the Unity Accord. Eppel (2013) supports this view as she says that the Unity Accord provided no reparation steps for survivors and their families; the only concession ZANU made was to stop the violence and ZAPU simply had to oblige. Criticising the process, Mashingaidze (2016) deplores the fact that institutions and individuals who were responsible for the atrocious acts were never tried, resulting in the absence of redress, seeking of forgiveness or merely acknowledging these brutalities akin to a genocide. This has left the affected people in a state of anger and disillusionment. In addition to this, Babbot (2017) laments at the silence of the social work practitioners at confronting socio-political challenges currently affecting the country. Babbot adds that social workers have been at the periphery of social change, social justice and human rights advocacy. This silence has intensified the dissatisfaction of survivors and their family members in social services in the country. Furthermore, the social work footprint in Zimbabwe is not as prominent, reportedly, many Zimbabweans do not know what social workers do beyond offering food handouts, resulting in many people not accessing key social services (Makwanya, 2015). While there has been an effort to raise the profile of social workers in Zimbabwe, the profession remains obscure, unacknowledged and undermined at community and government level, often becoming the handmaid of the state.

2.8 ZIMBABWE AFTER GUKURAHUNDI

2.8.1 The emotional environment

In reference to those who suffered under the apartheid atrocities, Father Lapsley, an anti-apartheid campaigner speaking of survivors of violence, observed that they are often caught in a moment of history. This sentiment has been used to describe the survivors of the Gukurahundi massacres (Ngwenya, 2014). Experiencing violent crime has been associated with persistent emotional and mental health challenges for survivors. In some cases, these challenges manifest

as diagnosable psychiatric disorders; yet in others the impact is harder to classify. Campbell and Raja (2005) posit that violent crime usually leaves victims feeling anxious, distressed and with a reduced quality of life. In addition, Hamber (2003) maintains that, where violence has been experienced by masses, the actual healing process should be a personal experience for individuals but with a grounding in the social context through psycho-social programmes, counselling, self-help support groups and symbolic forms of healing. Studies by Campbell and Raja (2005), as well as Kilpatrick and Acierno (2003), have linked violent victimisation, such as that experienced during Gukurahundi, to Post Traumatic Stress Disorders (PTSD). The aforementioned authors further claim that violence could lead to other emotional and mental health challenges, such as depression, substance abuse, panic disorders, anxiety disorders, agoraphobia, social phobia, obsessive compulsive disorder, and suicide amongst others. Besides medical challenges, other non-medical effects, such as loss of confidence or self-esteem, as well as sleeplessness, reportedly resulting from political violence and trauma have been recorded (Strange, 2003). Ehlers and Clark (2000) established that some victims of violence and sexual assault employ avoidance coping strategies that increase the likelihood of their developing PTSD.

Reflecting on life after Gukurahundi, Ngwenya (2014) posits that for some people, Gukurahundi is still as raw as it was when it happened. Using this position, Ngwenya argues that there is a pressing need for relief from its effects. In his engagement with Gukurahundi survivors through Grace to Heal, a religious organisation working with survivors of Gukurahundi, he did not encounter victims with extreme psychological trauma but who rather from time to time displayed psychological flashes of anger, resentment and hatred for the Shona who are perceived to be the perpetrators of Gukurahundi (Ngwenya, 2014:3). However, the CCJP report speaks of victims who exhibited psychological trauma, mental illness resulting from the trauma, severe depression, dizzy spells, anxiety and anger, as well as extreme fear of government officials.

As is typical during periods of intense violence, such as Gukurahundi, sexual abuse was a vehicle through which this violence was driven, especially towards women (Marongwe, 2012). The aforementioned author goes on to assert that these sexual assaults, besides being a demonstration of power over the Ndebele women, were also a systematic attempt to breed a new generation of Shona children in Matabeleland and Midlands. Accounts of children born as a result of their mothers having been sexually abused during Gukurahundi have recently been

portrayed by a South African theatre production called *Uloyiko* which recounts through art and based on its producers' ethnographic studies in present-day Matabeleland, the stories told by survivors. In the play, one actor playing the role of a child born as a result of rape commits suicide upon discovering the truth behind his conception. Such accounts illustrate the transfer of trauma across generations as a result of Gukurahundi. Critical to note regarding sexual abuse is a reflection by the CCJP (1997) report which observed that, although there is much evidence of women and young girls having been raped, there was very little reporting or accounting of these offences. The report suggests a culture of silencing raped women - even by their own families - as it was considered humiliating and degrading for one to be known as 'the raped one'. One can, therefore, assume that many women still suffer the trauma of sexual abuse while some have had to conceive children under these circumstances without receiving any emotional or psychological support or justice. In a Canadian study on sexual abuse, it was established that, for some victims, the healing process begins when one reports one's experience, feels heard, has had one's abuse acknowledged and validated and has been offered an apology (Feldthusen, Hankivsky & Greaves, 2000). Given the denial of the sexual abuse during Gukurahundi, it can, therefore, be hypothesised that Gukurahundi victims of sexual abuse might still be struggling with healing.

In his Master's thesis, Ngwenya (2014) reveals the depth of trauma experienced by Gukurahundi survivors, when he recounts how one of his research participants kept a log that had been used to beat him, vowing to throw it away only on the day justice was served. Various mechanisms are used in different settings to alleviate trauma arising from atrocities, such as Gukurahundi. Mashingaidze (2016) argues that partial truth telling is imperative in the national healing matrix. He argues that this facilitates psychological healing by affording victims an opportunity to recount their suffering without judgement, which has an almost cathartic effect on them. The researcher, in conducting this study, created space for participants to tell their stories, as well as suggest their own concepts of what an ideal Gukurahundi response should entail, without predetermining for them what healing should entail for them.

2.8.2 The political environment

Present-day realities of Gukurahundi violence in Zimbabwe manifest themselves via the rise of radical Ndebele counter-hegemonic ethno-nationalism, as well as radical Ndebele-oriented pressure groups (Muzondidya & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007). These groups openly question the

dominance of the Shona people in the employment sector, senior civil service, security and education, as well as the openly perceived neglect of economic development in Matabeleland and the Midlands regions. They argue that Ndebele people continue to see the residue of Gukurahundi through structural violence mechanisms that have led to the underdevelopment of their provinces. Masunungure (2006) laments that there is at present a deep sense of exclusion experienced by the Matabeleland and Midlands people. These sentiments were allegedly shared by Gibson Sibanda, the former Vice-president of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), a political party in Zimbabwe. He argued that there was a need for the creation of a Ndebele state along the lines of a single-tribe nation, such as Lesotho and Swaziland (Masunungure, 2006). Other prominent figures, such as the late Dumiso Dabengwa, a former minister in Zimbabwe and leader within ZAPU, also advocated the creation of the State of Matabeleland within Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe Independent, 2018). In addition, a group that calls itself the Mthwakazi Nation continues to advocate the creation of the Umthwakazi Republic exclusively carved out of three Matabeleland and Midlands provinces. The group believes that Zimbabwe, as a state, will always be a mechanism to punish the Ndebele for colonising the Shona; hence they would rather call for separation so that they can practise sovereignty (Mthwakazi, 2006).

Since the Mugabe era, civilians are wary of being exposed to political harm if they discuss Gukurahundi; hence they generally view engagements with outsiders regarding Gukurahundi with great suspicion (Ngwenya, 2014). In addition, organisations that have attempted to assist Gukurahundi survivors to address the multi-layered nature of their trauma have also experienced bureaucratic and political challenges related to the silencing of the matter. Demonstrators who have gone into the streets to advocate Gukurahundi justice have also been met with arrests and threats which have frustrated efforts to address this issue while fuelling political tension between the government and action groups (Bulawayo 24, 2019).

Politically, ZANU-PF has struggled to obtain substantial votes in Matabeleland and the Midlands during elections. It is understood that the party never gained popularity since the first independent elections and has continued to struggle to garner support after Gukurahundi. ZANU-PF's political struggle in Matabeleland is summed up by the late Dumiso Dabengwa, who observed and is quoted as having said that:

> "*The people have rejected us, not only as candidates, but also as ruling party*
> *ZANU-PF now. The reason is that since the signing of the Unity Accord in*

December 1987, the people of Bulawayo feel they have not gained anything. The people have been saying what is the use of supporting ZANU PF and its candidates and that is their message." (Sunday Mail, 2 July 2000 in Mashingaidze, 2010).

A critical area of concern following Gukurahundi is the startling absence of concrete and purposeful government programmes aimed at addressing the violence, trauma and national reconciliation that is clearly needed amongst the Ndebele community (Ngwenya, 2014). Researchers who have sought to conduct studies on Gukurahundi often refer to it as the 'taboo subject' both from a government and a civilian perspective (Teuten, 2015). The government of former President Mugabe suppressed any discussions of Gukurahundi. A telling incident regarding this forced silencing was witnessed on the 3rd of May 2017 during a live broadcast parliamentary session. An opposition Member of Parliament (MP) posed a question as to how Gukurahundi survivors and their families were failing to access national ID and birth certificate documents which were destroyed during Gukurahundi. It is alleged that, as soon as the question had been posed, the ruling party ordered that the live feed be interrupted so that the public would not be privy to the discussion despite it being a critical issue affecting ordinary citizens and thus requiring transparency of the highest degree - an allegation which the ruling party did not refute (Jakes, 2017). Credence to this lies in the fact that, according to Zimbabwean law, in order for a child to acquire a birth certificate, the biological father has to be available in person or at least through his death certificate or ID card. In the absence of either, a child cannot be issued with a birth certificate or National ID document. Grace to Heal reported that most of its clients were children of deceased victims of Gukurahundi who could not access birth certificates as their parents were secretly buried in mass graves. As a result, their deaths were not recorded, and their children never received death certificates to record their parents' death (Ngwenya, 2014). This has a ripple effect on many facets of life, including any death benefits, estates or acquisitions which children or families would have accessed upon the death of their family member.

What further compounds this dilemma is that a child without a birth certificate cannot sit for any national examination both at primary and secondary school level. The result is that children born to Gukurahundi victims and whose parents died before obtaining identity documentation on their behalf, have been relegated to statelessness and struggle to find formal jobs without formal qualifications (Teuten, 2015). Adding to the theme of statelessness and identity issues, Kombanie (2011) claims that most of those who fled to South Africa and fraudulently acquired

national documentation aided by their Ndebele origins have since blended with the local population - unbeknown to the South African government.

2.8.3 The social environment

The politics of divide-and-rule employed during Gukurahundi continue to be felt in some communities hard hit by Gukurahundi. As a strategy, the 5th Brigade soldiers and the 'dissidents' alike would torment families and force them to inform on the activities of the other. To this day, Eppel (2013) reports, there is deep-seated resentment against individuals thought to have been sell-outs during Gukurahundi. This has reportedly led to rifts within families and communities and impedes integration and cohesion. This conflict is observed as more apparent amongst Ndebele families, particularly those in the rural areas who never left after Gukurahundi.

Further compounding the social dilemma of life after Gukurahundi, Eppel (2006) reveals a guilt felt by some families due to their inability to bury their dead in a dignified manner as most of them were buried in mass graves or unknown places. Therefore, they believe - in line with their tradition - that the spirits of their deceased relatives are unhappy and hovering due to a lack of peace only achievable through reburial and following the necessary traditional rites when someone dies. Ngwenya (2014), however, refuses to call these mass burial places 'graves' and considers the term a misnomer as most of the land has been flattened and is, unwittingly, trampled upon by both people and animals thereby rendering them unidentifiable.

It is common knowledge that Shona is the dominant language in Zimbabwe due to most provinces being pre-dominantly Shona speaking. As a result, most governmental and national processes are conveyed in the Shona language. In addition, Shona is the main language of instruction in most schools and is the predominant language in government institutions. In March 2019, there was a serious outcry from civil society organisations, such as the 1893 Mthwakazi Restoration Movement, over the deployment of about 70% new Shona and Non-Ndebele speaking teachers in elementary schools in Matabeleland (Bulawayo 24, 2019). This move was seen as a violation of the Constitution and the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) guidelines which advocate that children should learn in their mother tongue during the first six years of schooling. The Zimbabwean government acknowledged the validity of this outcry and attributed it to a faulty electronic system of teacher appointment. It is not clear at the writing of this thesis whether the government eventually reversed these teacher appointments or not as per its promise.

Unfortunately, for Gukurahundi survivors, this treatment reinforces the trauma of their experiences during the massacres. Ndebele people had been rounded up by the 5th Brigade Shona speaking soldiers and force-marched, singing Shona songs. Some were even killed simply for failing to speak in Shona (CCJPZ, 1997). In light of the above-mentioned disregard for their language, Msindo (2012) postulates that, for a Ndebele person who is a victim of Gukurahundi, this is an insult and revives the memories of the trauma and violence encountered. As a result of such organised violence, psychological scars were imprinted in the hearts, bodies and memories of the affected Zimbabweans, thereby justifying the need for healing services to be rendered to them.

Due to the traumatic experiences of the Ndebele at the hands of mainly Shona 5th Brigade soldiers, there is a common perception that Gukurahundi was a Shona-executed violence supported by most - if not all - Shona people. This has resulted in animosity between the two ethnic groups. Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007:286) theorise that Ndebele cultural nationalism, Ndebele particularism and radical Ndebele politics are a direct consequence of Gukurahundi and have made integration of the Ndebele and Shona an impossible goal in Zimbabwe. Rwafa (2012) argues that, while Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni's theory is accurate, it covertly imputes Gukurahundi to all Shona Zimbabweans, while ascribing 'dissident' status to all Ndebele people. This view, Rwafa (2012) argues, is rooted in ZANU's reporting discourse which turned Gukurahundi into a national project as opposed to a corrupt act by specific individuals with a political agenda. The researcher agrees with Rwafa's sentiments and further posits that this argument also pits all Ndebele people against Shona people. In the researcher's personal experiences with Ndebele people this has proved not to be the case. However, one has to acknowledge that there exists a high degree of animosity in Zimbabwe along ethnic lines.

2.8.4 The economic environment

Vambe (2014) suggests that for as long as the political, economic and social conditions of the people from Matabeleland and Midlands have not changed since Gukurahundi, this is akin to a continuing silent genocide. There has been much lamenting over the last decade regarding the underdevelopment and dilapidation of industries in Matabeleland and the Midlands (Teuten, 2015). This has been perceived by some as a deliberate ploy by the ZANU-PF-led government to relegate the Ndebele people to second class citizenry. Considering that, during

Gukurahundi, severe disruption of developmental projects, destruction of infrastructure, schools, commercial farms and other resources was experienced, economic consequences continue to be felt in the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces (Ncube, 2007). Explaining the underdevelopment of affected areas, government reasons that, in the 1980s, it shifted its resources in Matabeleland towards the provision of security. This argument is utilised to justify why Matabeleland and the Midlands did not experience development that could boost the economic environment. Alexander et al. (2000) further corroborates this argument by highlighting complaints by late political figures, such as Sydney Malunga and Welshman Mabhena, who contended that Matabeleland was constantly marginalised and not receiving an equal share of the national cake. In support of this argument, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008:47) deplores what he considers systematic deprivation of the fruits of independence through the disproportionate reallocation of resources favouring Shona-dominated provinces at the expense of Matabeleland. On a similar note, Munemo (2012) points out that the lack of meaningful economic growth in Matabeleland has caused most Ndebele people to view independent Zimbabwe as an ethnocracy that serves the Shona interests at the expense of the Ndebele as the Shona dominate both government and private sector.

Forced migration was also a direct consequence of Gukurahundi, during and after the atrocities. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) documents forced migration waves of young men who fled to Botswana and South Africa as they risked being profiled by the 5th Brigade soldiers. A pattern of gendered migration emerged which resulted in the collapse of family and societal structures while robbing Matabeleland and the Midlands of their active population that would have contributed economically. Machingura (2010) adds to this bleak picture by detailing that many active population members incurred injuries during Gukurahundi that immobilised them and left them unable to fend for themselves or their families, and thus unable to effect overall economic development of the region.

It must be noted, however, that there is contestation regarding whether or not Matabeleland and the Midlands have been deliberately developmentally neglected in the past two decades. Munemo (2012) challenges this notion by pointing to other areas in Zimbabwe, such as Chipinge, Gokwe and Omay, which are Shona-dominated provinces that have experienced little to no development since Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980. He labels the under-development of remote areas as typical colonisation practice which neglected remote and

sparsely populated areas in favour of cities and major towns. Similar arguments have also been given based on Zimbabwe's economic status in 2020 as depicted below:

Fig 3: Zimbabwe's inflation statistics from 1984 to 2020
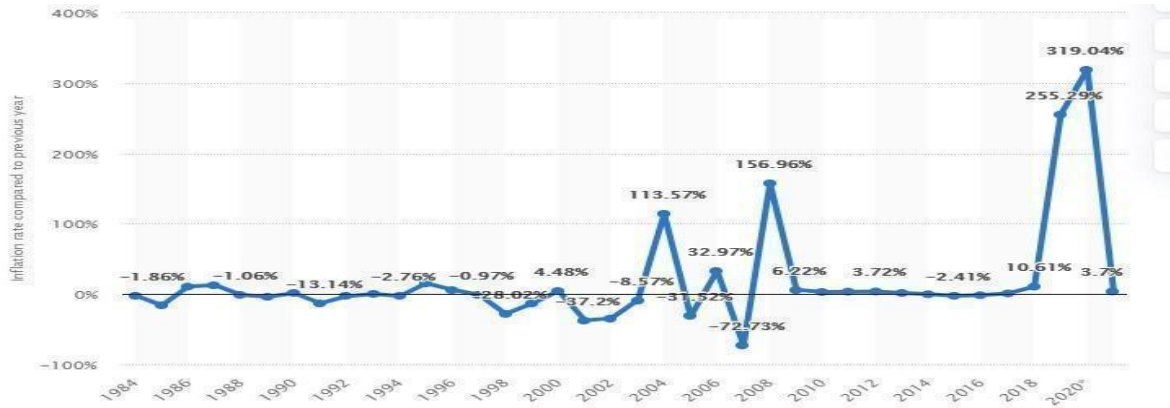
Source: International Monetary Fund (IMF) (2020)

From the above graph, it can be noted that Zimbabwe has continued to experience high inflation levels since Gukurahundi. As of May 2020, Zimbabwe's inflation rate has been pegged at 785.6%, having risen sharply due to questionable financial policies by the Ministry of Finance and the Corona virus lockdown and associated restrictions which have contributed to the negative financial outlook of the country (Bloomberg, 2020). Disturbingly steep has been the economic decline since Independence when the annual inflation rate was pegged at 5.4% and the Zimbabwean dollar's official exchange rate equated USD$1: Z$0.647 in 1980 (World Bank, 2008). Uncontrolled government spending, droughts, mounting public and international debt, poor financial and political decisions, such as the involvement in the Congo civil war, have all contributed to Zimbabwe's economic decline (Makochekanwa, 2009). The above factors are worth considering when arguments regarding the underdevelopment of Zimbabwe are considered as it is the researcher's considered view that there has been very little noteworthy economic growth or development in most parts of Zimbabwe as a whole after Gukurahundi. While the researcher agrees with Munemo's point that other parts of Zimbabwe have also been neglected, she fundamentally disagrees with his argument that seems to cluster all Midlands and Matabeleland as remote areas whereas, in fact, Bulawayo is the second capital city of Zimbabwe. Thus the reason that these are remote areas, and therefore were neglected, does not hold water. The researcher concedes to the argument that Matabeleland and the Midlands were economically affected and set back due to Gukurahundi, and very little effort

has been made to revive industries and infrastructure to enable a viable economic outlook. The debate remains as to whether this neglect is deliberate, or rather a national crisis of underdevelopment due to the issues raised in this section.

2.9 ATTEMPTS TO ADDRESS GUKURAHUNDI

Given the magnitude of Gukurahundi, it is critical to assess what attempts, if any, have been made since the start of Gukurahundi to this day to address its impact and consequences. This section will provide insights into the attempts made by the then government of Mugabe, by the current Mnangagwa government, by non-state actors, as well as the role played by the international community, to redress the economic fallout in the affected provinces.

Although the Unity Accord of 1987 stopped the massacres and other acts of violence related to Gukurahundi, not much has been done to address the political, social and economic impact of Gukurahundi. Over the past thirty-three years since its end, discussions with respect to Gukurahundi - both in private and on public platforms - have been muzzled as the subject has for the longest time been considered taboo (Keane, 2002). Keane names artists and politicians who, during the Mugabe era, were arrested and detained for calling for the redress of Gukurahundi, thereby making reparations for Gukurahundi a difficult goal to attain.

2.9.1 The Mugabe-led government attempts
The Dumbutshena Commission of 1981

Upon increased complaints regarding fights between ZIPRA and ZANLA soldiers at Entumbane, Mugabe established a commission of enquiry chaired by Justice Enoch Dumbutshena, following the 1981 clashes. The commission was tasked with investigating the causes of the violence that had erupted. Its subsequent investigations were handed over to Mugabe who, in turn, refused to disclose the contents of the report arguing that it would fuel tensions (Murambadoro & Wielenga, 2015). Till his death, Mugabe rejected calls by political and human rights activists, such as the CCJP, the Zimbabwe Victims of Organised Violence Trust and Ibhetshu LikaZulu, to disclose the findings of the commission (Ndlovu, 2017). This was the first failed attempt to address Gukurahundi which, the researcher believes, was a catalyst for future failures, as well as entrenching a culture of impunity that exists around this matter.

The Chihambakwe Commission of 1983

In a similar fashion to the Dumbutshena Commission, Mugabe also set up the Chihambakwe Commission which was chaired by Justice Simplicius Chihambakwe. Between 1983 and 1985, the commission conducted investigations into Gukurahundi as mandated by Mugabe. Upon a detailed analysis of the events that led up to Gukurahundi, as well as the intensity of damage caused by Gukurahundi, the report was submitted to Mugabe, who again muzzled the report and refused to release its findings without giving reasons for this. This move was protested against by political and human rights activists, but to no avail. In 2000, the Legal Resources Foundation (LRF) and the Lawyers for Human Rights took the government to court in a bid to order the release of both the Dumbutshena and Chihambakwe Commission reports. However, current President Mnangagwa who was the Justice Minister at the time submitted to the courts that both reports had been lost and could not be found; therefore the matter was never resolved (Mabuza, 2019). Teuten (2015) heavily criticised this move as he considered it an injury to those who had risked their safety by giving evidence regarding Gukurahundi during the investigations. This was the second failed attempt by the Mugabe-regime which further compounded the difficulty of ever addressing this dark phase in Zimbabwe's history. The CCJPZ (1997), Eppel (2006), Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru (2013) and Mashingaidze (2010) all concede that the Zimbabwean government has denied and neglected the extent of damage by Gukurahundi to avoid implicating itself in the atrocities.

The Government of National Unity attempts

The first Government of National Unity attempt formulated at the signing of the Unity Accord in 1987 could be considered the first attempt at addressing Gukurahundi. However, as already discussed in previous sections, this attempt largely failed: ZANU-PF was seen as mainly committed to stopping the Gukurahundi atrocities, but with no desire to seek accountability for those who committed atrocious acts or for victims to attain any kind of justice, compensation or redress.

Following serious violence and human rights violations in Zimbabwe in 2008, another Government of National Unity (GNU) was formed mainly inclusive of ZANU-PF and the two Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) factions. This GNU signed the Global Political Agreement (GPA), and Article VII of the agreement stipulated the need to provide a mechanism that would bring about national healing, cohesion and unity in Zimbabwe. Through this provision, the Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI) was

birthed. Section 8 of the ONHRI concept paper (2009) mandated that the body would have the following functions:

- oversee the healing process of the nation
- promote dialogue among political parties
- diffuse tension and threats that may lead to incidences of violence

At the insistence of the MDC, Zimbabwe experienced its first real attempt at publicly addressing Gukurahundi at government level. During this period, efforts to achieve national healing, social justice, peace and reconciliation almost proved hopeful with the introduction of the ONHRI (Machakanja, 2010). However, while the ONHRI stood on good principles, in practice it failed to deliver because the two major political parties disagreed over the intended outcomes with one opting for restitution for survivors and their families (MDC) while the other (ZANU-PF) checkmated that by highlighting the need to uphold the esteem of war veterans, regardless of any evil they may have committed (Chamunorwa, 2009). Minister Nkomo, a member of the ONHRI and in debating Gukurahundi, is quoted as fuming during a consultative meeting:

'What are you saying? The war veterans liberated this country. They liberated you from the hands of colonial rule, so why should we not think of them today…"

His discourse is argued to have been the general discourse of the ZANU-PF-led government which views war veterans who perpetrated Gukurahundi as "the untouchables" (Mashingaidze, 2010:24).

Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru (2013) notes that one of the failures of the ONHRI was its political composition which was flawed from inception as it was made up of the very political parties that were fighting each other bitterly. Hapanyengwe-Chemhuru likened this to picking players for a football match and making them referees of the very game that they themselves were playing while the victims remain spectators of the match. This view is echoed by Mbire (2011) who adds that fissures began to be seen at ONHRI's inception as its mandate revealed a top-down approach directly controlled by the Mugabe-led regime who were also considered the main perpetrators of Gukurahundi and other violent acts in the country. In consolidating this line of thought, Mashingaidze (2016) contends that the composition of the ONHRI and its processes were in the hands of ZANU-PF thereby stripping the ONHRI of its independence in fear that it would expose the very people who had masterminded Gukurahundi (Murambadoro

& Wielenga, 2010). Moreover, the demands and needs of local communities who were most affected and traumatised were ignored. Mbire (2011) also posits that another cause for ONHRI's failure emanated from the unwillingness of the ruling party to acknowledge the Gukurahundi massacres.

In a paper on Zimbabwe's illusive national healing and reconciliation processes, Mashingaidze (2010:20) views the ONHRI as a failed watershed opportunity to deal with Zimbabwe's historically entrenched state-sanctioned violence and impunity. He further denounces political expedience as always outweighing the imperatives of a victim-sensitive approach in dealing with the Gukurahundi tragedy and other violent periods in Zimbabwe. This, he argues, is to be ascribed to personal interests that fermented the past violence, remain powerful and arbitrarily control the main state levers thereby stifling a meaningful address of the challenges that survivors experienced. The inclusive government was, therefore, seen as a case of transition without transformation (Mashingaidze, 2010). Mashingaidze thus concludes that, due to the above-mentioned reasons, national healing in Zimbabwe has been a futile quest. Benyera (2014) diagnosed the Mugabe-led government as being afflicted by bipolar disorder in that it denounced violence by instituting the ONHRI during the day while committing atrocious human rights abuses at night. Had it been successful in its mandate, the ONHRI would have played a significant role in facilitating mental and emotional healing for Gukurahundi survivors.

2.9.2 Non-state actors' attempts

The silence of the government in addressing issues of justice and reparation for victims created a gap that non-state actors have attempted to fill (Morreira, 2016). However, the author adds that civil society have been limited in that they can only investigate what kind of transitional justice processes people of Matabeleland and the Midlands would like to see. They lack, however, the political power to implement these mechanisms as there is no political will on the part of the responsible government. For the purposes of this thesis, non-state actors have been clustered to include 'civil society' which will be defined below.

The concept of civil society arose with John Locke, who used it in reference to the defence of human society against state power and marketplace inequalities at national level by non-state actors (Comarolf, 1999:3, cited in Mapuva 2007). The definition of what constitutes civil society is illusive as there is no consensus on its composition. The World Economic Forum (WEF, 2013:8) defines civil society as the "area outside the family, market and state."

However, the EU defines civil society as "all forms of social action carried out by individuals or groups who are neither connected to, nor managed by, the State" (Copper, 2018:4). At the same time, The African Development Bank (AfDB) argues that civil society is the "voluntary expression of the interests and aspirations of citizens organised and united by common interests, goals, values or traditions and mobilised into collective action" (AfDB, 2012:10). Expanding on the characteristics of civil society, Keane (1998:6) describes civil society as "a complex and dynamic ensemble of legally protected non-governmental institutions that tend to be non-violent, self-organising, self-reflexive and permanently in tension, both with each other and with the governmental institutions that frame, constrict and enable their activities."

While Locke saw civil society as being separate from the state, Althusser (1999:78) maintains that civil organisations, such as churches, schools and trade unions, are part of an ideological state apparatus. In agreement with this view, Gramsci (1971) questioned the distinction between the state and civil society arguing that the former is integrated into many parts of the latter. There appears to be no definitive definition of what civil society is, as well as its relationship with the state. For the purpose of this thesis, 'civil society' is used to refer to non-state actors who play(ed) a role in attempting to address Gukurahundi. These may be non-governmental organisations (NGOs), religious organisations, think-tanks, pressure groups and any other non-state related entities.

Notable efforts to address Gukurahundi have mainly come from NGOs and religious entities who have continued to advocate the addressing of atrocities committed. At the onset of Gukurahundi, various religious bodies intervened, some more directly than others. While testimonies from survivors and their families indicate receiving support from churches and other religious structures, the Catholic Church offered the main recorded and largely recognised response to Gukurahundi. CCJP was formed in 1972 and was involved in documenting human rights abuses during the liberation war in Zimbabwe. It also advocated the addressing of social and economic problems (Mutambara, 1991). In an attempt to challenge the government's silencing of Gukurahundi, the CCJP teamed up with the LRF and conducted their own very detailed and extensive investigations, went as far as interviewing survivors and perpetrators alike where possible, and documented a detailed report on Gukurahundi. This report is, to date, regarded as the most reliable collection of evidence used by academics, politicians and activists alike in comprehending what really happened during Gukurahundi. This report was submitted to Mugabe, wanting to compel him to act on its findings. Although no action was taken by Mugabe, CCJP and LRF published their findings and the latter have

been critical in creating an informed and empathetic platform for deliberating what needs to happen to address Gukurahundi. In addition, the CCJP also facilitated the establishment of a working relationship between political and non-state actors, which led to the establishment of other NGOs that also advocated the rehabilitation of Gukurahundi victims.

Grace to Heal is also a faith-based organisation founded in 2003 whose sole mandate at inception was to work with victims of Gukurahundi. Their work has involved assisting survivors and their families to acquire legal documentation, such as death certificates of the deceased as well as birth certificates for children orphaned through Gukurahundi atrocities. Although they have faced challenges due to restrictive legal and judiciary capacities, their work has been able to further highlight the plight of survivors and their families. Grace to Heal has also been conducting healing work with survivors and their families (Ngwenya, 2014). Another organisation that attempted to advocate the addressing of Gukurahundi was The Southern African Human Rights Association (SAHRA). Unfortunately, it experienced a short-lived stint as its area of jurisdiction was not clearly defined resulting in it eventually being co-opted by the state. Sadly, it failed to achieve any substantial results as the government prevented it from conducting actual investigations into human rights abuses (Ngwenya, 2014).

An organisation that had considerable success in supporting Gukurahundi survivors and their families was The Amani Trust Matabeleland. In the 1990s, the organisation provided counselling to those affected by Gukurahundi. Following guidance from local leaders, they also conducted group work in affected communities. During their time in communities, they became intimately acquainted with the lived experiences of survivors and their families - particularly with the concept of the aggrieved spirits of the dead which were experienced and revealed as a major challenge by survivors. As a result, they sought permission to conduct exhumations of about 14 individuals who had been buried in shallow graves, anthills and ant bear holes used to bury dogs. Eppel (2014) reports that the organisation operated for five years and was forced to abort their transformational healing work and reburials after the Mugabe-led government accused them of fermenting disunity by bringing up the past which should be forgotten.

Other organisations also attempted to advocate the addressing of Gukurahundi or provide direct support to survivors and their families. Unfortunately, around 2001, mistrust between state and civil society began to widen with the state accusing civil society of being an extension of

opposition political parties funded by Western nations (Zhou, 2014). Most organisations were forced to close down or to abort their work on Gukurahundi following pressure from the state. Despite there being no real resolution, there have been initiatives implemented by these entities. Suffice it to say that these efforts have not been significantly successful at national level and have assisted survivors and their families as individuals rather than as a collective.

2.9.3 The role played by the international community

Calls to address Gukurahundi through international platforms, such as the International Criminal Court (ICC), over thirty-three years after Gukurahundi have often been met with questions regarding the perceived silence of international bodies during the 1980s. This section will attempt to elaborate on the role of both the regional and international community in response to Gukurahundi.

Eppel (2013) states that information regarding the Gukurahundi atrocities indeed leaked out to the world; however, the Mugabe-led propaganda won over most countries as he had them believe that his government was merely fighting an insurgency that was destabilising the country, and that the war was targeting 'dissidents' with little impact on ordinary civilians. The role of South Africa as a neighbouring country to Zimbabwe has already been described in Section 2.4.1 of this chapter. The sponsoring of the Super ZAPU 'dissident' group to further destabilise Zimbabwe and create more tension - which exacerbated government's brutality during Gukurahundi - can be seen as explaining South Africa's non-action. It can, therefore, be concluded that the South African Apartheid regime's silence in the matter was due to its support of Gukurahundi as a direct beneficiary of the crisis.

Botswana, a country sharing borders with Zimbabwe and also the country from which some Super ZAPU members were allegedly recruited, was reportedly silent despite being aware of the Gukurahundi atrocities (Munemo, 2012). Criticism has often been levelled at former President Masire of Botswana for allegedly offering a sanctuary to fleeing ZAPU and Ndebele people who sought refuge in Botswana during Gukurahundi while heaping praises on Mugabe during a state visit in 1983 for the manner in which he was leading the nation. Munemo argues that this two-faced response to Gukurahundi should be attributed to Botswana's diplomacy as it depended on the West for economic support, and Masire was aware that the West supported Mugabe. The silence, unfortunately, permitted the continued and uncensored repression of civilians in Zimbabwe, while robbing victims of much needed regional community support that might have lessened the hardship experienced as a result of Gukurahundi.

Britain and America are also notable for their silence regarding Gukurahundi. This silence was considered telling as these two superpowers have been known to quickly and publicly condemn acts of human rights abuses across the world. In his analysis over their non-action, Mpofu (2013:13) scathingly lambasts British and America:

> *"Self-appointed prophets of human rights, stood by as the Mugabe regime slaughtered political enemies, the Ndebele people, with impunity, as long as Western business interests were secure in Zimbabwe."*

This is further compounded by the fact that the journalist who broke the Gukurahundi story was a British citizen who went to great lengths to expose the intensity of the atrocities that accompanied Gukurahundi. In addition, Scarnecchia (2011:96) recorded that a documentary called 'Panorama' revealed that Sir Martin Ewans, the British High Commissioner in Zimbabwe, stated that his instructions from London were to 'steer clear of *it', it* being Gukurahundi, without giving reasons why this was so. Munemo (2012) thus concludes that Britain in particular colluded with Mugabe as they pretended not to know what was happening in Zimbabwe while providing Mugabe with military and diplomatic aid used in the war with the so-called 'dissidents.' Adding weight to Britain's role in supporting Gukurahundi, Taylor and Williams (2002:553) note that Britain increased Zimbabwean aid by 10 million pounds and even offered to provide further training to the 5th Brigade soldiers, despite being aware of their role in Gukurahundi. Britain additionally went on to replace the aeroplanes destroyed by the Super ZAPU 'dissident' group at Thornhill base. Mpofu (2013) surmises that Britain supported Mugabe in a bid to protect their economic and political interests in Zimbabwe at the expense of ZAPU which allegedly received support from the Soviet Union.

In a similar fashion, former President Reagan of America seemed to have turned a blind eye to the Gukurahundi atrocities. Like the British, America reportedly supported Mugabe as their interests were to ensure that Zimbabwe did not become a 'Soviet African state', thereby balancing out the Soviet and Russian influence against which they were losing in Angola, Mozambique and Zambia (Scarnecchia, 2011:89). Phimister (2009) goes on to report that, despite awareness of the Gukurahundi atrocities, America actually pledged military and Cold War funding to Zimbabwe which was used by Mugabe in his Gukurahundi escapades.

Although Sweden did not directly support Gukurahundi financially or materially, it supported Mugabe's ideology and desire to create a one-party state; hence it did not intervene. Makumbe,

2011:16 quotes former Swedish ambassador to Zimbabwe, Kristina Svensson, in reference to Sweden's silence over human rights abuse in Africa during the 90s as having said:

> *"It was a period of post-colonial consolidation, the period of one-party rule was necessary and Sweden supported it."*

Implicating the West as instigators of Gukurahundi, former Vice President of Zimbabwe, Phelekezela Mphoko, drew criticism when he alleged that Gukurahundi was a myth created by the West. He is quoted as saying:

> *"... I have always said the post-Independence Gukurahundi was a conspiracy of the West. This I maintain ...People can say what they want, but that was a Western conspiracy...Because their (West's) concern was South Africa, they wanted to protect their interests in South Africa from the Mozambican front and the Angolan front that side... You can never hear the British condemning that – never! They can't say anything. They never said anything. They never condemned anything because it was their baby...They knew what they were doing because they were protecting South Africa. So that point should be emphasised; it is very important."* (The Sunday News, 2015).

From the above, it can be deduced that the mystery surrounding what really led to Gukurahundi is multi-faceted and may indeed be explained by events happening nationally, but also by events happening internationally whose true nature has not yet been fully uncovered. While Zimbabwe is expected to deal with its Zimbabwean problems, the influence of the global environment can never be understated. Due to the employed silence and under-handed support of Mugabe's government during Gukurahundi covertly or directly, the regional and international community unwittingly, and wittingly, contributed to the futility of all efforts to address Gukurahundi while it happened. It also impeded the classification of Gukurahundi as genocide in line with the Genocide Convention as many of the atrocities and actual deaths remain internationally unknown as they were considered a Zimbabwean problem.

2.9.4 Mnangagwa- led government attempts

The current president of Zimbabwe, President Emmerson Mnangagwa, came into power in 2017 following a soft coup that saw the resignation of former President Robert Mugabe. Prior to his presidency, Mnangagwa occupied strategic roles directly related to Gukurahundi, including being the Minister of State Security which is largely seen as directly involved in the

enforcement of Gukurahundi. In his role as Minister of Justice, his office was also accused of frustrating efforts to address Gukurahundi through the release of the Chihambakwe and Dumbutshena Commission reports. Between 2018 and 2020, government efforts to address Gukurahundi were marred by the involvement of President Mnangagwa who is largely considered to be as complicit in the massacres as his predecessor and principal. Given his background, one can therefore appreciate the complexity of his current role and the attempts to have Gukurahundi addressed.

In 2013, Zimbabwe adopted its new constitution the promulgation of which dissolved the ONHRI, replacing it with the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission (NPRC) under Section 251 (Zimbabwe Constitution, 2013). It was, however, only in 2018 that the NPRC Bill took effect after President Mnangagwa had finally signed it into law, and appointed commissioners could begin to work on their deliverables. In 2013, the NPRC was given a ten-year mandate before its expiry; however, by the time it was signed into law, it had already lost five years due to delays in signing the bill linked to the issue of determining its legislative framework. This has led many to call for an extension of its lifespan as there are already doubts regarding its capacity to conduct meaningful work within the remaining limited timeframe (Tshuma, 2015; Murambadoro, 2015). If successful in its attempts at addressing Gukurahundi, relevant to this study, the following mandates of the NPRC, as stipulated, may be achieved:

- ensuring post-conflict justice, healing and reconciliation,
- developing and implementing programmes to promote national healing, unity and cohesion in Zimbabwe and the peaceful resolution of disputes,
- bringing about national reconciliation by encouraging people to tell the truth about the past and facilitating the making of amends and the provision of justice,
- developing programmes to ensure that persons subjected to persecutions, torture and other forms of abuse receive rehabilitative treatment and support,
- recommending legislation to ensure that assistance, including documentation, is rendered to persons affected by conflicts, pandemics and other adverse circumstances.

Drawing much criticism regarding his government's sincerity in addressing Gukurahundi, President Mnangagwa, in an interview at the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos, was at great pains to deny responsibility for Gukurahundi. This denial was both at government and personal levels despite his being largely implicated as one of the chief enforcers of Gukurahundi. He instead pledged that he would work to ensure that Zimbabwe goes through a

peace and reconciliation process. He was also clear in emphasising that it would not be a truth and reconciliation process but rather placed the emphasis on peace instead of truth. His interview made it clear that the government is concerned only with people moving on, without deeply interrogating what really happened, who had been responsible, and bringing those responsible to any kind of justice.

In February 2020, following Mnangagwa's call for Gukurahundi dialogue, meetings were organised between Mnangagwa's government and civil society organisations. What appeared to be a promising start to dialogue was, however, short-lived as the group split with allegations that Ms Jennifer Williams and a group of leading representatives of the Matabeleland Civic Society, formerly known as the Matabeleland Collective (MC), had received monetary bribes to enable the whitewashing of Gukurahundi (Chingono, 2020). The acrimony that ensued from these allegations resulted in the once united Matabeleland Collective splitting into the MC and another group of 17 Civil Society Organisations forming the Matabeleland Front (MF). The prominent Dumiso Dabengwa Foundation also released a report alleging that the MC had lost its mandate by failing to ensure sincere justice, truth telling and reparations; consequently, they, too, pulled out of the MC (Chingono, 2020). The accusation that President Mnangagwa's efforts – once again - are insincere, half-hearted and piecemeal during this process stalled meaningful progress in addressing the issue of Gukurahundi.

Noteworthy efforts towards addressing the Gukurahundi atrocities have been the promise to commence exhumations of Gukurahundi victims buried in shallow or mass graves in order to rebury them with dignity. The NPRC has vowed to include entities, such as faith-based organisations (FBOs), communities and other civil society organisations in this initiative (New Zimbabwe, 2020). This move has, however, been met with mixed reactions: while some applaud it as a step in the right direction following the former government's refusal to entertain requests for reburials, the move has been perceived with suspicion by others, such as Malunga (2019) and Ndlovu (2019), who question whether the hurried reburials are an attempt to contaminate the crime scenes and thereby destroy evidence of what really happened during Gukurahundi. In Ndlovu's article, he also quotes a lobbyist who reduces President Mnangagwa's efforts towards reburials and open debates as tick-box exercises to assuage the United States in a bid to cajole them to remove the ZANU-PF politically linked elite from targeted sanctions. To date, the NPRC cannot claim any significant victories since its inception. It remains to be seen whether it will be able to achieve its mandate in its four remaining years of existence. If successful in fulfilling its mandate, the NPRC may be critical in alleviating the

pain of Gukurahundi for survivors and their families. It must be noted, however, that the NPRC has already begun experiencing challenges to fulfilling its mandate as gathered from the first three public meetings convened in Bulawayo, Lupane and Harare. These meetings were all disrupted with activists accusing the NPRC of protecting powerful people from taking responsibility for the Gukurahundi atrocities (Tshuma, 2018).

A fundamental proof that all attempts to address Gukurahundi have failed, despite the initiatives mentioned above, is the reality that most survivors' lives have remained unchanged since the massacres (Murambadoro & Wielenga, 2015). This fact is corroborated by Ndlovu and Dube (2013), as well as the National Association of Non Governmental Organisations (NANGO) (2012), who allude to the vulnerability of most people in the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces as they are relegated to second class citizenry through structural violence mechanisms. NANGO (2012) further laments that the present-day oppressive and disregarded socio-economic needs of the rural Matabeleland and Midlands province people reignites the violence of Gukurahundi. Boutros-Ghali (1995), Lambourne (2016), as well as Clancy and Hamber (2008), all agree that, while peace-building mechanisms are perceived differently by both politicians and peace practitioners, the reality that peace-building is essential for recovery is indisputable.

2.10 GRAVES, MASS GRAVES AND CULTURE

In some Zimbabwean traditions, it is believed that the aggrieved spirits of the dead could cause illness, infertility and even failure of crops and droughts for the living (Eppel, 2014). Ndebele tradition believes and emphasises the importance of honouring the spirits of the dead and ancestors. Eppel's (2014) study on human bones described a grim picture as she gave a detailed account of her work in Matabeleland where human remains are said to protrude from anthills or rocky ledges and shallow graves. Her work in Matabeleland highlighted the populations' cultural trauma caused by not having buried their dead decently during Gukurahundi. In addition, family members bemoan the inability to carry out necessary traditional rituals to ensure that the rite of passage from living to 'ancesterhood' was successful during Gukurahundi. Some of Eppel's participants reported that they were being tormented by the spirits of the dead. They also reported experiencing insomnia due to dreams of the dead demanding justice or decent resting places. Furthermore, in line with their culture, some reported experiencing family problems, such as unruly children, which they believed to be a result of the aggrieved spirits of the dead. While the aforementioned issues can be easily

explained away in modern medicine and psychology, it is important for them also to be considered in the context of the cultural and religious beliefs of the victims and their families. Amadiume (2000) affirms this phenomenon by asserting that, as Africans with communal identities, our guilt is collective. As a result, the spirits of the dead torment the living because, although they are dead, their families were never traditionally compensated for their death. The author goes on to dismiss as modern arrogance the assumption that courts are instruments of healing and thereby support the role of traditional systems in pacifying the aggrieved spirits of the dead so that the living are healed emotionally from the psychological trauma that they present with now. This is indicative of an area in which social workers working with Gukurahundi survivors and their families could potentially provide support.

The Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) Report, Part 3 (Sierra Leone, 2003) defines a mass grave as a burial hole containing more than one body of victims of gross human rights violations who have been extra-judicially, summarily or arbitrarily executed. These bodies are usually haphazardly dumped in a manner devoid of respect accorded to the dead. Countries, such as Croatia, Iraq and Rwanda, have been able to formally identify mass graves after gross human rights violations thereby facilitating healing by establishing the truth (Juhl, 2005). Article 1 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) dictates as a criminal offense the use of mass graves by terrorist groups, militias and governments to bury evidence of heinous crimes. While Zimbabwe is a signatory to this statute it has never ratified it and, therefore, has not assimilated its dictates into the state's laws; consequently, it is not bound by it. An addition, Protocol 1 of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 recognised the right of families to have the exhumed remains of their loved ones properly identified and returned to them as part of judicial processes. Community members in Matabeleland and the Midlands are believed to know, or at least have an idea, to whom the bones belong but, in a bid to protect the sanctity of the dead, are reluctant to show the sites to the police as they will be exhumed without an honourable burial; hence communities opt to remain silent.

Boss (2016) defines ambiguous loss as a loss that occurs without closure or understanding, leaving a person searching for answers, thus complicating and delaying the grieving process and often resulting in unresolved grief. In many ways, it could be deduced that Gukurahundi deaths have left families and loved ones suffering from ambiguous loss as they have never been formally acknowledged. The inability to respectfully bury loved ones, especially those who were disposed of in mass graves, may be a catalyst to this unresolved grief. Eppel (2014) asserts

the universal and fundamental need to honour the dead through proper burial or cremation, as well as following certain rituals, especially in animist cultures such as those in Zimbabwe.

2.10.1 Exhumation and reburial attempts

Numerous attempts have been made by various families and organisations to seek permission to rebury victims of Gukurahundi. Most of these attempts have been met with determined refusal by the then government of Mugabe. Under the leadership of the current president, reburials appear promising based on his recent concession to allow Gukurahundi discussions onto public platforms. While there is anecdotal evidence of the impact and effect of reburials in facilitating transitional justice, it is prudent to note that very few longitudinal follow-ups have been done to prove their long-term role in facilitating healing (Eppel, 2014).

Albeit on a small scale, some families have been able to receive permission and support to rebury their relatives. A local NGO called the Solidarity Peace Trust (SPT) was able to exhume some bodies in Matabeleland in order to facilitate religious and traditional ceremonies and rites during reburials in accordance with Ndebele culture and customs (Benyera, 2014). This process is called *umbuyiso,* meaning to bring back the spirit of the dead, and constitutes a step towards transitional justice at community level aimed at bringing closure and permission for the living relatives to carry on with their lives.

Eppel (2014) shares how, during these exhumation and reburial exercises, fear continued to dominate communities affected by Gukurahundi. She observed how those who had, for over two decades, claimed not to know where certain people were buried finally and fearfully came out with the truth. According to Eppel, the revelation of these gravesites, hitherto not spoken about, resulted in rehabilitation of community spaces previously desecrated as people did not know that there were graves beneath. These sites have now become memorial spaces for the Gukurahundi atrocities.

The Amani Trust was also successful in its bid to conduct some exhumations and reburials. These were said to have had a cathartic effect for eyewitnesses who had, for almost three decades, not shared their accounts of the burials for fear of being accused of having played a role in the deaths. At the same time, they gave closure to families who had finally come to know where their loved ones were resting (Eppel, 2014). It must, however, be noted that for some family members who reburied their loved ones, the process reportedly failed to provide the necessary healing and closure. Eppel (2014) noted how some families verbalised ambivalence regarding the symbolism of the reburials, thereby emphasising the need for

multiple responses to trauma and healing as pain does not fade in the same manner for everyone.

Despite limited information on the longitudinal impact of reburials, the Solidarity Peace Trust (SPT) received reports from some families, after reburials had been conducted and the necessary rituals performed, that their lives and fortunes changed greatly for the better. Robins and Jones (2009) highlight the need for these memorial processes to be community driven as opposed to being led by the government elite. This, he believes, perpetuates the tendency to deny agency to the victims. Eppel (2014), however, cautions that, while such processes may have a positive psycho-social impact on families of victims, they should not replace justice and accountability at national level. There is only one place in Matabeleland that honours a Gukurahundi victim called Edwell's field. This came about through a defiant community's reburial and memorialisation of the field in honour of a man named Edwell who had been killed there during Gukurahundi. Eppel (2014) concludes that, although there was no deliberate effort to employ the principles of transformative justice, the work by civil society in facilitating exhumations and reburials in some areas achieved this for a few families.

Highlighting the necessity of correctly managing such processes, Benyera (2014) applauds exhumation and reburial of victims buried in mass graves for achieving the following:

● facilitating forensic identification to aid memorialisation. This, he argues, is because in most cases, the location of mass graves in post-conflict communities is not a secret; their status is what is usually contested.

● facilitating accurate identification of cause and time of death essential in truth-telling and thereby facilitating historical accountability,

● removing secrecy and facilitating proper mourning of the dead, thereby paving the way for closure and healing once the secrecy has been unmasked,

● facilitating the apportioning of blame to perpetrators of violence, thereby enabling both individual and institutional accountability through legal and communal courts,

● creating a record of the past which allows the

● children of the deceased to obtain the necessary documentation, such as death certificates of parents and birth certificates for themselves.

2.11 JUDICIARY PROCESSES IN ZIMBABWE

Putting forward as an explanation for the lack of justice in Zimbabwe, Morreira (2016) laments that lack of justice for widespread violence is the norm and is protected by a culture of impunity of political and military players. Morreira dates lack of justice and resultant impunity in Zimbabwe as far back as 1898 - the hanging of the female heroine Mbuya Nehanda by the settlers' regime. The 1970s liberation war struggle, Gukurahundi and the violent 2008 presidential elections further entrenched impunity and the absence of justice. The issuing of blanket amnesties for periods of violence without focusing on understanding the past has been indicated as a regular occurrence in Zimbabwe (Fritsch, Johnson & Juska, 2010). This strategy deviates from transitional justice which emphasises truth and openness in dealing with past violations. It is argued that, while Mugabe imposed policies of *forgetting* on behalf of all citizens, it appears that, throughout his rule, he gave only himself the right to remember when it suited him as was seen when he reignited the atrocities akin to the Rhodesian government through Gukurahundi. In contrast to the policy of *forgetting*, Morreira (2016) gives testament that during Mugabe's rule, the policy of *silencing* as opposed to *forgetting* has been implemented under the guise of preventing dissent.

Healing is particularly difficult for survivors who must have felt disempowered during the violent acts perpetrated against them. This is further compounded when survivors are not in agreement with decisions by those in power regarding how best to address the atrocities. Writing in opposition to blanket amnesty policies following mass violence, such as that during Gukurahundi, Kilpatrick and Otto (1987), as well as Young (1990), are convinced that such decisions frustrate the victim - particularly one who needs a public apology from the perpetrator in order to arrive at a place of healing. Orth (2002) strongly supports the belief that confronting genocide-kind-of-cases head-on and giving victims the opportunity to participate in the trials increases their sense of self-control and self-determination which are two of the strongest predictors of positive mental health outcomes emanating from a constructive engagement with emotional trauma. Bibas (2006), however, maintains that, once matters reach the legal systems and the process is taken out of the victim's hands, marginalisation of the victim occurs thereby negatively affecting their healing process. Poulson (2003) balances this debate by postulating that victims are most likely to experience the process and outcomes of restorative justice positively if they are given the chance to tell their story and the perpetrator is held accountable for his or her actions. In support of this argument, Sered (2006) adds that improvement in a victim's mental health is linked to their perception of justice systems as fair and transparent

entities that are able to ensure a considered and just outcome. The downside for Sered (2006), however, is that existing research reports that most criminal justice systems fail to fulfil this role. Although research presents the potential benefits of prosecuting cases through legal mechanisms, contrary literature disputes this by claiming that common features of the criminal justice system can exacerbate the impact of the initial crime, resulting in secondary victimisation which negatively impacts the healing process (Parsons & Bergin, 2010). In agreement, Herman (2003) writes that common legal practises actually exacerbate the trauma of the original crime. In addition to this, most criminal justice departments are poorly equipped to address the psychological needs of victims, and Zimbabwe is no exception to this deficiency. Orth (2002) adds to this gloomy picture by stating that police and court employees rarely receive adequate training to recognise and deal with trauma thereby reducing the potential for healing for the victims. The result is that the needs of victims remain unaddressed and the healing process becomes more complex than it should be.

2.12 RECONCILIATION & INTEGRATION

Communities ravaged by violence require post-conflict reconciliation and integration. Bloomfield (2003:12) defines reconciliation as an

> "over-arching process which includes the search for truth, justice, forgiveness, healing and so on…it means finding a way to live alongside former enemies…to coexist with them, to develop the degree of cooperation necessary to share our society with them, so that we all have better lives together than we have had separately."

The complexity of reconciliation, according to Bloomfield (2003), is that, while the original problem that resulted in disunity is one instance, it affects individuals on multiple levels resulting in reconciliation regarding a single issue being required at different relationship levels, such as between victim and offender, husband and wife, brother and sister, communities as a whole and at national level. This analysis fits the Gukurahundi situation perfectly because, although the original problem was the violence against so-called 'dissidents', the government now needs to reconcile with innocent civilians who were harmed; communities need to reconcile as some were forced to be informants while others became enemies due to mistrust or forced abuses of each other at the instigation of the 5th Brigade soldiers, as well as other conflicts. It, therefore, becomes imperative for practitioners engaging with the issue of Gukurahundi to recognise the multi-dimensional levels of healing and reconciliation that need

to take place. Asmal, Asmal and Roberts (1997) compare reconciliation to being a shared painful ethical journey that moves aggrieved parties from 'wrong' to 'right' in a bid to settle moral and political indebtedness. The authors add that reconciling parties need to be willing to expose themselves to danger while accommodating one another's expectations and demands, as well as showing the willingness to forego initially set prerogatives while at the same time feeling that to a greater extent their concerns have been addressed.

Various pre-conditions for reconciliation have been set by different experts. Mawondo (2008) determines two models in which reconciliation can be forged, i.e.:

1. reconciliation with justice, and
2. reconciliation without justice.

Zimbabwe unwittingly or wittingly was plunged into reconciliation without justice. This has proved to be a major failure as illustrated by the present cries for Gukurahundi redress more than thirty years after its occurrence. In support of the view that reconciliation without justice does not work, Mawondo (2008) contends that it allows for structures of injustice to prevail by ignoring the causes that gave rise to the conflict. Mawondo's view is evident in Zimbabwe as, since the Gukurahundi violence, Zimbabwe has continued to experience seasons of serious violence and gross violations against its citizens which has now been adopted as Zimbabwe's culture of impunity. Further supporting this view is Van Binsbergen's (1999) claim that reconciliation without justice allows for conflict to simmer with the wronged party continuing to seek a genuine termination through effective annihilation of the adversary. This could be said to be the case in Zimbabwe as pressure groups, such as Umthwakazi, continue to fight for cessation and punitive justice against the masterminds of Gukurahundi.

Maybe what is more telling as to why Mugabe's stance towards reconciliation without justice failed in Zimbabwe is that it was not a consultative process or decision. While announcing a national reconciliation policy at Independence, Mugabe proclaimed the following:

> *"I have drawn a line through the past….I want people to believe in MY policy*
> *of reconciliation and to respond accordingly"* (Fuller, 2002:n.p).

In response to Mugabe's 'apology' and acknowledgement of Gukurahundi as a "moment of madness", the late Dumiso Dabengwa retorted as follows:

"Is that an apology? Do you call that an apology? When the amnesty was declared and even those people, the so-called dissidents, who were responsible for what happened, they should have offered an apology to the government for all that happened and the government was supposed to do the same. We should have a public apology from those dissidents that were operating at that time and then the element of healing should have immediately taken effect" (Sunday Mail, 2012).

The two contrasting quotations by Mugabe and Dabengwa depict what appears to have been a forced reconciliation as viewed from opposing angles by the perpetrator (Mugabe) and the victim (Dabengwa). The following quotation during a documentary by Zenzele on Gukurahundi supports the argument that reconciliation regarding Gukurahundi failed to take root in its infancy and remains a sore point requiring address:

"...Was it a time of madness? Whose time of madness? His time of madness or the soldiers' time of madness?"

A challenge that can also be ascribed to Zimbabwe's stance of reconciliation without justice is that it engaged in wholesale integration of the Ndebele into what was thought to be the Zimbabwean lifestyle which has sadly been felt by some Ndebele as being swallowed into 'Shonahood.' Speaking of integration as indispensable to reconciliation, De Alcantara (1994) cautions that integration can bring positive, negative and neutral outcomes; hence its implementation needs to be well thought through after consultation with the parties involved. On the positive side, De Alcantara (1994) asserts that, if integration provides equal rights and opportunities for all thereby improving life, then it will be experienced as inclusionary. However, if mishandled, integration could be experienced as imposed uniformity thereby carrying a negative connotation that militates against social integration of those whom it is meant to serve. On a neutral level, de Alcantara maintains that integration could simply be regarded and experienced as a way of describing established patterns of human interaction in a society. It can be deduced that current integration strategies in Zimbabwe have been experienced more negatively than positively considering the calls for devolution and cessation that dominate politics between the Shona and the Ndebele as a result of Gukurahundi.

Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru (2013) provides a solution to mitigate the negative connotations of integration by proposing that any government employing integration after post-war conflict ought to do so by acknowledging cultural diversity. He, however, balances his argument by

placing the onus on those for whom integration is intended to be willing to disintegrate their existing systems in order to usher in a new society that is co-created with those with whom they previously were at loggerheads. In the Zimbabwean case, this would therefore mean that the Shona, Ndebele and Government would need to be willing to co-create a new Zimbabwe that may not look like the old pre-Gukurahundi Zimbabwe but one that is beneficial and transformative for all citizens.

In conclusion, regarding the need for reconciliation in post-war conflicts, Bloomfield (2003) maintains that the success of any interventions aimed at bringing about social integration and reconciliation will only prevail if entire communities are included. This, he argues, is because they - not governments - must reorient themselves from past antagonistic and adversarial relations with each other and the state. Bloomfield (2003) and Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru (2013) concur that reconciliation is not a luxury add-on to democracy but an absolute necessity to the Zimbabwean situation.

2.13 REPARATIONS & JUSTICE

The issue of reparations for Gukurahundi victims and their families is a contested one in Zimbabwe. While the government has made no strides to allow this matter into formal dialogue, calls for some form of restitution have been continuously made by the people of Matabeleland and the Midlands. The ICC (2010) asserts that reparations following human massacres are a well-established basic human right enshrined in universal and regional human rights treaties and instruments. Buford and van der Merwe (2004) place the burden of responsibility on the international community to immediately act and ensure provision of reparations when there are violations of any international laws by the State. In addition, Hayner (2011:171) defines reparations as...

> *"... a general term that encompasses a variety of redress, including restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfactions and guarantees of non-repetition. Restitution aims to re-establish to the extent possible the situation that existed before the violation took place; compensation relates to any economically assessable damage resulting from the violations; rehabilitation includes legal, medical, psychological and other care; while satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition relate to measures to acknowledge the violations and prevent their recurrence in the future."*

Hayner's definition is very broad and non-restrictive as it caters for both material and non-material forms of redress. In support of non-material redress, Soyinka (2000) insists that non-material reparations are as crucial as material ones. Machakanja (2010) emphatically rejects Zimbabwe's approach of choosing 'reconciliation' over reparation after the armed struggle as having pernicious consequences that avoided justice as reconciliation entailed only forgiving perpetrators with no real value to victims. Huyse (2003) points to further issues which complicate the request for individual reparations by cautioning against the major difficulties of distinguishing between the wronged persons and the 'wrong-doers'. This is particularly a challenge in the Zimbabwean situation where known perpetrators deny the role they played in Gukurahundi.

 Huyse (2003) maintains that, while it is a necessary step in seeking justice, reparations do not necessarily entail reconciliation or reconstruction. Huyse adds that studies on reparations have struggled to identify reparation programmes meant to promote healing if confrontation of what actually happened does not occur. Buford and van der Merwe (2004) allude to the complex nature of reparations which they see as having multiple meanings because its implementation is ostensibly dependent on the juxtaposition of political, cultural and historic forces specific to a given country. Over and above compensation, reparations do not bring back what victims lost; hence acknowledgement of the suffering of survivors and their families is a critical accompaniment of any restitution efforts.

Calls for reparations have been made both individually and at community level following Gukurahundi. Eppel (2013), however, acknowledges the complexity of this process as she highlights the following challenges that may impede a successful process for Gukurahundi survivors:

1. Most of the actual perpetrators are unknown.
2. Due to the passage of time and incomplete records, victimhood is difficult to prove.
3. No medical records exist to prove that injuries and disabilities are the consequences of Gukurahundi attacks.
4. The possibility of fraudulent claims due to incomplete records needs to be considered.

In agreement with Eppel's opinion on individual reparations, ZimRights, an NGO working in Zimbabwe, opines that, due to the length of time that has passed and incomplete records of who was affected and the extent of their suffering, collective reparations are a better option.

They further refer to the inability of the government to cope with financial compensation for primary and secondary victims due to the government's dire financial constraints (Sachikonye: 2011).

2.14 CONCLUSION

This chapter has set the tone for this study. Gukurahundi has been fully explained, the mystery of its onset dissected while proffering various arguments for its occurrence and investigating the reasons for the lack of support from the national, regional and international communities. The political, social and economic impact of Gukurahundi has also been discussed including an exposé of how the survivors and their families continue to experience challenges due to the unwillingness of the government to address the atrocities. An overview of Zimbabwe's justice system, coupled with attempts by various role players to address Gukurahundi, has been given to enable the reader to understand the gaps that have given rise to the research problem which motivated this study. The chapter concluded with aligning traditional practices associated with the Ndebele culture with the tragedies and subsequent unresolved trauma, while also exploring issues of justice and compensation for survivors and their families.

The following chapter will juxtapose Gukurahundi with other atrocities that have occurred across the world, while taking special interest in how other countries with similar experiences have sought to respond to their post-conflict challenges.

CHAPTER 3: A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE ON ATROCITIES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Preceding chapters have expounded on what Gukurahundi is, its causal theories as well as the impact it has had on victims, survivors and their families. Light has also been shed on judiciary processes in Zimbabwe and the bearing they have had on the delay in addressing Gukurahundi, while highlighting attempts by different stakeholders to respond to the Gukurahundi challenge. Having set the foundation of the matter under study, this chapter will provide a global view of how atrocities, such as Gukurahundi, have been addressed in different countries. Emphasis will be placed on how African countries in particular have addressed similar challenges with the view of informing how Zimbabwe could respond to Gukurahundi by borrowing from other countries with similar experiences. This chapter by no means aims to record all atrocities that fit the study. Instead, a sample of atrocities will be profiled to build an argument for drawing similarities between their impact on survivors and their families in a bid to inform potential social work interventions in Zimbabwe. The researcher will conclude by suggesting how Zimbabweans can position themselves in Gukurahundi conversations.

3.2 DEFINING TERMS

As alluded to in Chapter 1, various terms, such as 'crimes against humanity', 'war crimes', 'genocide' and 'massacres', are used interchangeably in everyday discourse in relation to violence perpetrated against groups of people. Despite these terms being used interchangeably, they represent legal categories with strict definitions. The strictness of these definitions invites debates regarding classification in legal, political, academic and media circles when referring to occurrences of this nature.

For the purposes of this chapter, the researcher has opted to desist from overemphasising the legal classifications that are debatable. She has deliberately opted for the all-inclusive non-legal term 'atrocities'. Critical in this study is the human element regarding how best social work practitioners can adequately respond to Gukurahundi survivors and their families regardless of the accepted legal definitions of Gukurahundi. It is the researcher's professional observation during years of social work practice that often the legal element overshadows the

human one, thereby impeding interventions as professionals are caught up in determining an appropriate legal classification of atrocities while neglecting the victims affected by these occurrences. Therefore, in instances where an occurrence has been legally accepted as genocide, reference will be made to it as such; where debate exists, 'atrocities' will be used instead. In order to justify the use of the term 'atrocities' in reference to the debatable legal terms, the researcher will define these legal terms and then define 'atrocities' and reflect on whether it is an appropriate term to use for this study.

Genocide is a legal term and is considered the most heinous and brutal atrocity of all atrocity crimes listed by The Genocide Convention (UN, 2016). It is, however, the most difficult to prove legally due to the specific legal underpinnings in its definition. The Genocide Convention defines genocide as any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, such as by: (a) killing members of the group, (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part, (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group, and (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group (Maddox, 2015). Countries that have suffered atrocities that have been legally accepted as genocides by the ICC include Rwanda, Germany, Sudan and Armenia amongst others (Roser & Nagdy, 2013).

Crimes against humanity is another legal term defined by the Roman Statute of the ICC (1998:3) as ...

> "... any of the following acts when committed as part of a widespread systematic attack directed against any civilian population: murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, imprisonment, torture, rape, group-based persecution, enforced disappearance, apartheid and other inhumane acts of a similar character intentionally causing great suffering or serious injury to body, mental health or physical health."

The concepts of 'crimes against humanity' and 'genocide' are often confused with each other; a view supported by Sirkin (2010) who reasons that the distinction between the two legal categories is narrow. Consequently, several legal scholars downplay the differences and often suggest converging the two crimes. Meron (1995) cautions that the definitions overlap considerably, the denotable difference being that 'crimes against humanity' are generally

recognised under customary law[7], while 'genocide' is recognised under both customary law and in a treaty[8]. The table below attempts to draw the differences between the two legal categories:

Table 1: Comparison between genocides and crimes against humanity.

GENOCIDE	CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY
Genocide pertains ONLY to crimes whose victims belong to protected groups, e.g. race, ethnicity, nationality, or religion.	Crimes against humanity may be committed against ANY civilian population without specification of grouping.
Genocide requires a specific INTENT to destroy a group because its members share a common identity.	Crimes against humanity do NOT require any specific intent.
A single isolated act towards a specified group could qualify as genocide.	A single isolated act against a civilian is unlikely to qualify as a crime against humanity because the latter must be committed within the context of a widespread or systematic attack.
The crime of genocide clearly creates obligations for states which are party to the Genocide Convention and provides member states with civil remedies not available to states victimised by crimes against humanity.	Crimes against humanity are articulated only in statutes found in international criminal courts or tribunals and not in any multilateral treaty or agreement.

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[7] Customary law refers to traditional common rules of practices that have become an intrinsic part of the accepted and expected conduct in a community or profession of trade and is treated as a legal requirement (World Intellectual Property Organisation, 2013).

[8] A treaty is a formally concluded and ratified (approved) agreement between sovereign states and, in some cases, international organisations and is binding as international law (The University of Melbourne, 2020).

The third legal definition to be discussed is **'war crimes.'** The Roman Statute of the International Criminal Court[9] (ICC) defines war crimes as serious violations of international humanitarian law. It lists 50 separate instances of war crimes, including attacks on (a) civilian towns, (b) objects used for humanitarian assistance, and (c) any buildings that do not serve a military purpose. In addition, acts of theft, wanton destruction, murder and ill-treatment during war are also considered criminal. War crimes are normally considered to be 'mass atrocities' and are subject to jurisdiction of the ICC when committed as part of a plan or policy or as part of a large-scale commission. (Straus, 2016:38).

The fourth term often used interchangeably with the above three legal terms for atrocity crimes is **ethnic cleansing**. Ethnic cleansing has been widely accepted as the fourth atrocity crime; however, it has not yet been provisioned for as an independent crime under international law. Bell-Fialko (1993:110) defined ethnic cleansing as the expulsion of a population group considered undesirable from a given territory due to religious or ethnic discrimination, and strategic or ideological reasons by a more dominant ethnic group. Similarly, Petrovic (1994:351) defined it as a "well-defined policy of a particular group of persons to systematically eliminate another group from a given territory on the basis of religious, ethnic or national origin." Ethnic cleansing is considered a multi-dimensional atrocity that encompasses mass murder, forced migration and destruction of property and infrastructure (Olsson & Valsecchi, 2010). Displacement is not restricted to physical force but may be promulgated through coercion, duress, psychological oppression, arbitrary arrest, extra-judicial killings, and wanton destruction of property. This view is supported by Sirkin (2010) who explains that in ethnic cleansing, the focus is not the destination that victims go to when displaced but rather the forced nature of displacement. In addition, ethnic cleansing is generally a geopolitical atrocity and its definition has been criticised for ignoring sometimes simplistic appearing acts of violence, such as forced migrations due to fear following intense suffering, murder, shame, embarrassment or acts of sexual violation (Harff, 2003). The driving force behind these actions is the rendering of an area ethnically homogenous by removing an identified group. Specific regions that have experienced widely documented ethnic cleansing include Bosnia, Croatia, Kosovo, Darfur and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Petrovic

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[9] The Roman Statute of the International Criminal Court (also referred to as the International Criminal Court Statute or the Rome Statute) is the treaty that established the International Criminal Court (ICC). It was adopted at a diplomatic conference in Rome on 17 July 1998 and was promulgated on 1 July 2002. It establishes the court's functions, jurisdiction and structure in relation to four specific crimes, i.e. genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes of aggression.

(1994) differentiates ethnic cleansing from genocide by considering it as an overarching term for a series of crimes which may or may not include genocide.

Having defined the above four atrocity crimes, the last definition closely related to the above four definitions is **mass atrocities**. The term 'mass atrocities' refers to instances of large-scale systemic violence against civilian populations and is not a formal legal concept. Used interchangeably with 'mass atrocity crimes' this umbrella term is often used in reference to the above-defined four legal terms, i.e. genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and ethnic cleansing which fall under the Responsibility to Protect framework (Evans, 2008; Sewall, Chin & Raymond, 2010; United Nations, 2014). Expanding on the definition, Valentino et al. (2004:377) define mass atrocities as

> *"the intentional killing of a massive number of non-combatants. Victims of mass killings may be members of any kind of group (ethnic, political, religious, and so on) as long as they are non-combatants and as long as their deaths were caused intentionally."*

In relation to the magnitude that determines whether an occurrence can be considered a mass atrocity or not, Rogers (2017) contends that the term 'mass' cannot be easily appraised as it could refer both to the large-scale numerical nature of incidents or the intensity of violence displayed during an incident. He, therefore, argues that the term 'atrocity' on its own lacks clarity in determining what could be classified as a mass atrocity. This view is backed by Scheffer (2006) who claims that relying on numbers of civilian casualties to label an occurrence a mass atrocity negates the deliberate policy or planning that may be aimed at smaller numbers but with intensity in execution. Perhaps the Oxford dictionary's definition of atrocity offers a rather simpler explanation. The dictionary defines an atrocity as an extremely wicked or cruel act, typically one involving physical violence or injury (Oxford Dictionary, 2015).

From the above definitions of the legal and non-legal categories of atrocity crimes, it is apparent that these terms are used interchangeably in everyday discourse. In addition, certain occurrences still attract debate as to which of the above categories they fall under. As a result, this chapter will utilise the non-legal term **'atrocities'** which, as per definition above, is an umbrella term that covers all four definitions. The term 'mass' will not be used due to the above-discussed debate regarding what constitutes a mass atrocity, the issue being the number of those affected versus the intensity of the occurrences. As a social work study, the focus of this thesis is, therefore, aimed at the lived reality during these atrocities which affected the

human beings involved. Therefore, overly focusing on labels and legal categories might distract from the overall goal which is to intervene at a human level regardless of the legal classifications that are still being debated.

3.3 ATROCITIES BEYOND AFRICA

Crimes against humanity, mass massacres, ethnic cleansings, war crimes or genocides have been happening for centuries and are mostly ordered or tacitly approved of by those in authority - usually governments - against a defined group of people. Harff (2003) postulates that over 22 million non-combatants have been killed in atrocity crimes and politicides typically sponsored or initiated by governments, the elite or those in ethnic or religious power. The holocaust is considered to be the most extreme and grotesque form of genocide (Day & Vandiver, 2000). In most cases atrocity crimes are met with denials, usually by directly denying that the events being regarded as atrocity crimes are happening at all and are thus a pure fabrication, the Rwandan and Armenian genocides being cases in point. In other instances, they are called something other than genocide thereby reducing the perceived intensity of their damage, a concept which Charny coined 'definitional denial' and which is usually the last phase of a genocide (Charny, 2003). Stanton (2016) argues that this definitional denial is usually employed by lawyers and policy makers, particularly when they do not want to accept the responsibility of intervening beyond humanitarian aid. This results in analysis paralysis of the atrocity situation for the outside world.

Cohen (2013) observes that genocide denial is usually accompanied by the promotion of 'facts' which deny its history by mixing truth with absolute lies, thereby confusing readers unfamiliar with the tactics of the deniers. Shedding light on the character of the denier, Avakian (2018) explains that the intent of the denier is not only to suppress the truth of what really happened during a genocide, but also the resultant action that ought to follow the truth. Hence genocide deniers are indicated as seeking to avoid the label of genocide, the criminal consequences that ought to follow and any accountability, penalty or reparation necessary. Behrens, Jensen and Terry (2017) suggest that genocide denial is actually an industry dominated by what they term the 'denialist movement' which comprises scholars, political and business leaders who have in the past dominated conferences, academic journals and the internet. According to Bilali, Iqbal and Freel (2020) genocide denial damages the mental health of survivors and victim groups while eliciting hatred, resentment and anger. Morgan (2020) contends that perpetrators of genocides often escape the definition of genocide by reducing them to local massacres or

spontaneous intercommunal violence as opposed to centrally intended, planned and controlled mass exterminations. Hirsch (1999) and Markusen (1999) unanimously agree that in some instances, leaders deliberately organise atrocity crimes in such a way that they do not quite fit the United Nations' definition of genocide and thus, based on technicalities, such leaders avoid being tried in the International Criminal Court (ICC). The authors use the Serbian genocidal violence against Bosnian Muslims as an example of their assertion. This view is supported by Doran (2017) who argues that the Zimbabwe government simply configured the massacres and kept them below a certain threshold so that they would not entirely fit the UN's strict definition of genocide.

Closely related to the concept of denial, Shermer and Grobman (2000: 238) define genocide revisionism as the creation of "pseudohistory, whose purpose is the denial of the past for present political or ideological reasons". They highlight that this is usually done through the modification of history by providing 'new facts' - or new interpretations of old facts – so as to dispute or reduce the perceived impact of the genocide. Furthermore, the prevailing culture of impunity enjoyed by perpetrators of these heinous acts can be argued to be key factors that encourage the continued perpetration of genocides. Bellamy (2011) presented a cycle of impunity which explains why the world still experiences atrocities despite the presence of legal instruments designed to address and contain them.

Figure 4: The Cycle of Impunity
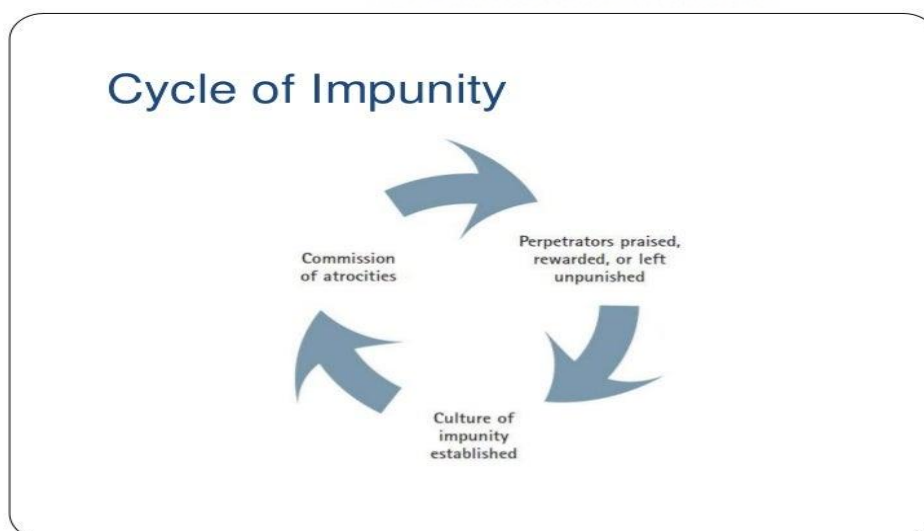
Bellamy (2011:13)

The following section will profile the Holocaust and the Armenian atrocities as instances in which many were killed, displaced and affected.

3.3.1 The case of Armenia

The Turkish atrocities against the Armenian population are often considered to be the first modern genocide in a civilised society. Scholars who have studied genocides after the Holocaust often view the Armenian atrocities as the precedent that emboldened subsequent perpetrators of genocide due to the impunity that prevailed during and after the massacres (Heidenrich, 2001). The Armenian genocide is shrouded in controversy regarding its onset, numbers of people who died, as well as classification. While the period of 1915-1916 is often considered the peak of the atrocious acts, research has also shown a steady progression of the genocide into what Alayarian (2018) calls the four stages of the Armenian genocide:

Table 2: Stages of the Armenian genocide

STAGE	PERIOD	ESTIMATED DEATHS
Stage 1	1894-1896	300 000
Stage 2	1909	30 000
Stage 3	1915-1916	1.4 – 1.5 million
Stage 4	1918- 1922	300 000

Adapted from writings of Alayarian (2018).

Although the above documented stages are acknowledged by some researchers, the most reported upon period of the Armenian genocide is the 1915 -1916 period during which the Turkish army massacred 1.4-1.5 million Armenians during forced expulsions (Cohen, 2013). Various reasons have been tendered to explain the annihilation and deportations that occurred during this period. Dadrian (2003) argues forcefully that Armenians were killed merely for being Armenian and were also targeted because they represented a largely Christian civilisation in a Muslim nation. Therefore, the atrocities fit the genocide label as they were specifically targeted based on religion and identity. Other arguments that have been given include the notion that the Turkish government was generally unhappy and jealous of the Armenians as they were considered wealthier and more educated in comparison to the Turks who made up the majority in the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, the perceived status of the Armenians attracted resentment towards them (Moranian, 2004). The outbreak of World War I and the suspicion that the Armenians who had already begun fighting for their civil liberties would most likely ally themselves with Christian civilisations against the Turkish government is also

believed to have incited the Turkish government to deal with the Armenian problem 'once and for all' (Balakian, 2003). Possibly supporting these suspicions was the Armenians' organising of volunteer battalions to assist Russia in their fight against the Turks in the Caucasus region (Dadrian, 2003). The Turkish government responded with the arrest and execution of several Armenian intellectuals on the 24th of April 1915 which culminated in a wholesale massacre and deportation of many others. Similar to debates regarding other atrocities of this nature, there is no consensus over how many people were killed or displaced. However, the most widely accepted figures by historians are that, before the atrocities, about two million Armenians resided in Turkey, and by the end of the atrocities only about 388 000 Armenians remained in Turkey, the rest having been either killed during the massacres, died of hunger and harsh conditions during the deportations, or killed at the deportation sites (Khatchig, 2006).

It is understood that, during the atrocities, deportations were systematically organised to send the Armenians to the desolate deserts of Mesopotamia (today's Syria) and hardships were deliberately intensified by denying Armenians food, following unnecessarily prolonging routes, brutal handling of already frail deportees, and exposure to disease and epidemics in order to induce death (Moranian, 2004). The use of mass drownings of both adults and children have been recorded as a frequent occurrence during the atrocities. Dadrian (2003) records sexual victimisation of particularly women and young girls with rape occurring on a massive scale during this time. Young Armenians girls were transported in large numbers to brothels and offered to Turkish soldiers for sexual purposes. In some instances, after having been raped, women were allegedly forced to bend down and sit on pointed Christian crosses made of wood which would pierce their vaginas until they bleed to death. Young Armenian boys were also not spared as they were reportedly offered to Turkish soldiers for sexual acts and rape (Von Joeden-Forgey, 2010). In some instances, mass burnings particularly of large groups of Armenians hiding in churches were documented. It is alleged that during the atrocities, 2538 Armenian churches, 1996 Armenian schools and 451 Armenian monasteries were burnt, plundered or demolished thereby completely destroying Armenian culture and heritage (Boghossian, 2010). Egoyan (2014) authored a memoir of Mardiganian who recounts the nailing of Armenians to crosses in mockery of their religion while taunting them to see if their Christ would save them. With regard to Article 2 of the UN Genocide Convention that speaks to genocidal acts, including the imposing of measures intended to prevent births within the group and forcibly transferring children, some Armenian children were also forcibly removed from their parents and equally forcibly adopted into Turkish families while some pregnant

women were reportedly bayoneted and their foetuses thrown into rivers during deportations (Balakian, 2008).

Inspite of the existence of extensive documentation and evidence of these atrocities, for over one hundred years, successive Turkish governments have denied responsibility for or intent of the deaths and displacements, as well as the resultant impact experienced by victims, survivors and the Armenian community at large. To date, the classification of what happened in Turkey is entangled in controversy with most Armenians insisting that their ancestors suffered a genocide orchestrated by the Turkish government. The Turkish government, in turn, denies that a genocide ever occurred, insisting rather that these were merely deportations of the Armenian people which resulted in some deaths while there was no intent to kill as a whole or in part the Armenian people, as denoted in the definition of a genocide Boghossian (2010). Alayarian (2018) is scathing in his rejection of the Turkish government's denial of the Armenian genocide and accuses it of developing social amnesia or a mode of forgetting in which an entire society chooses to separate itself from its discreditable past. Cohen (2013) further adds that the USA and other countries in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) have also actively contributed to the obfuscation and obliteration of the atrocious acts by the Turkish army due to their political and economic alliances. Although the United States largely voted for the Armenian atrocities to be considered a genocide, the former US President Donald Trump rejected this classification.

3.3.2 The Holocaust case

The term 'holocaust' is largely used in reference to the atrocities committed against European Jews by Germany during World War II. The Holocaust has come to symbolise the ultimate suffering of the Jewish people (Black, 2009). The word 'holocaust' derives from ancient Greek and means 'burnt offering' and was traditionally used to describe the death of a large group of people. However, since 1945, it has become synonymous with atrocities committed against Jews (Harff, 2003). When the Nazis assumed power in 1933, they adopted anti-Semitic policies which considered Jews impure and, therefore, inferior and needing to be wiped off the face of the earth. When Hitler assumed total power, he emphasised the importance of creating a pure Aryan nation, and consequently the extermination of the Jewish people was accelerated and became more grotesque (Petersen, 2010).

Although no exact and documented date has been established on which the Nazis designed a policy to murder all Jews, there is consensus amongst historians that a policy that became

known as 'The Final Solution' and calling for the extermination of all Jews was formulated and developed organically during World War II (Port, 2017). The Nazis began by stripping Jews of all their property, freedoms, as well as civil and political rights. Following Germany's occupation of Poland in 1939, the deportation of Jews from the Third Reich to parts of Poland, where ghettos were created to segregate them from the rest of the population, began. According to Harff (2003) the conditions in the ghettos were designed to deny Jews access to most basic needs of daily life. Severe crowding, extreme starvation, widespread epidemics and denial of basic medicine were the order of the day (Petersen, 2010). So horrendous were the conditions that Harff (2003) asserts that about 20% of Jews died in the ghettos. By 1941, Germany had begun the extermination of Jews in earnest following their invasion of the USSR. When the deportations began, the Jews were told various lies including that they were being moved to a better place and that their family separations were temporary. Harff (2003) alleges that these lies were deliberately designed to give Jews a false sense of hope that would ensure obedience and compliance. As a result, it is understood that many Jews held on to that hope and did not put up much resistance as they hoped that their compliance would guarantee their survival and reunion with their families (Karlip, 2005).

Some of the atrocities committed during this macabre period include experiments using Zyklomn-B gas during mass murders. Jews were exterminated using carbon monoxide generated by large diesel engines that pumped gas into gas chambers. Particularly in the Auschwitz concentration camp, Nazi doctors reportedly presided over the murder of most victims in the camp. It is documented that doctors consulted and directed the scale of daily murders required to keep the concentration camps running smoothly (Port, 2017). Furthermore, they also orchestrated and supervised the gas chamber killings in addition to carrying out inhumane and unsanctioned medical experiments on Jews designed to kill, maim and test war equipment (Sinnreich, 2010). Teshuva, Borowski and Wells (2019) allege that some concentration camp survivors reportedly experienced PTSD when they visited doctors after the war due to their association of doctors with the murderous role that they played in concentration camps. In addition to gas chambers, forced labour was also used as a murder weapon. The inhumane labour conditions were designed to ensure that a large percentage of Jews died in addition to the starvation that they were subjected to (Port, 2017). In some camps, Jews were forced to take on roles against their fellow Jews and commit atrocities in a bid to survive. Some of these acts included the removal of artificial limbs, hair and teeth of dead or almost dead Jews, dragging the corpses to incinerators and then harvesting the ashes to be used as fertiliser

(Petersen, 2010). Although there is very little documented evidence, Sinnreich (2010) alleges that Jewish women were also raped by German soldiers and guards. Fogelman (2012) disagrees, maintaining that rape was not an official component of the 'Final Solution' as the idea was to 'decontaminate' the world of Jews as opposed to procreating with them. He therefore perceives rape as having been less of a sexual act but rather a redundant weapon of terror and dominance. Other sexual violations against women included forced abortions, forced sterilisation, infanticide and separation of mothers from their new-born babies (Goldenberg, 2013). Both men and women were also subjected to humiliating acts such as being stripped naked publicly and forced to shave their pubic hair amongst other humiliating acts.

It is estimated that about six million Jews were killed during the Holocaust (Harff, 2003), the latter coming to an end with the rescue of survivors following the end of World War II. Many attempts, inclusive of SS guards[10] destroying prisoner records thereby making it difficult to quantify actual victim numbers, the concealing of mass graves and the burning of remains in pyres, were done to hide Holocaust evidence towards the end of the war. During the atrocities, euphemisms were also used to hide the exact nature of the murders to the rest of the world (Banwell, 2016). Holocaust denial also took centre stage many years after the atrocities with the Germans denying its occurrence and scale despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary. The Holocaust is considered the first officially recognised genocide, and the Nuremberg trials attempted to prosecute perpetrators using International Law.

Cohen (2003:21) draws similarities between the Armenian and Jewish holocaust cases and states that they were both accompanied by literal and interpretive denial often accompanied by excuses such as:

> *"It didn't happen, It happened too long ago to prove, the facts are open to different interpretations, what happened was not genocide."*

The 'politics of ethnic amnesia' reportedly contributes to non-action by both state and non-state actors when those directly affected are considered to be in distant places where there are no geopolitical interests that could impact on everyday life and view. Governments have also been accused of employing mechanisms, such as reduced information flow concerning

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[10] SS guards (*Schutzstaffel* or Protection squads) were originally established as Hitler's personal bodyguard unit. During the Holocaust, they were the elite Nazi guards who had the executive mandate to carry out all security related atrocities without regard for legal or moral restraint.

atrocities - as in the case of the Holocaust - or official rewriting of history - as in the case of the Soviet bloc. Such methods are employed to 'help' people forget what they know in order to manipulate historical truth around atrocities (Cohen, 2013). In a similar analysis, the Task Force for International Cooperation on the Holocaust (ITF) (2013) determined that, while the Holocaust is well documented, information on other genocides is often limited due to few witness accounts being available or accessible, as well as little research done due to the politization of the occurrences. There are many debates around the comparison of the Holocaust to other genocides with varying opinions proffered. The ITF (2013) determined that the Holocaust constitutes a starting point and foundation for studying genocides and understanding the Holocaust might prove useful in understanding other genocides while contributing to understanding patterns and contexts in which genocides occur to inform future prevention. However, they also caution that such comparisons should never be used to trivialise, equate of diminish the Holocaust or other genocides to which it is compared; neither should such comparisons be used to create hierarchies of suffering or allow such comparisons to be diminished by social and political agendas.

3.4 ATROCITIES IN AFRICA

Bangwayo-Skeete and Zikhali (2011) posit that Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is the most ethnically and culturally diverse region in the whole world. Alesina and Ferrara (2005) reason that this diversity has led to a series of wars and conflicts along the lines of preferences, racism and prejudices which usually degenerate into civil wars and political unrest. Increased linguistic and religious diversity has also been pinned down as a cause of conflict in Africa (Lovasz & Schipp, 2009). Bangwayo-Skeete and Zikhali (2011) conclude that social intolerance, which usually leads to conflicts and sometimes genocides, politicides, civil wars or mass massacres in Africa, is attributed to the following four processes:

1. colonisation and the Scramble for Africa,
2. nation building,
3. ethnic fragmentation due to new forms of economic and cultural globalisation,
4. competition for scarce resources.

Providing an understanding of African conflict, Dunaway (2003) reasons that, in a bid to nation-build, societies simultaneously homogenise communities while downplaying social differences, resulting in oppression of minority ethnic identities. This argument could be

transposed to the Gukurahundi situation as one could argue that, in a bid to build one Zimbabwe, there was a forced repression of the minority Ndebele ethnic people. Highlighting ethnic, religious and cultural intolerance as leading causes of atrocities in Africa, Esteban and Ray (2008) point out the existence of a systemic bias towards ethnic conflict due to serious poverty and obscene economic inequalities. Consequently, some justify ethnic conflict as a necessary evil in Africa.

The following sections will profile the Rwandan genocide and the Darfur conflicts as examples of atrocities experienced in Africa.

3.4.1 The case of Rwanda

Rwanda is infamously known for its 100-day state-sponsored genocide that claimed the lives of an estimated 800 000 to 1 million Tutsi people and some moderate Hutus between March and July of 1994 (King, Bokore & Dudziak, 2017). Three main reasons have been documented to be at the root of the Rwandan atrocities which have become legally classified as a genocide, i.e. (i) the perceived need to maintain political hegemony by the Hutu-led party under President Habyarimana, (ii) socio-ethnic issues between the Hutus and Tutsis that had affected Rwanda before independence, (iii) socio-economic factors (Prunier, 2009).

Understanding the history between the Hutus and Tutsis is critical in order to understand the violence that broke out between them during the genocide. When Rwanda gained independence from Belgium in 1962, the Tutsi minority, constituting only 10% of the Rwandan population, had been the ruling elite – but lost their political dominance to the Hutu majority, and Rwanda became a one-party state. This led to several skirmishes and episodes of violence between the two groups with an estimated hundreds of thousands of ethnic Tutsis fleeing to neighbouring countries to become political refugees. However, the violence abated, and a period of relative peace and stability ensued. However, violence was resumed in 1973 following the spill-off of ethnic clashes between the Hutus and Tutsis in Burundi during which time Habyarimana performed what was considered a coup and gained power in Rwanda (Prunier, 2009). As the clashes continued, a group of Tutsi-led rebel armies, called the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and based in Uganda, invaded Rwanda. Their main demands included the end of ethnically unbalanced policies that favoured the Hutus over the Tutsis. This resulted in more violence in Rwanda which led to the 1993 peace agreement signed in Arusha (Tanzania) by the Hutu President Habyarimana and the RPF leaders. Unfortunately, lack of political will, a weak mandate and scarce resources led to delays in the implementation of the transitional measures

agreed upon despite the United Nations peace keeping forces being dispatched to facilitate the installation of a transitional government. As the fighting continued, President Habyarimana was assassinated in a plane shooting in April 1994 - allegedly by the Tutsi-led RPF (Straus, 2005; Verwimp, 2005).

The death of President Habyarimana created a political vacuum which left the leaders of his Hutu-led party exposed. In a bid to regain hegemony, a faction of extremist political leaders, threatened by a loss of political power, launched a coup and took over government. Within days, the ethnic cleansing campaign, now labelled as genocide, against the Tutsi began. Two state-sponsored militias and their paramilitary wing, known as Hutu Power, systemically organised the bulk of killings and staged attacks throughout the country (Straus, 2004). Verwimp (2005) adds that large-scale participation by civilians, although less organised and with the use of primitive weapons, greatly contributed to the death toll. The intensity of the Rwandan massacres is reflected in the intimate nature of its killings in which the killers used household tools, such as knifes and machetes, to kill their victims in close contact (Mamdani, 2009; King, Bokore & Dudziak, 2017). Bemoaning the intimate nature of the killings, Prunier (2009) observes that it was so intertwined with everyday lives that the atrocities were used as a tool to settle old scores amongst neighbours or even to secure economic advantage in the marketplace. Additionally, women were stripped naked and raped in front of their families and then forced to march to their death in a similar fashion to how sexual violence was perpetrated against women during Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe. Some Tutsi people were buried alive in pit latrines or burned alive, particularly in churches where they sought refuge - children, the elderly and the disabled were not spared (Verwimp, 2005).

Drawing similarities between the Rwandan genocide and the Nazi Holocaust, Mamdani (2020) reveals that a section of the Rwandan army and civilian leadership organised the Hutus to kill the Tutsis. In addition, non-political Hutus who refused to perform this 'national duty' of exterminating the Tutsi were also targeted. Mamdani (2020) maintains that the success of the Rwandan genocide rested on executive planning from the top (government) which resonated with a perspective from the bottom (citizens), hence the participation of ordinary people in the killings. The author singles out the fact that when Tutsis were killed, they were killed in groups; however, when Hutu's were killed, they were killed as individuals, thereby mimicking Germany's strategy during the Holocaust. Straus (2007) adds that the government used mass media platforms, such as the radio, to instigate and broadcast inflammatory messages that called for the extermination of the Tutsis. This view was confirmed in the aftermath of the

International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda which found the radio station Radio Te´le´vision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) and its cofounders guilty of instigating genocide through its 'hate radio' messages that catalysed the violence in Rwanda.

Questions have been raised regarding the delay by the international community in intervening at the onset of the Rwandan atrocities. Factors, including the initial belief that what was happening in Rwanda was a civil war that did not require international community intervention, have been put forward (Hatzfeld, 2005). After the genocide, in 2003 and 2008, the Rwandan government passed several laws that prohibit genocide ideology, genocide minimisation and denial (Jansen, 2014). Ostensibly these laws are intended as preventative measures to avoid a repetition of similar atrocities in the future. Although a step in the right direction and in accordance with other countries that have criminalised the denial of genocide, the Rwandan laws have been criticised for their vague terminology, which fails to describe in precise terms which specific behaviour does or does not incur criminal liability, thereby making such crimes difficult to prosecute in courts of law (Ngoga, 2011).

Post-genocide studies in Rwanda evidence the devastating psychological impact of the atrocities on the majority of the Rwandan population. Munyandamutsa and Mahoro Nkubamugisha (2010, cited in King, 2011) found post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) to affect 28.54% of the general Rwandan population, with depression being the major comorbid disorder with a prevalence of 53.93%. Interestingly and probably equally disheartening are revelations by Clark (2011) and Hatzefeld (2007) which found that programs, such as Gacaca[11], communal tribunals and annual commemoration events had the negative effect of enforcing silence, causing resentment and mistrust among victims who still live in fear, despair and loneliness, mourning what they lost during the genocide. Efforts to address and redress this dark period of Rwandan history have also proved challenging as shattered expectations, particularly around economic compensation, have been highlighted as a major disillusionment for survivors of the Rwandan genocide (Kabeera & Sewpaul, 2008). Receiving support through government programmes to redress their financial situations has been indicated as a major need. The feeling that survivors and their families are owed something as compensation, as well as their desire for reinstatement to their previous status before the genocide, has reportedly

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[11] Gacaca is a form of truth commission that was introduced in Rwanda in 2002 to address past wrongs and facilitate the healing of memories. Gacaca literally means 'grass' and is a modification of a traditional Rwandan justice mechanism for dispute resolution of issues related to property matters, inheritance, and family law (Schabas, 2005).Gacaca was conceptually considered a home-grown model to reunite and reconcile Rwandans.

led to some refugee returnees refusing to take up forms of employment considered beneath their previous social and economic status (Kabeera & Sewpaul, 2008).

Social work interventions in Rwanda post the atrocities have been documented. Social work as a profession is a late-entrant profession in Rwanda, formalising only in 1998 in response to the increased need by vulnerable groups that had been affected by the genocide (Kalinganire & Rutikanga, 2014). Key areas of intervention by social workers have included counselling support and interventions for widows, child-headed households, the elderly, prisoners and displaced persons. The following vernacular terms have been used as descriptions of the roles which social workers have occupied in helping the Rwandan community deal with the genocide past:

Table 3: Descriptive terms for social workers in Rwanda

VERNACULAR TERM:	ENGLISH MEANING:
Umujyanama w'imibereho myiza y'abaturage	Counsellor in social affairs
Umuhuza	Coordinator
Umukangurambaga	Animator of the community
Umufasha w'abatishoboye	Helper of vulnerable groups
Umuhoza	Someone who gives consolation
Ruburirabose	Who informs the community about all possible problems

(University College Cork 1999: 237)

3.4.2 The case of Darfur

The year 2020 marks seventeen years since the outbreak of the ethno-religious conflict that has so far left hundreds of thousands dead while more than two million people have been displaced in South Sudan (Morgan, 2020). The genesis of the Darfur conflict remains debatable since it started in 2003. Some have attributed it to the entry into opposition politics of two rebel groups, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA), comprising three dominant tribes in Khartoum (i.e., the Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa) which began attacking government outposts. In response, the Khartoum government mobilised an Arabian loyal militia, known as the Janjaweed, to deal with the insurgency. SLA and JEM both ascribed their insurgency to the continued marginalisation of Darfur by the government of Sudan. Starting in the summer of 2003, the government, together with the Janjaweed militia, launched a major counter-insurgency campaign aimed at civilian villages, with the government

allegedly directly supplying Janjaweed with military intelligence, coordination and aircraft resources (Olsson & Valsecchi, 2010; Human Rights Watch, 2019), whereas the militia supplied the manpower on the ground. Despite documented evidence of the involvement of the government of Sudan, the latter denies its role in the mobilisation of, collaboration with and support of Janjaweed (Prunier, 2009).

Another theory explaining the Darfur crisis relates to its social fabric which elevates the Fur and Masalit ethnic groups above the African groups, resulting in their having dominance over landownership. This theory maintains that competition for scarce natural resources resulting from land degradation, desertification, and decreased access to water sources for animals, has led to an economic struggle that created a war between the Arab and African farmers (Abdul-Jalil, 2006). The theory of resources being at the centre of the Darfur crisis is supported by reports by the UNEP (2007), Ki-Moon (2007) and Sachs (2006) who concede that decreased rainfall had an indirect and negative effect on an already conflict-prone environment. This view is, however, contested by Kevane and Gray (2008) who analysed the rainfall data in Darfur and failed to find a clear link between the rainfall and the conflict, thus disputing this argument as valid.

Typical Janjaweed attacks were normally preceded by bombings by government aircraft which were followed by Janjaweed militia carrying out acts of atrocity, including killings, the raping of particularly women and children, abductions, acts of arson, poisoning of wells, destruction of livelihood and the spread of racist propaganda (Prunier, 2009; Hagan & Richmond, 2008; Van Rooyen et al., 2008). Livestock was also destroyed in the process, either by being driven into the desert, being stolen or killed (Van Rooyen et al., 2008). Civilians were largely left unprotected as the JEM and SLA would usually be in hiding during these attacks. As a result of these attacks, many villagers abandoned their homes, were driven out or fled to refugee camps near larger towns or to the Chadian border. By 2008, the BBC (2008) had reported over 300 000 deaths and about 2.7 million displaced refugees. Similar to attacks during Gukurahundi, interviewed victims reported receiving racial epithets from the Janjaweed militia in statements, such as *"you are slaves that make the area dirty, we are here to clean the area of you."* (Oslon & Siba, 2013:301). Oslon and Siba (2013) suggest that the government of Sudan and the Janjaweed militia concluded that a terror campaign in the home areas of the rebels was a more effective military strategy that would force rebels to retreat or leave the area in vast numbers in a similar fashion to the Gukurahundi atrocities. However, the civilian population suffered more than the actual rebels.

Olsson and Valsecchi (2010) allude to the labelling scandal that has marred the international community's handling of the Darfur atrocities since 2003. In 2004, the USA State Secretary referred to it as a genocide perpetrated by the Janjaweed militia and Sudan government (American Government, 2004), while in 2005, the UN investigation refrained from the genocide terminology, preferring to refer to it as crimes against humanity and serious violation of the International Human Rights and Humanitarian Law (UN, 2005:3). Yet in July 2010, the International Criminal Court prosecutor in The Hague extended Omar al-Bashir's warrant of arrest to include genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity (ICC, 2010). The Human Rights Watch (2019) notes with dismay that the government of Sudan has not made any meaningful attempts to accept accountability for all the atrocities listed in this section. In addition, the ICC has experienced significant difficulties in persuading the government of Sudan to comply with arrest warrants against the former president and others implicated in the genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes committed in Darfur. To date, the Darfur crisis rages on with no end in sight to the atrocities that continue to affect the Sudanese State.

3.5 INTERVENTIONS TO ATROCITIES IN AFRICA

The question of how best communities that have experienced atrocities can find justice and redress continues to fuel heated debates across all levels of society. Concerns are often raised regarding the need to find a balance between nation-rebuilding initiatives and fostering unity versus punishing offenders and ensuring victims receive justice. In addition to this dilemma, the limited capacity of the legal systems in Africa has also come under the spotlight while, at the same time, acknowledging the desire of sovereign states to govern themselves without undue influence from the international community.

The following sections will discuss how intervention attempts are often hampered by the question of whether or not individual interventions with respect to people directly affected by atrocities should take centre stage or whether collective interventions to entire communities result in better outcomes. Additionally, the researcher will also reflect on the role that the international community has played in line with various ratified statutes that mandate its intervention. The section will also reflect on how peace infrastructures have been used as well to attempt to intervene in African atrocities.

3.5.1 Collective interventions vs individual interventions

Interventions following atrocities have often faced the dilemma of whether to address individual trauma or collective trauma in response efforts. Western literature largely focuses

on understanding and responding to trauma as an individual phenomenon while African literature focuses on viewing trauma as a communal phenomenon (Drozdek, 2010). The former has thus been viewed by some scholars as the exportation and imposition of Western approaches to understanding trauma which overly emphasises diagnosis and treatment using psychological frameworks. Summerfields (1999) critiqued this approach as he found it lacking in understanding the African way of life and therefore unable to effectively support individuals who have experienced atrocities in Africa as it may lead practitioners to overlook the multiple dimensions of life that are affected by mass violence.

Drozdek (2010), Nets-Zehngut (2012) and van der Kolk (2014) all support the notion that post-conflict healing processes need to operate differently at individual and at societal levels. Somasundaram (2007:6) defines collective trauma as trauma that represents the negative impact at the collective level. This trauma is manifested in social processes, networks, relationships, institutions, functions, dynamics, practices, capital and resources through its wounding and injury to the social fabric. Collective trauma requires collective healing and Nets-Zehngut (2012:247) defines collective healing as "a process by which a party repairs the psychological damage it has incurred during a conflict." This healing functions as a community healing process dependant on community healing practices, such as confronting the past, expressing painful emotions, and reconnecting with community members similarly affected in a bid to establish or reaffirm their shattered unity and common destiny (Kirmayer, 2006; Kleinman, 2000; van der Kolk, 2014).

In order for collective trauma to be collectively healed, practitioners need to address collective recovery which is informed by the culture of the affected and an appreciation of their holistic understanding of suffering, health and healing. Considerations as to whom to support following collective trauma are further complicated by the intergenerational transfer of trauma and its continuing effects over generations (Quinn, 2007). Tummala-Narra (2007) suggests, therefore, that interventions following atrocities ought to understand the cultural context of recovery and resilience by involving higher mobilisation for social support, sharing, participation and rituals reinforcing social cohesion. King, Boroke and Dudziak (2017) further cement this notion by suggesting that interventions in Africa ought to include endogenous forms of healing and coping by incorporating the cultural and social realities of communities in an attempt to minimise disruptions while capitalising on protective practices and the resilience of community structures. In agreement with this perspective, Kleinman (2000) contends that African atrocities, unlike Western atrocities, are usually linked to systemic forms of oppression related

to racism, scarce resources and extreme forms of poverty which tear apart communal life and undermine communal morals and taboos and thus destroy a community's social fabric. Kleinman, therefore, argues that it is imperative to address trauma collectively as it is experienced collectively. Farwell and Cole (2001:36) are convinced in their view as they simply argue that "widespread destruction requires an equally widespread notion of rehabilitation." Speaking of appropriateness of intervention, Giacaman, Shannon, Saab, Arya, & Boyce (2007:361) affirm that "…there is no universal response to highly stressful events, and many of those exposed to the excesses of war heal within community, as personal recovery is deeply rooted in social recovery."

Be that as it may, it is cautioned that efforts to intervene communally should strike a balance between this and not neglect the individual at the centre of the communal crisis. Social work practice strongly advocates each individual's inherent worth and dignity; hence individual experiences need not play second fiddle to community experiences.

The next section will briefly explore how various interventions have been applied in Africa in response to various atrocities.

3.5.2 Justice through the International Community Route

Justice is always at the centre of debates following atrocities of any nature. Access to justice in most African countries, particularly when governments are the main perpetrators of atrocious crimes, further compounds the capacity of justice systems delivering interventions to the wronged victims. As a retributive measure to perpetrators of atrocities, the international community, through the United Nations and its member countries, has put in place legal frameworks intended to restore justice and criminally prosecute perpetrators of atrocity crimes. However, the intervention of the international community in African affairs is a hotly contested subject with a significant number of African countries considering its dictates an assault on national sovereignty. Worldwide, a total of 45 countries are yet to ratify the United Nations Genocide Convention. Of the 45 countries, 20 are from Africa, 18 from Asia, while the remaining 7 are from Latin America (UN, 2018). Following the Genocide Convention, the International Criminal Court (ICC) was established through the Rome Statute in 1998 its main mandate being the prosecution of those found guilty of committing genocidal acts.

Emphasising the duty to prevent and halt genocides, the UN Article 1 of the Genocide Convention clearly stipulates that it is the responsibility of individual states to prevent and stop atrocious crimes within their borders, failing which the international community intervenes

without the state's ability to invoke sovereignty (UN Genocide Convention, 1948). The Outcome Document of the 2005 United Nations World Summit identified the following pillars regarding the responsibility of states to protect:

i.   The state carries the primary responsibility for protecting populations from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing and their incitement.

ii. The international community has a responsibility to encourage and assist states in fulfilling this responsibility.

iii. The international community has a responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other means to protect populations from these crimes. If a state is manifestly failing to protect its populations, the international community must be prepared to take collective action to protect populations, in accordance with the Charter of the UN.

To cement this legal instrument, the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) was established in 2001 as a global political commitment tool to prevent and interdict genocidal acts while ensuring that the Genocide Convention is operational (Matthews & Rock, 2018). In relation to all atrocity crimes discussed in this chapter, the R2P has the following three specific responsibilities:

i.   the responsibility to prevent - to address both the root causes and direct causes of internal conflict and other man-made crises putting populations at risk;

ii. the responsibility to react - to respond to situations of compelling human need with appropriate measures which may include coercive measures, such as sanctions and international prosecution and, in extreme cases, military intervention;

iii. the responsibility to rebuild - to provide, particularly after a military intervention, full assistance with recovery, reconstruction and reconciliation, addressing the causes of the harm which the intervention was designed to halt or avert.

Analysing the response of the responsible international humanitarian intervention bodies to atrocities, an International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) reported that intervention by the international community has been controversial, both when it happens and when it does not happen (ICISS, 2001). The ICISS set conditions under which interventions by the mandated international community in the form of the United Nations were permissible:

i. A just cause must exist.

ii. The assistance must be provided as a last resort.

iii. The acting states must have rightful intentions.

iv. The action must be proportional to the humanitarian crisis.

v. The action must have a reasonable chance of success, and

vi. the action must be authorised by a legitimate authority.

Referring to the case of Rwanda, ICISS (2001) revealed that the UN Secretariat and some permanent members of the Security Council were fully aware that the Rwandan government was planning a genocide. In addition, they had at their disposal credible strategies to either prevent or mitigate the slaughter that followed. However, despite having the mandate, the Security Council displayed a serious failure of international will and planning which, according to the ICISS's report, resulted in many African people dying. The report concluded that, to the international community, some lives mattered a great deal less than others, and the universality of human rights was mere rhetoric (ICISS, 2001). Similar sentiments could also be raised regarding how the UN peace operations in Somalia between 1992 and 1993 demonstrated flawed planning, poor execution and excessive dependence on military force, resulting in the failure of the international mandated body to save lives and restore order (ICISS, 2001).

The major reason given to explain the failure or hesitation of international instruments to intervene in atrocities rests in the desire to respect the sovereignty of member states, as well as political considerations. This view is supported by the ICISS (2001) report which remarked that in a world marked by overwhelming inequalities of power and resources, sovereignty is, for many states, their best and only line of defence. Caution, therefore, is critical to ensure a balance between the responsibilities of the international community and the danger of monopolising the political capital of local communities.

Suffice to say, in Africa, intervention by the international community has been an unsuccessful mission, partly due to the challenges of proving beyond doubt that all possible measures implementable by local communities have been exhausted before international intervention is instituted. In the same breath, member countries' desire to retain sovereignty has led to resistance to international intervention as illustrated by the difficulties encountered in successfully bringing Omar al Bashir before the ICC. Equally, the failures of the Security Council itself create the impression that looking to the international community as a credible means of intervention for African challenges is an unrealisable goal. Matthews and Rock

(2018) share this sentiment as they claim that the R2P at present is in danger of atrophying to irrelevance.

3.5.3 The Peace Infrastructures Route

Given the failure of the justice system to deliver interventions with respect to atrocities in Africa, alternative means to rebuild communities and restore peace have been explored and implemented in some affected countries. Most African countries that have experienced or are currently experiencing atrocities of one nature or another usually attempt to cease fire by signing peace agreements between warring parties. Saunders (2001), however, argues that such negotiated peace arrangements rarely produce lasting peace if people on the ground, including former fighting groups, are not well represented in the peace-building process and the process is considered a top-down approach to nation-building. This view is seconded by Cochrane (2008) as he contends that peace agreements rarely include addressing deeper issues that are at the root of past violence and its impact on civilians on the ground. Cochrane adds that peace agreements usually over-emphasise general amnesty to combatants while neglecting justice for ordinary citizens who are the innocent victims of violence, thereby ignoring the need for reconciliation of past injustice at community level. In addition to this unfortunate picture, Hein (2015) notes that in most instances, issues of crimes against humanity and war crimes have been dominated by special legal mechanisms, such as special courts and tribunals, whose focus is on retributive justice. He adds that, although this has significantly improved human rights situations in post-conflict countries, it has failed to ensure sustainable peace nor provided communities with a space to nurture interdependent cooperative relationships that build restorative engagements among communities. Critical to note, however, is that most post-Cold War peace agreements have recommended institutional mechanisms, such as Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRC) in varying forms, as a means of addressing past issues (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004; Cochrane, 2008).

Failures by in-country legal systems and interventions by the international community have left a vacuum that has been occupied by indigenous social and civil systems in the form of peace infrastructures sometimes referred to as 'local peace councils.' The term 'peace infrastructures' was coined by Lederach in 1997 in reference to the tradition of bottom-up peace-building, reconciliation and conflict transformation measures. Lederach stressed the need to go beyond traditional statist diplomacy which does not normally yield results for the civilian on the ground affected by atrocity crimes. He advocated the creation of infrastructure

that fosters empowerment and leads to reconciliation from within affected communities while maximising contributions from the outside (Lederach, 1997).

The popularity of peace infrastructures as a game-changer for African interventions was made possible in 2010 when the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) convened a seminar in Kenya attended by 14 African countries represented by both government and civil society delegates. The main aim of the seminar was to address existing limits and inadequacies of prevailing peace-making and peace-building efforts. This culminated in the UNDP's developing a globally accepted definition of peace infrastructures which it described as

> *"a network of interdependent systems, resources, values and skills held by government, civil society and community institutions that promote dialogue and consultation, prevent conflict and enable peaceful mediation when violence occurs in a society."* (UNDP, 2013:1).

Expanding on the UNDP's definition, Hope-Nishanka (2012) further described peace infrastructures as consisting of diverse domestic, inter-connected forms of engagement between conflict parties and other stakeholders. Ulrike also recommended that all levels of society ought to be included in varying degrees in the establishment and dialogue processes of peace infrastructures. The main aim should be to assist affected parties by means of capacity building or giving advice through mediation, facilitation of public participation or coordination of peace agreements. Advocating an all-inclusive peace infrastructure process, Ramsbotham, Miall and Woodhouse (2011) insist that bottom and top levels of power must be interlinked through hybrid peace processes so that they complement each other as opposed to playing divergent roles. They further claim that peace infrastructures work best when there is a signed peace agreement between warring parties.

Supporting the perception that national level strategies and policies cannot afford to disregard local drivers within communities, De Coning (2018) refers to high-level political deals in Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho and South Sudan which failed to deliver long-term peaceful societies, or to build resilient societies, due to their top-down approach. By their nature, peace infrastructures do not contradict institution-building initiatives but rather lend legitimacy to the process by creating opportunities to facilitate political dialogue. While peace infrastructures can be mandated at government level through national peace accords or statutory bodies, as was the case in South Africa, Malawi, Ghana and Sierra Leone, they can also emerge through the work of civil society. It must be noted, however, that the success of

peace infrastructures led by civil society is largely dependent on government and community support (Dube & Makwerere, 2012).

Dube and Makwerere (2012) propose the following activities that may assist in the establishment of successful peace infrastructures:

- o adopting cooperative and problem-solving approaches to conflict based on dialogue and non-violence which includes all stakeholders,
- o developing institutional mechanisms appropriate to each community's culture which promotes and manages this approach at local, district and national levels,
- o finding internal solutions to specific conflicts, such as recurring land conflicts, conflicts over natural resources or contested elections and tensions, through mediated consensus or multi-stakeholder dialogue, and
- o negotiating and implementing new governing arrangements, such as new constitutional provisions in an inclusive and consensual manner.

The UN estimates that the average peacebuilding and prevention cost per country amounts to 2 to 3 million USD and postulates that, in comparison to the costs of intervening in a civil war, displacement, demilitarisation or other armed conflict associated expenses, the costs of peace infrastructures are minimal, yet offer exceptional rewards and enable societies to manage their own problems thereby promoting long-term stability (UN, 2018).

3.5.3.1 Peace infrastructure attempts in African countries

Evidence of successful peace infrastructures in Africa was reported in Kenya, following violent conflicts in the Wajir district on the border of Somalia and Ethiopia. The Wajir Peace and Development Committee brought peace to the region in the 1990s. Consequently, Kenya again adopted peace infrastructures as a peacebuilding and community-healing mechanism in 2007 when post-election violence had broken out (van Tongeren, 2011). Similarly, in South Africa, the National Peace Accord of 1991, following an escalation of violence in the country, established local peace committees (LPCs) whose main objectives were to create trust and reconciliation among community leaders in a bid to prevent violence and resolve disputes. While the LPCs were unable to prevent all forms of violence, it is widely accepted that from their inception, they contributed significantly and positively to an otherwise volatile situation and greatly reduced the spiral of violence occurring at that time (Wood, 2000; UN, 2014; Bairstow, 2008). In addition, the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission,

although viewed by some as a political compromise, was also a strategy of conflict transformation and peacebuilding which contributed to the dawn of healing processes for some (Cochrane, 2008; Fombad, 2004). While it has documented limitations, the South African TRC was critical in moving the country forward and contributed to providing evidence that former antagonists can live together following a past marked by atrocities. Furthermore, Rwanda provides another example of a successful peace infrastructure process (using the indigenous justice system) which it instituted through the *Gacaca* courts. As a peace infrastructure methodology, *Gacaca* was a modification of the traditional Rwandan justice mechanism for dispute resolution introduced by the Rwandan government in 2002. It was utilised as an alternative community justice approach to supplement the work of the over-burdened legal system which was instituting trials for genocide crimes (Longman & Des Forges, 2004). *Gacaca* was used to solve interpersonal and community conflicts in traditional Rwanda, facilitated by people known as *abunzi*, meaning mediators, who had the skills to mediate and facilitate conflict resolution. Although Gacaca was transformed into a form of Truth and Reconciliation Commission in post-genocide Rwanda, the old informal approach is still used in present day rural Rwanda to solve conflicts (King, Bokore & Dudziak, 2017).

From the above sequential sections, it is clear that, following atrocities across the world and particularly in Africa, various means of resolving conflict have been undertaken. The sovereignty of countries is a major determinant of whether or not the international community has intervened in a crisis situation. What is clear, however, is that communities that engage in internal mechanisms to address a crisis and bring warring parties together stand a greater chance of achieving sustainable peace solutions that enable healing and cohesion. The upcoming section will present communities in justice conversations and reveal how every community member, whether directly affected by atrocities taking place or not, has a role to play in achieving successful response interventions.

3.6 THE LABELS USED IN JUSTICE CONVERSATIONS

Determining and ultimately labelling certain individuals or groups as either victims or perpetrators is often politically controversial due to the contested narratives of victimhood (Moffet, 2016). This is often compounded by the fact that, in some instances, victims can be perpetrators and vice versa in the same conflict; hence the binaries of victim and perpetrator become complicated as the lines are blurred (Borer, 2003). Calls for responding to atrocities have often been met with various reactions: ordinary citizens not necessarily feeling part of the

implementers of peacebuilding, or enforcers of atrocities believing that they do not have a role to play in the nation-building processes. Gukurahundi has been met with various arguments raised by ordinary citizens which included statements such as:

"*Why must I be blamed simply because I'm Shona?*"

"*I wasn't even born when it happened.*"

"*It was the government that did it, not me.*"

"*What could I have done to protect anyone else without putting myself in harm's way?*"

"*Why is it still an issue, the country needs to just move on!*"

(Facebook, 2020).

On the other hand, for those who were not personally affected, but know of someone who was affected, the following statements emerge:

"*It didn't affect me directly so I can't be angry about it.*"

"*I don't think we should keep revisiting the past.*"

"*It's too late to want to address it now.*"

(Facebook, 2020).

However, Zimbabwe is in a quandary owing to the violent period of Gukurahundi that was never addressed. As Muzondidya (2008) puts it: National unity has become an elusive dream because there is no consensus among those affected and those not affected by Gukurahundi.

Swartz (2016) maintains that injustice has a damaging effect on all humanity, both the victim and the perpetrator. She, therefore, argues that individuals and institutions cannot afford to walk away from gross injustice and continue with life as normal. In her book *Another Country,* Swartz introduces labels that are often used in human rights discourses and offers diverse ways in which all humanity ought to position itself in these conversations. Swartz, in speaking of South Africa's apartheid era, says that most of the country's current problems emerge from the past. The same can be said of the Zimbabwean situation following Gukurahundi.

In the following section, the researcher will discuss labels that are often used in justice conversations. The work of Swartz (2016), an academic based in South Africa, will be

juxtaposed to labels used by other academics with the aim of depicting how various stakeholders can position themselves, whether overtly or covertly, in the discourse pertaining to acts of atrocities in order to inform successful interventions that bring together all sectors of community from government to ordinary citizens. Swartz' work has been emphasised in this section because of its African focus as it uses South Africa, marked by apartheid, as a canvas. Due to similarities in culture, juxtaposing Swartz's work with Zimbabwe's Gukurahundi allows for interesting comparisons.

3.6.1 Locating oneself in Gukurahundi conversations

Raul Hilberg's (1961) pioneering work, following the Holocaust, shaped the academic study of perpetrators, victims and bystanders in relation to how different groups of people either take part, experience or distance themselves during an atrocity. Expanding on Hilberg's work, Swartz (2016) determined that any credible response to atrocities needs to take into account five categories of people in order to appropriately decide on a course of action following an injustice. Where Hilberg's work focused only on victims, perpetrators and bystanders, Swartz proposes a pentangle of actors in cases of injustice which will be analysed below:

Fig 5: Pentangle of actors in injustice
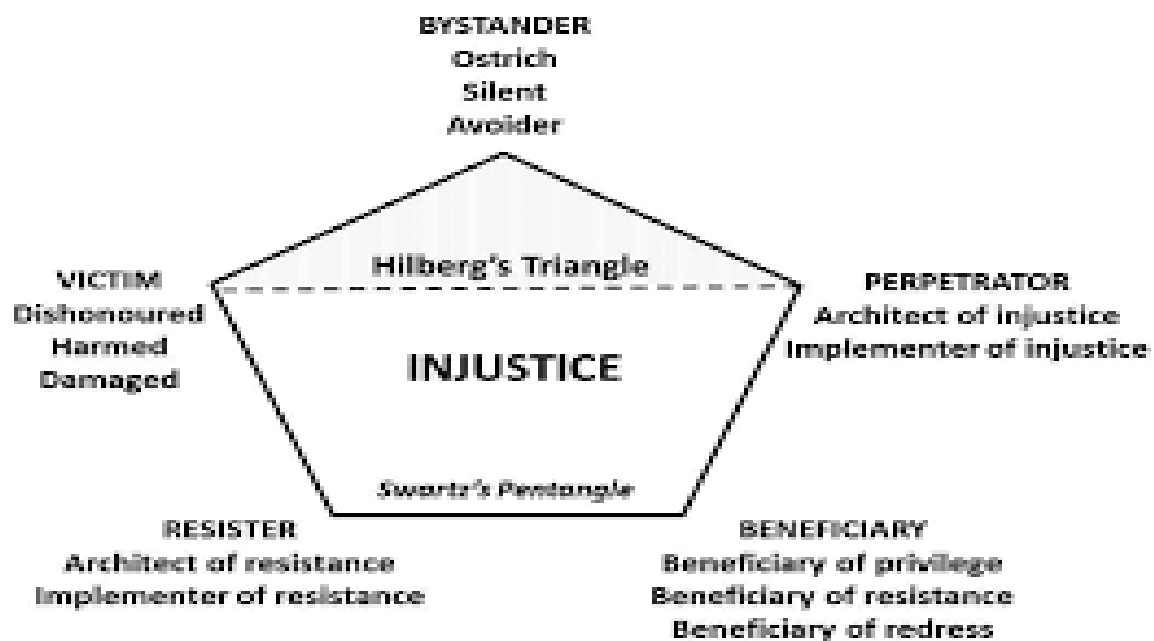
(Swartz, 2016:178)

3.6.1.1 The architects & implementers (the perpetrators)

The commonly held understanding of a perpetrator is a person who commits an immoral, illegal, violent, evil or criminal act (Web Dictionary, 2020). In relation to atrocities, Ehrenreich and Cole (2005) profile perpetrators as usually being persons with governmental or political power, with designated dominant control or policy or means of production in a given territory. Some authors have pointed out the complex nature of perpetrators in an atrocity, as sometimes they may perceive themselves as victims (ˇCehajiˊc & Brown, 2010) while some victims may, in fact, become perpetrators themselves or even occupy all three roles, i.e. bystander, perpetrator and victim in the same atrocity (King & Sakamoto, 2015).

Swartz, in addressing issues of perpetrators escaping culpability, draws a distinction between architects of injustice and implementers of injustice. She maintains that, while both are perpetrators of injustice, their culpability is not equal. Swartz (2016:152) defines an architect of injustice as the person who actively designed the system that allows injustice to prevail either through policies or the creation of an environment that favours and permits injustice. These individuals carry the political guilt that legitimises injustice (Buckley- Zistel, 2009). On the other hand, implementers of injustice as perpetrators are those who, within their line of duty, take orders or the lead from those with legitimising power. This also includes individuals who collaborate with those directly perpetrating injustice, as well as informants or those who provide funding for injustice to prevail. Swartz, however, concedes that some perpetrators may have had limited choices in their perpetration of injustice and, therefore, carry an element of victimhood if they were forced into an evil act against their will. Post-atrocities, perpetrators usually use silence and denial to avoid responsibility or maintain an attitude of 'no remorse' as an escape from the moral implications of their actions during atrocities (Coester, 2010; Tsutsui, 2009).

3.6.1.2 The survivors & the dishonoured (the victims)

According to Moffet (2016), mass violence is usually protracted and complex as it is not always homogeneous. This results in complications when labelling victims as sometimes those perceived as victims may not necessarily fit into neat, distinctive and morally acceptable categories. In a very basic definition, Wagele & Stabb (2010) defines a victim as someone who has been hurt or taken advantage of. Iwarimie-jaja (2012) offers a more nuanced definition: a victim is a person, institution, place or property that becomes the object of victimisation. The harm done may be individual or collective and may fall into the spectrum of physical, mental,

emotional or economic loss or substantial impairment of fundamental rights through acts or omissions in violation of criminal laws operative within member states. Ferguson, Burgress and Hollywood (2010) posit that no one really likes being called a victim as it carries connotations of helplessness, lack of agency and shame; hence other terms, such as survivor, have been used in reference to victims. Swartz (2016) adds that these connotations are a result of silent accusations of victims due to often unasked questions such as: How did they allow themselves to arrive in the unenviable position in which they find themselves? As a result, the term 'survivor' is generally being used more often by respondents to injustices of varying nature. In justifying the use of the term 'survivor' as opposed to 'victim', Wu (2016) postulates that the term 'survivor' implies mobility in that it moves away from the connotation of a victim being trapped and unable to do anything about his or her circumstances. It implies progression over stagnancy as the survivor is seen as still fighting either via judicial systems in a quest for justice or fighting by learning to live and continuing with life after traumatic experiences. Wu (2016), however, concedes that one can be both a victim and survivor as it is equally possible to have been trapped, thereby being a victim, but gain empowerment to thrive regardless of the past, thereby becoming a survivor. Buckley- Zistel (2009) castigates survivors who move on with their own lives but do nothing for those still experiencing injustice; or those who did not risk their lives to stop the injustice. These, he claims, carry metaphysical guilt by having not done anything to stop atrocities or by 'choosing to live' while others die. This could be akin to survivor's guilt.

In her pentangle of justice, Swartz proposes an alternative label to 'victim' which she uses interchangeably with 'survivor', i.e., 'the dishonoured.' Swartz believes that this label destigmatises the victim category. The dishonoured are those who have been subjected to injustice, crime and mistreatment that robs them of dignity, respect and equality. Such dishonour may emanate from individuals being harmed during atrocities or injustice; however, due to the negative connotation attached to victimhood it may result in their not owning their negative experiences in a bid to detach themselves from victimhood - which results in their failing to locate themselves in their past (Swartz, 2016). Such dishonour can extend across generations as children inherit the legacy of injustice meted out against their parents and which is sustained through generational poverty, illiteracy, poor socio-economic chances and poor cultural capital. It has often been argued that some Ndebele children suffer from generational trauma as a result of Gukurahundi as they perceive their diminished and gravely disadvantaged life chances to be the result of the injustice their parents suffered during Gukurahundi. This

pertains particularly to the inability to access proof of birth due to the absence of death certificates of their parents thus exposing them to a vicious circle of missed opportunities (Crush & Tevera, 2010).

3.6.1.3 The ostriches (the bystanders)

The term 'bystander' is not new to human rights discourse and has been used in reference to those who sees an act of injustice, violence, crime or evil and do not try to stop or change it. Faul, Aikman and Sasser (2016) characterise a bystander as:

- any individual, group or organisation which has knowledge of the purported atrocity,
- may be physically present or absent at the scene of the violence,
- does not actively participate in the violence but is aware of it, or
- may have the ability to prevent or stop the violence but, willingly or unwillingly, refuses to act within their capacity.

During the Holocaust, America was viewed as a bystander while in Darfur, the international community has been viewed as a bystander due to their reluctance to intervene early - or at all (King & Sakamoto, 2015). In psychology, the *bystander effect* is analysed by various researchers of social behaviour. It states that a person who witnesses another person in distress but does so with the knowledge that others are also present and available to respond, is slower and less likely to respond to the person in distress than a person who knows that he or she is the only one who is aware of the distress (Hortensius & de Gelder, 2018). Latane and Nida (1981) formulated a theory regarding bystanders' lack of response when they witness a violent act. They discuss three processes that account for the *bystander effect*, i.e. social inhibition which is derived from the risk of embarrassment if the perceived situation turns out not to be a crisis or as grave as it initially appeared to be; secondly, pluralistic ignorance caused by social influence or conformity, i.e. the perception that everyone is failing to respond because of the assumption that no one is expected to respond, thereby fearing to stand out by responding; lastly, diffusion of responsibility, i.e. reluctance to assist because of the belief that someone else will assist or that the victim is already in receipt of help from other people. Cacioppo, Petty and Losch (1986) expand Latane and Nida's theory by proffering a fourth reason as to why bystanders exist, i.e. confusion of responsibility. They argue that sometimes people refrain from helping a victim because they do not want to be perceived as the perpetrator of the victim's pain and suffering as an outside observer might assume they are, in fact, the perpetrator not the helper. Buckley-Zistel (2009) suspect that bystanders who do nothing may carry moral

guilt based on their inaction. Supporting the complex nature of the bystander profile, Ehrenreich and Cole (2005) hypothesise that bystanders fall into a spectrum of non-perpetrator/non-victim which is extremely dynamic as this group constantly changes its position within the spectrum, depending on a wide range of temporal events. The aforementioned authors further detail that, in some instances, bystanders join either the perpetrators or the victims as the events unfold, and they are either forced to pick a side or their circumstances or convictions change.

Again, moving away from the label 'bystander', Swartz (2016:154) proposes the term 'ostrich' instead. The label 'ostrich' refers to persons who bury their head in the sand to avoid having to take notice of what is happening around them. This is usually depicted by silence, professing powerlessness, being insignificant in reference to redressing the injustice, or avoiding any conversation that highlights the plight of the victims. Magnani (2016) argues that the silence of the 'ostrich' should not be misinterpreted as an inattentive attitude as it is, in fact, silent communication - a communication that portrays the person as wishing not to pay attention, therefore diverting their focus from what is clear for all to see. King and Sakamoto (2015) established that often, long after an atrocity, bystanders claim they were innocent parties, did not know what was happening, or profess amnesia in reference to atrocious acts in a bid to claim moral justification for their failure to act.

3.6.1.4 The resister

Deviating from Hilberg's triangle, Swartz (2016) proposes the label 'resisters'. Hilberg viewed resisters as products of injustices and no different to victims (Ehrenreich & Cole, 2005). However, for Swartz, the resisters of injustice exist on a spectrum that varies in involvement and implementation. These could be the architects of resistance who provide strategy and frameworks for resistance, those who educate people about the resistance, or those who implement resistance through mass action; members of a resistance organisation that drives the impetus towards change, or simply those who follow and support those at the forefront of driving change. On the downside, Swartz cautions that resisters, too, can become perpetrators during the process of seeking methods to redress injustice, thereby denying their perceived attackers access to their own human rights in the process of seeking justice.

3.6.1.5 The beneficiary

Swartz (2016) defines beneficiaries as those who benefit directly or inherit advantages either from the actions of the perpetrators or from the resistance of those who sought to fight an unjust system. Swartz juxtaposes positive benefit with the negative benefit of those who inherit generational ills due to the victimhood of their predecessors. The author argues that, as a result of an oppressive system, some individuals continue to benefit, either through having had access to better education systems, financial or social policies that promote dominance of one group over another or by being part of a family or group that accumulated undeserved wealth or unearned privilege over others. Swartz (2016) argues strongly that while one may not have been a perpetrator personally, one ought to acknowledge that a system which oppressed another person resulted in undue benefit to oneself, thereby making one an inheritor of the dishonour of what one's predecessors did. This school of thought is also addressed by Oelofsen (2008) who argues that, using the cost-benefit model, individuals who benefit from an unjust system not only have the responsibility to recognise the costs to the victims based on how they themselves benefited by virtue of belonging to that collective, but should also rectify the harms (cost) caused by the predecessors of the system that benefited them. The author also adds that, using the cost-benefit model, beneficiaries of an unjust system cannot distance themselves from the responsibility of rectification, provided they benefited from the proceeds of an unjust system.

Making reference to descendants of perpetrators, particularly of the Holocaust, who are beneficiaries, Bar-On and Kassem (2004) stress that they do not always seek to exonerate the atrocities of their predecessors as in some instances they have participated in dialogues and redress discussions with victims in earnest. This view is backed by Opotow (2011) who evidences that even at institutional level, several Germany institutions opposed historical denial of the Holocaust and supported memorial efforts to correctly document and report its history. Blatz and Philpot (2010) support this perspective by highlighting the importance of perpetrators apologising post-atrocities. Although such apologies are not always considered genuine, they often become milestones in reconciliation after atrocities.

In addition to the above category of beneficiaries, Swartz (2016) proposes another group of beneficiaries encompassing those who benefit due to the work of resisters without having themselves actively resisted. This could come as a result of having been born into a family of

those who resisted. Thus, by virtue of an esteemed family name or association with the group that resisted, the individual overtly benefits. One could also be a beneficiary as a result of policies or programmes meant to mitigate the injustices of past atrocities as a means to redressing them, such as affirmative action beneficiaries.

Having discussed the labels used in justice conversations, it is imperative that social workers be intimately familiar with these concepts so that they can intervene constructively in communities. They need to educate all sectors of society to identify how unjust systems, that led to atrocities, may have resulted in their becoming either architects and implementers of atrocities, survivors or the dishonoured, ostriches, resisters or beneficiaries of brutal systems. In the case of Gukurahundi, while the above labels may not be exhaustive, they may be a crucial starting point for all Zimbabweans to locate themselves within these justice labels and conversations as a starting point towards national dialogue and conversations that speak to healing and rehabilitation.

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to provide a global view of atrocities across the world while explicating their causes and drawing similarities in how they are committed and their impact on communities. Additionally, the chapter also documented the challenges of the justice system and failures of the available legal instruments in adequately intervening and responding to atrocities in Africa. The chapter has also revealed how indigenous knowledge systems through local peace infrastructures have been used to drive interventions otherwise hampered by failing justice systems. The chapter has concluded with detailing how individuals can locate themselves in justice conversations by interpreting the labels used in justice conversations.

The next chapter will expand on the social work profession and how it finds relevance in studies pertaining to Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER 4: POSITIONING SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE IN ZIMBABWE

"The silence by the majority of Zimbabwean social work practitioners in particular, in the wake of the socio-political challenges currently bedevilling the country is worrying. Social work practitioners should be seen as torchbearers of peace and ensuring people's wellbeing, and condemn oppression and social injustice. They have to be at the forefront rather than periphery of social change, social justice and human rights advocacy." (Babbot, 2017:60)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Prominent social workers, such as Winnie Mandela, Helen Joseph, Maxine Hart, Joshua Nkomo and Dr Witness Mangwende, have graced the face of Africa and have been key activists in the fight for social justice. Unfortunately, the rise to prominence by these and other social workers has not done much in raising the profile of social workers across the world or in Zimbabwe. Reportedly, many Zimbabweans do not know what social workers do beyond offering food handouts, resulting in many people not accessing key social services (Makwanya, 2015). While there has been an effort to raise the profile of social workers in Zimbabwe, the profession remains obscure, unacknowledged and undermined at community and government level, often becoming the handmaid of the state. Previous chapters have discussed Gukurahundi and the gaps in addressing it while describing it as a social justice issue that requires social work intervention. This chapter will critique the global definition of social work which is a benchmark guiding the practice. The chapter will also document the history of the social work profession. In addition, the chapter will illustrate how social work became recognised as a profession in Zimbabwe. The origin of social work training, the current status of the profession and its practice in Zimbabwe will be highlighted while also reflecting on the challenges faced by the profession. The chapter will conclude with identifying gaps in the practice and opportunities for social workers which, once eliminated, can enable social workers to address Gukurahundi more constructively.

4.2 DEFINING TERMS

In Zimbabwe, the Social Workers Act 27:21, Section 4(2), defines social work as a profession that...

> *"...promotes the welfare of human beings and the betterment of human society through the development and systematic application of scientific knowledge of human and societal activities and social services. Professional social workers aim to satisfy the needs and aspirations of individuals and groups at national and international level, while constantly bearing in mind the need for promoting social policy. Their techniques include psychotherapeutic case-work, social-dynamic group-work and planned community intervention.*"

The Zimbabwean definition of social work aligns with the global definition of social work adopted at the General Assembly (2014) by the International Federation of Social Work (IFSW) and the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) and is used as a benchmark of the practice worldwide. It defines social work as ...

> *"... a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledge, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing."* (IFSW/IASSW, 2014).

To complement the above definition, the National Association of Social Workers (NASW, 2018:5) revised the Code of Ethics and clearly mandated the role of social workers in upholding the social justice principle as follows:

> *"Social workers pursue social change, particularly with and on behalf of vulnerable and oppressed individuals and groups of people. Social workers' social change efforts are focused primarily on issues of poverty, unemployment, discrimination, and other forms of social injustice… Social workers strive to ensure access to needed information, services and resources, equality of opportunity, and meaningful participation in decision making for all people."*

This revision is further cemented by Joseph (2020) who states that social justice in social work is not just a core value but a mantra within the practice which ought to be a benchmark for all professionals.

Although the Zimbabwean definition of social work is conservative and does not boldly affirm the fight for social justice as a key task of social workers, it can be argued that its reference to social policy provides ground to assume social justice is deemed crucial and a key task for social workers. Aravacik (2018) defines social policy as comprehensive practices designed to address the social welfare problems of the working class, inclusive of health services, social security, environment, unemployment and poverty, in order to ensure social peace, social justice, and equality among different groups. This definition is closely aligned to Albrech's (2013:24) definition which defines social policy as social services, such as education, health, employment and social security provided to disadvantaged groups. Correll (2008) confirms that the main goal of establishing social policies is to ensure that society lives in harmony while ensuring redistribution, protection, social justice, social development, social balance, social integration and social peace. Correll (2018) further adds that, at a social justice level, social work addresses issues of stigma and discrimination, political freedoms, civil rights and access to services that promote welbeing.

Based on the above arguments, one can, therefore, conclude that the Zimbabwean definition aligns with the IFSW/IASSW definitions as all refer to a social worker's role in addressing social justice issues through social policy. Thus, it should be deduced that social workers cannot be separated from issues of human rights, as human suffering is a consequence of social injustice, thereby making it a human rights issue. Social justice refers to the idea of creating an egalitarian society that is based on principles of equality and solidarity (Herzog-Evans, 2019). A socially just society understands and values human rights while recognising the dignity of every human being. In essence, social justice and human rights are mutually reinforcing concepts as one cannot enjoy human rights in an unjust society, thereby emphasising the need for social workers to engage in and be key players in issues of social policy at national level as it then trickles down to community level.

4.3 GLOBAL HISTORY OF SOCIAL WORK

Social work practice existed in the world before it was recognised as a profession – it manifested in people caring for others and helping them through challenging situations. The

seemingly non-professional helping processes employed in caring for others contributed to the slow emergence of social work as a helping profession (Horner, 2012; Corby, 2006). Although the term 'social work' was coined only in the 20th century, strands of the profession existed through charitable organisations and permeated to the rest of the world channelled through religious and philanthropic organisations, imperialism and globalisation. Kurevakwesu (2017:3) traces the roots of professional social work to around the 14th – 17th centuries B.C. in Britain and the United States of America (USA) although nonprofessional social work had already begun much earlier. It is claimed that the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries exacerbated the weakening of traditional social support structures through urbanisation. Magumbate and Nyanguru (2013) reason that the establishment of poor houses, homes for the aged, hospitals, orphanages, religious and humanitarian organisations - sometimes with government support - attempted to deal with poverty which was then viewed as a temporary situation. In a bid to curb poverty, progressive laws in the United Kingdom, such as the Poor Law of 1601 and the House of Law of 1696, were enacted with the purpose of enabling the categorisation of people in need of care while facilitating job creation for able-bodied but poor people in need of sustenance.

Despite the progressive efforts made by philanthropic organisations, philanthropy began to lose credibility as a remedy to social distress by the end of the nineteenth century as poverty continued to thrive and worsen despite the efforts of these humanitarian and religious structures, thereby proving that it was more than just a temporary situation (Chogugudza, 2009). As a result, a new philosophy in response to relief and coordinated charity work began to emerge which called for targeted training of volunteers. This resulted in the training in London of charity workers, also called social physicians - and called social workers from around 1896 onwards. Magumbate and Nyanguru (2013) note that the need for a standardised service through trained professionals continued to intensify, resulting in the emergence of a fully-fledged profession whose values foreground its main target as being disadvantaged people across all facets of life.

Professional social work practice in Africa can be traced back to colonisation. While there is minimal to no documented history of social work practice existing in Zimbabwe before the advent of colonisation, it is the researcher's argument that, if the practice of social work before its professionalisation is determined by individuals or communities helping other people, then social work can indeed be argued to have also been practised in Africa before colonisation. While form and modality may differ, the concept of helping is a human attribute regardless of

race. In most societies, the principles of Ubuntu condition communities to care for their own and always to lend a helping hand - even in the most primitive of societies. Hence if one is to trace back the African way of life and analyse it in that sense, it can indeed be reasoned that the 'helping' attribute of social work practice is not synonymous with the Western world alone.

According to Mabeyo (2014:127), social work is referred to as an 'adopted child' in Tanzania in reference to its foreign origin. The profession was institutionalised in 1973 when the Institute of Social Work was established and remained the sole provider of social work training until 2000 (Mabeyo, 2014). Similar to Tanzania, social work training was formalised in Uganda in 1952 through the Nsamizi Training Institute for Social Development (Spritzer and Twikirize 2014). The Makerere University further expanded social work training by offering courses in social welfare, social administration and community development in 1963. The university offered the first Bachelor's Degree programme in Social Work only in 1969 (Twikirize, 2014). Still in the East African region, Kenya introduced a Diploma in Social Work programme through the Kenya-Israel School of Social Work in 1962. The University of Nairobi then consolidated social work training through its enrolment of its first Bachelor of Social Work students in 1976 (Wairire, 2014). Rwanda was another late entrant to the formalisation of social work training, commencing with social work training only in 1988 through the University of Rwanda and in response to the complex social problems that followed the Rwandan genocide (Kalinganire & Rutikanga, 2014). Probably coming last in social work training in East Africa is Burundi which established social work training only in 2004 through the Hope Africa University (Spitzer and Twikirize, 2014).

The advent of globalisation has resulted in shifts within the social work professions with Dominelli (2010) arguing that, in most countries, the state has now emerged as a purchaser that commissions social work services across all economic and social sectors. This, Dominelli further contends, has resulted in relational social work being replaced by bureaucratic social work in most statutory environments. Additionally, Dominelli (2010) decries the fact that globalisation has resulted in the social work profession becoming deskilled as it has become more bureaucratised and commodified in response to market disciplines that demand more out of each unit of resource that is expended on welfare services.

Spitzer (2019) criticises social work education in most African countries and condemns the lack of qualified staff, limited staff capacity to conduct research, limited resources, inadequate teaching infrastructure and inappropriate literature across most universities. Additionally, the

author reflects on his time at most East African universities where he hardly came across social work reference books written and published in the host countries. Thus social work training in Africa still relies heavily on methods, theories and concepts from non- African contexts. In agreement with this perspective, Rankopo and Osei-Hwedie (2011) bemoan the imported models as failing to respond adequately to the socio-cultural realities of African contemporary societies.

In order to standardise and professionalise social work practice, social work students globally undertake a Bachelor of Social Work Degree programme which usually extends over three or four years. During this period, students are introduced to theory and practice which have an intertwined reciprocal relationship as illustrated below:

Fig 6: Illustration of Social Work Degree composition
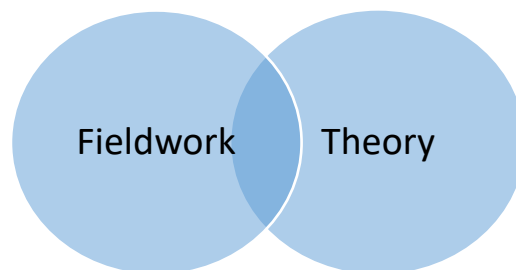
(Dhemba, 2012; Haanwinckel et al., 2017; SACSSP, 2012)

Although fieldwork and theory are separate entities with distinct theoretical underpinnings, the above illustration shows that they are interrelated and in constant engagement with each other (Petersen, 2010; Dykes, 2014). At each academic year-level, students are exposed to both fieldwork and theory which builds their professional 'muscle' in understanding the art and science of social work practice. Dhemba (2012) and Corby (2006), however, bemoan the fact that most university training over-emphasises the theory while neglecting the practical competences which are achieved only through fieldwork. One can, therefore, conclude that this scenario places novice social work graduates at the risk of exiting university with theoretical knowledge that has not been fully tested through fieldwork, thereby rendering them unprepared to enter the world of work.

In professionalising social work and perhaps elevating it from being merely individuals helping other individuals, it has become mandatory that social workers are instructed to work under supervision. Kadushin and Harkness (2002) define supervision as the process of overseeing, directing, coordinating, enhancing and evaluating on-the-job performance. The purpose of

supervision is to provide support to social work practitioners while safeguarding clients through monitoring the practitioners' professional standards (National Association of Social Workers [NASW], 2018). Further differentiating social work supervision from that in other professions, Beddoe (2012) clarifies that social work supervision is a lifelong process which continues throughout one's career and not just during social work training. In addition, it is usually undertaken in-house by the employing organisation and is not necessarily outsourced. Carpenter, Webb, Bostock and Coomber (2012) add that social work supervision not only provides a capacity-building space for gaining technical skills required for the job but also an opportunity to receive emotional support while undertaking a demanding and stressful role.

According to Lombard and Wairire (2010), many social work institutions in Africa struggle to offer postgraduate programmes due to paucity of government funding. This has the adverse effect of frustrating professionals who opt out of the profession and enter non-social work fields. Twikirize et al. (2014) refer to Kenya as a case in point and contend that the opting-out of social workers results in inadequate numbers of social workers in the country who are unable to lobby forcefully for legislative acts of parliament that could enhance the profile of the profession. This, they further argue, is compounded by the fact that, in East Africa, the title of 'Social Worker' is not protected; hence lay persons can call themselves and even be hired as social workers despite not possessing the relevant knowledge and skills as none of the East African countries have a legitimised statutory body that provides licensure for professionals in this field. Although advocating the protection of the title of 'Social Worker', Lombard and Wairire (2010) also advise that social workers should create space for other categories of workers in the social welfare sector to work complementarily with them. The authors, therefore, recommend a human resource strategy for all relevant role players with a well-defined scope of practice. South Africa might be well ahead of most African countries in achieving this standard as it is actively working towards ensuring registration of all levels of social service professions through the South African Council for Social Service Professions (SACSSP).

In fulfilling its mandate, the profession adheres to social work principles which fall into the following three broad categories:

Table 4: Social work principles and underpinnings

PRINCIPLE	UNDERPINNINGS

Human rights & dignity	Social workers acknowledge and respect the inherent worth and dignity of all people. They uphold and defend each person's physical, psychological, emotional, spiritual integrity and well-being by promoting participation, empowerment and self-determination.
Social justice	Social workers promote social justice in relation to society and in relation to their clients by challenging negative discrimination, recognising diversity and equity, as well as challenging injustice and exclusion.
Professional conduct	Social workers act in accordance with the ethical code and guidelines of their countries which should be consistent with international guidelines. These include professional competence, being humane, having integrity, compassion and empathy, as well as being people-centered, accountable and ethical.

(Wiles, 2017)

Despite the pioneering and respectable work conducted by social workers locally and internationally, they operate within a contradictory space inundated with challenges related to limited resources, increased demands and low wages. Social worker salaries are known to be low and the profession is undermined by not being recognised on par with other professional qualifications in its category. According to Barnes (2017) social work belongs to a job cluster traditionally performed by women in paid and unpaid categories. Meyer and Storbakken (2000) further add that work within the caring profession is considered merely an extension of what women do naturally and, therefore, is not considered to require skills, knowledge or creativity. Adding weight to this argument, Cunningham (2008) maintains that employers of social workers buy into their presumed elastic and unending capacity to care for others regardless of the working conditions and, therefore, are notorious for providing low wages and benefits in suboptimal environments. This view is supported by Earle (2007) who attribute this disregard for their profession to the fact that social work remains a female-dominated field; thus, they must fight the legacy of patriarchy which promotes unfair pay scales for men against women. While agreeing with the notion that social workers are generally underpaid and disregarded, McPhail (2008) contests the view that social work is a female-dominated profession, arguing rather that it is a female-majority profession that is dominated by men as men generally hold the majority of positions of power and authority. The Georgetown University documented that

women across all disciplines need to obtain a PhD to equal the lifetime earnings of men with bachelor degrees (Lane and Flowers, 2015). In the same breath, Lane and Flowers (2015) found that, since the 1960s up until now, salary disparities have persisted along gender lines within the social work profession. It becomes a doubly compounded challenge for women in social work as the profession is generally low-paying and much more discriminatory towards women who are paid less.

In South Africa, it took a series of protest marches in August 2009, organised by the National Welfare, Social Service and Development Forum with the support of the National Coalition of Social Services, picketing for equal pay for equal work and a just dispensation for the profession before the government reviewed upwards the salary of social workers (Lombard & Wairire, 2010). The fact that social workers had to protest to be recognised is problematic in a country where the profession was declared a scarce skill but places the profession in a precarious position in which remuneration does not equal the work expected of the employee. Research conducted by the Ravalier (2019) found a correlation between high levels of stress and professionals in health and social care services, such as social workers, when compared to the rest of the population in paid employment. Spitzer (2019) paints an even gloomier picture as he reports that, in addition to heavy workloads, unconducive working environments and low salaries, the donor-driven and funded nature of the social work profession sometimes means that their salaries are abruptly cut or not forthcoming at all due to suspended funding.

It must be noted that the contradictory nature of social worker experiences within their working spaces greatly hampers their roles as advocates. This emanates from the fact that in most environments, as discussed above, social workers appear to be fighting for recognition and fair treatment - much akin to what they are fighting for on behalf of their own clients. The question of how effective they can be for their clients' sake when they themselves are facing similar challenges as a profession ought to be considered. Similar sentiments are raised by Lane and Flower (2015) who argue that, if social workers find themselves in organisations that are behaving unethically regarding remuneration and job standards, fellow social workers in better resourced circumstances ought to advocate change on behalf of the former who may become targets of discrimination should they take on the fight personally. This, they argue, is essential as failure to succeed in such advocacy acts may harm the credibility of social workers' effectiveness in advocating human rights and social justice on behalf of their clients. Lane and Flower (2015), therefore, conclude that, seeing that the social work Code of Ethics mandates

social workers to pursue social justice in areas where their clients are discriminated against, they themselves have an obligation to ensure their own practices uphold ethical standards in salary equity, salary negotiation, issues of recruitment and promotion.

The inclusion of the discussion of social workers in this study and proposing them as the ultimate key players in the response to the Gukurahundi atrocities serves an important purpose. The definition of social work discussed above in relation to their role as social justice and social policy advocates for human rights places them at the centre of Gukurahundi as catalysts for action and resolve. The writings of O`Connor et al., (2006) support this stance as they argue that social work practice is a political activity. The aforementioned authors reason that social workers engage those in power demanding legislation, policies, programmes, resources and services that address the suffering of the marginalised in a society. This study, therefore, makes a case for social workers in Zimbabwe to be involved in the challenging implementation of legislation that makes provision for the address of Gukurahundi while implementing programmes that respond to the needs of survivors of Gukurahundi and their families, as well as the nation at large, in efforts of national rebuilding and national healing.

4.4 EMERGENCE OF SOCIAL WORK AS A PROFESSION IN ZIMBABWE

Having defined social work, its values and its emergence as a profession worldwide, it is crucial to understand how social work became a recognised profession in Zimbabwe. The next few sections will discuss the emergence of social work in Zimbabwe, the challenges the profession is experiencing, as well as opportunities for expansion which the researcher believes will be an avenue for social workers engaging with Gukurahundi survivors and their family members to fully employ their professional skills and knowledge.

4.4.1 Training of the 1st social workers in Zimbabwe

During the colonial era the colonial government established the Department of Social Services (DSS) in 1948. Due to the absence of trained personnel in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), a probation officer was hired from the United Kingdom to perform tasks that became synonymous with the social work profession in Zimbabwe. The first black probation officer was employed only in 1949 to cover cases in Bulawayo, Mutare and Harare. The department managed to extend its scope of practice in 1969 to address cases of child welfare, public assistance, drought relief, family counselling and the registration of non-governmental organisations (Mupedziswa, 2015).

Similar to the emergence of social work in the Western world in response to challenges related to urbanisation, Chogugudza (2009) and Kaseke (2001) trace the training of social workers in Zimbabwe to the increase of vices (specifically crime, delinquency, destitution and prostitution) in major towns and cities due to urbanisation in the 1960s. The authors assert that these vices created a problem for the colonial government which saw the need to introduce probation workers as a social control mechanism to deal with the effects of the social problems that resulted from black urbanisation. The authors argue that probation social workers were not necessarily employed to deal with the root causes of the vices but rather to focus on the consequences of these vices. In response to the social ills that accompanied the vices, Father Edward Rodgers, a Jesuit Father of the Roman Catholic Church and a British trained social worker, then opened the School of Social Service as an affiliate college of the University of Rhodesia in Harare (now University of Zimbabwe). The college was the first to offer a certificate in Social Welfare which focused on group and community work. It enrolled students who had obtained a Junior Certificate in secondary school as a pre-entry requisite. The Social Welfare certificate course was discontinued in 1995 and the diploma programme in 1997, making room for the Degree in Social Work programme (Babbot, 2015).

The dawn of independence in Zimbabwe increased the need for social workers, particularly as there was an upsurge in mental health issues. One might speculate that the aftermath of the war left psychological and social scars that demanded specialised care. In response to this need, the School of Social Welfare, now renamed the School of Social Work, began to offer a BSW Honours Degree in Clinical Social Work in 1982, with a Master of Social Work Degree following in 1983. Hampson (1995) notes that the Masters programme followed the British model of postgraduate education which entitled one to teach at university level, as well as to provide higher level supervision in management and social work research. In addition, in collaboration with the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the school briefly offered the Bachelor of Social Rehabilitation Degree. This programme did not last very long as sponsorship and logistical challenges resulted in its failure to take off successfully. In 1998, the University of Zimbabwe took over the administration of the School of Social Work and began to offer a four-year Bachelor of Social Work Degree to candidates who had obtained Advanced Level passes (i.e. the final exam at school level in Zimbabwe) as an entry prerequisite (Mupedziswa & Ushamba, 2006). The increased recognition of the social work degree resulted in the ending of the University of Zimbabwe's social work training monopoly.

In 2010, the Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE) and the Women's University (WU) accepted their first students into the BSW programme.

Mupedziswa and Ushamba (2006) discuss the social work profession's struggles to gain prominence in Zimbabwe, particularly prior to 1980 (Independence). They maintain that the general Zimbabwean populace did not even know what social workers do, a situation which, they believe, was exacerbated by the government's hiring of untrained people masquerading as social workers. The authors concede that this situation changed after independence with the increased resourcing of the Department of Social Services, as well as the increase in social work student intake at the School of Social Work. This saw a large cohort of social work graduates being employed in government departments, municipalities, mines, prisons, hospitals and NGOs. Furthermore, the revival of the National Association of Social Workers in 1999 also enhanced the dignity of this otherwise obscure profession in Zimbabwe.

4.4.2 Criticism of the social work training curriculum

As with the rest of Africa, the training of social workers has drawn criticism and questions regarding its efficacy in attending to African issues. These critiques emanate mainly from the origins of professional social work which are largely perceived to be European. This assertion is strongly echoed by Mabvurira (2018) who argues that political independence of most African countries has done little to change their dependence on Western methods, values, principles and standards in social work training. The criticism that social work training and practice in Zimbabwe still adheres to remedial and curative practices as opposed to preventative and developmental practices is still voiced by many (Kaseke, 2001; Mupedziswa, 2001; Mabvurira, 2018). Hugman (2015), Lombard (2015) and Midgley (2013) agree that Africa needs a developmental approach to social work practice which they identify as a macro perspective in terms of policy interventions, as well as at meso and micro levels of intervention. In a developmental approach, social workers place emphasis on social change and transformative functions. Patel and Hochfeld (2012) describe developmental social work as a holistic and integrated response to human needs which recognises the interconnectedness between clients and their environments while utilising strengths based on non-discriminatory intervention models that promote social and economic inclusion - which leads to well-being. As developmental social work is a significant departure from remedial practices, calls to decolonise social work education and practice in Africa have intensified.

McNabb (2017) defines decolonisation as a process in which previously colonised people release themselves from collective oppression by asserting their right to self-determination. This entails undertaking a process of indigenisation which Shawky (1972) referred to as the process in which local people adapt imported ideas to fit their local needs. Gray (2013) supports this argument by stating that decolonisation of social work education, therefore, entails replacing Western social work methods with endogenous helping methods that have always been in place among Africans as indigenous knowledge systems prior to the coming of the Europeans. Midgley (2010) rejects social welfare theories, methods and policies as carbon copies of their colonising countries and observes that the profession has failed to indigenise its practice to suit circumstances in Africa.

Particularly problematic in application, and thereby drawing criticism, is the individualistic view of human life and human solutions seemingly propagated by Western social work education. Mupedziswa (2015) argues that individualism is un-African and against communal African life and communal solutions - hence contradicts and is inapplicable to the African way of life. He further denounces social work in Zimbabwe as a 'mermaid' profession rooted in Western theory yet claiming to serve African clients. African social workers are criticised for not understanding and respecting African beliefs and practices. While this argument may hold water, equally disturbing for the researcher has been the apparent inability of Zimbabwean born, bred and trained social workers to use their existing knowledge of indigenous systems in order to adapt some social work principles to enable a synchronisation of theory and what is relevant on the ground. Maybe one ought to question what, if anything, holds back the social workers from being innovative with the knowledge they gained during training to merge it with indigenous knowledge systems they already possess so that the result addresses community issues.

Gray, Kreitzer and Mupedziswa (2014) however, shed light on the paralysis of social workers in Africa when they accuse the United Nations of advocating the wholesale acceptance of the capitalistic, social Darwinism, as well as protestant and ethnic social work education by its member counties. These influences from powerful institutions probably explain why social work education in Africa disregards traditional cultures and collective support systems. Without playing down this argument, it may be crucial to consider how Western theories, such as the systems theory and *gestalt* commonly used in social work, may be accommodative of collective support systems as they advocate looking at clients holistically, keeping in focus how various systems, including community systems, interplay with the client.

Perhaps a challenge to imported Western education and values, as argued by Thabede (2005), is their inability to accept African spirituality and African beliefs, particularly when they are considered 'barbaric' and outside the realm of 'sensible' experiences. Advocating the need for Afrocentric social work training, Thabede (2005) point out that Western education does not acknowledge or embrace cultural beliefs and relationships between the living and the departed and how this influences healing processes. Afrocentric social work is defined as an approach to social work practice that is based on traditional African philosophical assumptions that are used to explain and solve human societal problems (Schiele, 1996). It is both a social work theory and a perspective. Particularly telling is that in Western countries, it is popularly used on African-American clients. According to Williams (1993:2), 'an Afrocentric perspective is congruent with the values and ethics promulgated by the social work profession, particularly, the right to self-determination, the emphasis on strengths rather than weaknesses, and the appreciation and value of all human experiences.' Bangura (2012) suggests that Afrocentric social work will evolve as more information regarding African people comes to light. The researcher disagrees with this analysis as she is of the opinion that much information has been documented about African people and African systems. Unfortunately, most of this information is biased with the intention of making African customs, practices and belief systems appear barbaric. Perhaps what is needed are African documented portrayals that depict the African way of life as it really is - with no judgement, but rather an openness to know and understand. The argument that propaganda exists to denounce indigenous cultures and methodologies is echoed by Phillips (2010) who contends that there is a drive to promote one national culture at the expense of minority cultures, in which case the Western culture is considered the dominant culture.

Making a case for Afrocentric social work, Thabede (2005) insists that social work education can only be complete if it addresses the nexus between the material world and the spiritual world. This, he argues, ought to be incorporated into curriculums thereby allowing students an insight into traditional rituals, ancestral worship, as well as African ontologies. This argument assumes that all African people believe in the material and spiritual world as Thabede perceives it. Without dimishining the importance of Afrocentric social work, a counter-argument can be made that, with the advent of colonisation and the adoption of other religions, such as Christianity, Islam and Buddhism, to name but a few, considering only African traditional religion as necessary in the indigenisation of social work education may be exclusionary in itself; there is a deeper need to train social workers in all belief systems that pertain to human

life. Considerations pertaining to the feasibility of creating this ideal scenario need to be carefully analysed as it would mean a significant feat for any academic curriculum, requiring sufficient research, time and planning - a dynamic process which may need review every few years. The argument by Gray and Fook (2004) seems more plausible as they acknowledge that there is room for many types of divergent social work knowledge as long as they attend to human rights and social justice. In an opposing call to Afrocentric social work, Jackson and Mupedziswa (2015) advocate multiculturism rather. Barak and Travis (2010) explain that multiculturism offers a broader coverage as it recognises diversity of race, ethnicity, language, sexual orientation, gender, age, disability, spiritual orientation and cultural orientation.

Jackson and Mupedziswa (1998) observed that local Zimbabwean cultural and traditional values attract questions around the universality of social work values. The authors use as example the conservative Zimbabwean values pertaining to homosexuality which have been seen as discriminatory. They argue that these conservative values make promoting causes for this minority group in social work training challenging. This, they believe, has a ripple effect which renders social workers unable to promote the interests of such minority groups or key populations who may be in need of care and protection. The conclusion, therefore, given by the afore-mentioned authors is that social work education and training should try to break down these barriers to make life easier for minority groups in the country.

Another criticism levelled at the Zimbabwean social work curriculum pertains to its limited scope. Mupedziswa (2006) advocated the adoption of a developmental approach to addressing the country's general lack of resources which cannot be addressed by a residual approach. However, he conceded that there have been efforts to include some developmental aspects which have seen the curriculum addressing issues, such as land reform and rural development – key issues thought to be the panacea to poverty while ushering in empowerment. It has, however, been noted that the responsibility to acquire the necessary developmental skills in social work training has been placed on students. Student social workers are expected to find placements in rural settings so as to understand the real-life experiences of their clients without much theoretical input from universities (Chogugudza, 2009). Echoing similar criticisms, Spritzer (2019) noted that efforts to indigenise African curriculums in Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda, Sudan, Mauritius and Ghana exposed the shifting of responsibility by training institutions to students, with fieldwork being appropriated as the backbone for developing indigenous and local material for teaching.

In addition to the limited scope of the social work curriculum, Kaseke (2001) reproached social work training in Zimbabwe for failing to reflect global influences that prepare graduates for the future global market. He alleges that the curriculum does not align with the phenomenon of a global market for social work. Further criticising the scope of social work training in Zimbabwe, Mathenda and Tatenda (2017) accuse it of producing professionals who lack capacity to address the nexus of environmental justice, social work and social justice. This, they argue, is a global phenomenon that has also been noted by Kemp (2011) who contends that failure to address environmental issues and environmental justice is paramount to violating social work ethics, as discussions regarding poverty can never be effectively addressed when environmental constraints are not acknowledged. Making a strong argument for social workers as change agents, Mathende and Nhapi (2017) indict Zimbabwean social workers of being 'shy' and not comprehensively equipped and visible in advocating and collaborating with environmental justice, thereby undermining the social justice cause.

The language of instruction in all social work institutions in Zimbabwe has also been cited as problematic. English is the only official language of instruction with vernacular proficiency not considered important. Dziro (2013) argues that this results in marginalisation of indigenous Zimbabwean communities, such as the Tonga, Ndau, Kalanga and Shangani. In light of the Gukurahundi issue being studied, the lack of instruction in other languages, therefore, means that only Ndebele speaking social workers can actively play a role in a Gukurahundi response - particularly with clients who are much older and may not have had an opportunity to learn English. This reinforces the current narrative that the Gukurahundi issue is an issue only for the Ndebele and not the national issue that it is.

Despite the above-documented criticisms regarding the inadequacies of social work training in Zimbabwe, in a conciliatory tone, Chogugudza (2009) acknowledges that, in view of the structural, economic and social challenges facing Zimbabwe, considerable efforts have been made to adopt a developmental approach which places greater emphasis on macro-intervention to reach individuals and groups. A key challenge during this research has been the dearth of academic social work literature for inclusion in this study, thereby forcing a reliance on dated material the relevance and applicability of which has not been effectively tested.

4.5 LEGAL PROVISIONS FOR THE SOCIAL WORK PROFESSION

Zimbabwe's legal framework can be said to be in transition and in motion as the country has made progress away from previous legal frameworks that were silent on issues pertaining to

social security and, inadvertently, to social work practice in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe has now acceded to various international and regional conventions, particularly those that give children the right to participate in matters affecting them. In addition, Zimbabwe has ratified most conventions and international instruments that guarantee fundamental human rights. Zimbabwe's previous Bill of Rights guaranteed the civil and political rights of citizens but was silent on socio-economic and cultural rights. However, the Constitution of 2013 now guarantees these rights, including the right to access social services, thereby indicating political will to domesticate ratified instruments into laws and policies at national level. Moyo (2014) praises Zimbabwe for now being on a rights-based approach path to social policy in line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC).

With reference to the social work profession, social workers in Zimbabwe are governed by The Social Workers Act of 2001. The act acknowledges auxiliary social workers, i.e. people practising as social workers without having an approved qualification. The act establishes that the following persons qualify for registration as social workers:

Fig 7: Social work registration criteria

1) A person who

(a) is of or over the age of 21 years; and

(b) is ordinarily resident in Zimbabwe; and

(c) has obtained a Bachelor's Degree or a Diploma in Social Work from any recognized university in Zimbabwe.

(2) A person who

(a) is of or over the age of 21 years; and

(b) is ordinarily resident in Zimbabwe; and

(c) has obtained a degree or diploma referred to in (1c) above; and

(d) has practised as a social worker

(e) In Zimbabwe for not less than one year; or

(f) outside Zimbabwe, for no fewer than two years.

(3) A person who

(a) is of or over the age of 25 years; and

(b) is ordinarily resident in Zimbabwe; and

(c) has practised as a social worker in Zimbabwe for no fewer than five years; and

> *(d) has undergone such training or gained such practical experience as, in the Council's opinion, qualifies the person for registration.*

(Social workers Act, Chapter 27:1, 2001).

In addition, social workers fall under the management of the National Social Work Council (NSWC) which developed a code of ethics that governs social work practice in Zimbabwe and whose major functions are:

i.   to register social workers,
ii.   to conduct examinations to qualify persons for registration as social workers, and
iii. to define and enforce ethical practice and discipline among registered persons.

In keeping with international standards, all practising social workers ought to be registered with the Council to be allowed to practise. Section 39 of the Social Workers Act makes it a criminal offence for any person who is not a registered social worker to hold themselves out to be such or to practise as such without the (implied) authority of the National Council of Social Workers. Unfortunately, the Council has not really functioned well since its inception. Kaseke (2002) attributes political and economic reasons to its dysfunction. In 2008, it was reported that key Council members, including its then president, national coordinator and secretary, had all migrated to other countries rendering the Council in limbo as their posts were not filled. This resulted in years of inactivity (Chitereka, 2010). At the time of writing this thesis, it is understood that the Council is currently undergoing a revival and is working towards becoming fully functional and regulating social work practice as per its mandate. Owing to the aforementioned challenges, there are currently no records of the actual numbers of social workers in Zimbabwe, let alone an official registry of social workers in the country. Some of the reasons for social workers not registering with the Council are proffered by Mupedziswa (2015): exorbitant registration costs in light of Zimbabwe's current economic environment, a lack of awareness of the powers and authority of the National Social Workers Council, as well as a lack of enforcement powers on the part of the Council.

Despite these challenges, there has been growth in the profession in Zimbabwe with several professional social work bodies emerging, including various student bodies. Chogugudza (2011) paints an encouraging picture of the profession when he notes the recognition of the profession by the government and the progressive employment of social workers by NGOs. Through student activism, Zimbabwe saw its first ever celebration of the International Social

Workers' Day spearheaded by student social workers from the Bindura University of Science Education. These efforts have gone a long way in improving the recognition of the profession both at government and community levels.

Misgivings over Zimbabwean social workers' capacity to fully implement their work in line with legal provisions have been raised as a challenge. This emanates from a noted disjuncture between the ideals legally provisioned and the reality of social services on the ground. In particular, child protection in Zimbabwe is currently provisioned for by legislation; however, scarcity of resources makes it challenging for social workers to implement its provisions (Moyo, 2014). Despite there being clear pronunciations at law level, the political and economic environment of the country cast into doubt the implementation feasibility of these. Social workers in clinical practice have been spotlighted as implementing procedure-driven services in child unfriendly environments that stifle the voice of the child on matters concerning them (Moyo, 2014). In a study by Wyatt, Mupedziswa and Rayment (2010), the Government of Zimbabwe and UNICEF Zimbabwe were reported to have jointly developed Child Participation and Protection Guidelines to aid social service professionals working with children. However, the study revealed that 66% of the social workers interviewed did not have access to up-to-date versions of child protection legislation and policy documents. The UN (2014) in Zimbabwe reported that Social Services and Protection outcomes have been curtailed by limited fiscal space, economic stagnation, poor infrastructure, widening inequality and the exclusion of some marginalised groups, resultant from partial or non-alignment of major laws and policies with the new Constitution. In addition, limited human resource capacity, poor retention of skilled labour, and limited exploitation of technological opportunities to improve efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery were also raised as major challenges to social workers' implementation of legislation. While a considerable time has passed since the Wyatt et al. (2010) study, the dearth of academic information on social work practice in Zimbabwe makes it challenging to provide a thorough up-to-date analysis of the state of the profession to date.

4.6 ROLES OCCUPIED BY SOCIAL WORKERS IN ZIMBABWE

The broad scope of practice of the social work profession enables them to occupy various roles across many sectors as depicted by the table below.

Table 5: Typologies of Social work roles

Author	Role	Description
Payne (2005: 8-9)	Therapeutic	The process of interaction and reflexiveness between the social worker and 'clients' which leads to clients gaining power over their own feelings or way of life.
	Transformational	Empowering disadvantaged and oppressed people to take part in a process of mutual co-operation and learning.
	Social order	Meeting individual needs during a period of difficulty so that they can recover stability again.
Dominelli (2009: 12-14)	Maintenance	Aims to improve individual functioning or adaptation to situations; assistance provided on the basis of clearly defined criteria.
	Therapeutic	An off-shoot of the maintenance approach but focuses on what an individual can do to improve his or her situation through targeted professional interventions.
	Emancipatory	This is associated with radical social work and questions the current balance of power in society and distribution of resources. Actions are aimed both at helping individuals and achieving structural change.

Moriarty J., Baginsky M. & Manthorpe J. (2015)

The College of Social Work (2014:3) documented six distinctive roles undertaken by social workers in the fulfilment of their duties with individuals, groups and communities, i.e.:

i. Social workers use a distinctive range of legal and social work knowledge and skills to help people make changes in their lives and obtain the outcomes needed.

ii. They are uniquely skilled in accessing a wide range of practical and emotional support and services to meet individuals' needs and aspirations.

iii. They are a collaborative profession, working alongside other professionals but taking the lead in helping children, adults and families improve and gain control of their lives when their safety or ability to participate in their communities is restricted.

iv. They take a lead role in safeguarding people who may be socially excluded, at the risk of abuse or neglect, or who become vulnerable for other reasons. They balance support

and protection/safeguarding roles carefully and in keeping with the specific needs and circumstances of the person or family, take protective action as needed and within the context of legal roles and frameworks.

v.   They are educated and trained to engage with people whose age, mental incapacity or ill-health constrains their ability to protect themselves or others.

vi.   In adult social care they endorse and act in accordance with the principles of personalisation, ensuring that care and support are person-centred and, as far as possible, put their clients in control of their lives.

From the above table and descriptions, it is evident that social work is a broad profession, and practitioners can occupy multiple roles to serve the needs of their clients. Blewett, Lewis and Turnstil (2007) point out with pride that the profession's adaptability, capacity and responsiveness is a great strength that enables social workers to blend in with the ever-changing demographic, economic and social structures of societies. Webb and Carpenter (2012) argue, however, that what Blewett et al. (2007) consider a strength is, in actual fact, a challenge of role conflict and ambiguity which sometimes renders social workers uncertain as to their responsibilities and performance due to the ever-changing nature of their roles and responsibilities.

Having broadly defined the roles occupied by social workers, this section will now focus on how these roles translate into the Zimbabwean community. According to Chitereka (2010) the social work profession has often been misunderstood both in developing and developed countries throughout its history. This confusion is even more pronounced in Zimbabwe as the profession is relatively young. In a study on social work and the Church, Magumbate and Chigondo (2014) found that social work was often confused with social welfare, and church leaders were particularly unaware of the role that social workers could play in addressing societal issues. In a similar study in hospital settings, Chitereka (2010) concluded that attempts to define the role of social workers had failed due to its broadness. According to Mamphiswana and Noyoo (2000), social work is perceived by most Zimbabweans as a Western concept. Nine years after Mamphiswana and Noyoo's assertion, Chogugudza (2009) found there being very little change in that status as he argued that social work education in Zimbabwe took longer to be appreciated as a formal profession compared to traditional disciplines, such as psychology, nursing and teaching. This section will attempt to bring to light the various roles played by

social workers in various fields in Zimbabwe while highlighting the challenges, successes and opportunities experienced in fulfilling those roles.

Social workers are usually called social welfare officers in Zimbabwe (Chogugudza, 2011). Although there is no current study comprehensive enough to provide the geographical and sectorial spread of where or who employs most social workers, Zimbabwean history of the profession reflects that most of them are employed by the government in the Department of Social Services (Chitereka, 2010). With the numbers of trained, practising or registered social workers being unknown, it is impossible to ascertain whether this is still the case. Wyatt, Mupedziswa and Rayment (2010) determined that, despite the policy shift from the social control domain to the developmental approach, social workers in the DSS are still providing services related to welfare social work. Outlining the main fields of practice of social workers, Kaseke (2002) states that social workers in Zimbabwe specialise mainly in child welfare, medical, counselling and rural development, relief work, housing and social amenities fields.

Following Zimbabwean independence, social workers employed by the DSS work in social welfare administrative centres across all regions in Zimbabwe (Kaseke, 1991). Their key work follows the residual approach of provision of basic needs, materials and probation work. However, due to high attrition rates among social workers – specifically migration to the United Kingdom (UK), Canada, Australia, South Africa and the United States of America (USA) where social workers are recognised and well recompensed - the DSS has reportedly resorted to employing Sociology and Psychology graduates as social workers (Mupedziswa, 2016). In addition to migration, the Zimbabwean government is currently suffering from an acute deficit of fiscal space to fund social services. Kaseke (2002) goes on to allege that in most cases, the social workers who remain in the DSS tend to be recent graduate novices who, although committed, lack necessary influence and authority to implement services. Social worker attrition and shortage rates attained an all-time high in 2010 when it was reported that the child-social worker ratio was 1:50 000. This situation reportedly improved, and in 2015 was determined to stand at 1:14 000 (Wyatt et al., 2010; Mbanje, 2015). There are no recent statistics to reflect the current situation; however, it can be deduced that very little improvement has been experienced in the country since the last statistics as the existing conditions have continued to decline. One could, therefore, surmise that these statistics have either remained the same or even degenerated further. Nyanguru and Nyoni (2014) refer to a speech by former government Minister Webster Shamu who, on 29 March 2013, had been the Guest of Honour at the Social Workers' Day Commemorations. He outlined the government's interpretation of

the role of social workers as that of fighting corruption and bringing peace, job creation, strengthening culture and building confidence, building effective and functioning social protection systems, child welfare, as well as rural development.

Chitereka (2010) reveals that, in medical settings, social workers are known as medical social workers or psychiatric social workers. They are employed both in in-patient and out-patient settings and mainly provide case work to individuals and their families. In this setting, their work is very broad and includes providing counselling, rehabilitation support, adjustment support to long-term patients, multi-disciplinary case management support, financial support to destitute families, bereavement support, organising pauper burials, as well as referral support (Mugugu, 1996; Kaseke, 1991). However, due to the economic challenges which the country is facing, particularly in the provision of resources, social workers have not been able to offer much material relief to their clients in hospital settings. Furthermore, Kaseke (1991) and Chitereka (2010) both found the hospital setting to be a very challenging environment for social workers. The hierarchy in hospitals, which places medical doctors at the top, nurses in the middle and social workers at the bottom has reportedly been problematic. This is further compounded by the medical team's inadequate understanding and recognition of the social work profession. As a result, social workers are usually assigned clerical work which is mainly administrative and does not require the use of their social work skills (Dziro, 2013). It is important to note that these challenges in the medical setting are not exclusive to Zimbabwe alone, as social workers in other countries have reportedly also failed to establish their professional status in the medical field - unlike other disciplines, such as psychologists and physiotherapists (Davis, Milosevic, Baldry & Walsh, 2005). The undervaluing of social workers in the medical field extends to their salaries, too, as Chitereka (2010) reported that Zimbabwean social workers in hospital settings live below the poverty datum line despite being employed full-time.

Another sector dominated by social workers in Zimbabwe is the NGO sector. Most NGOs in Zimbabwe are usually foreign funded with specific mandates in line with the donor requirements. The NGO sector is arguably the main implementer of developmental social work. This is because foreign donors usually address specific developmental projects in line with the Millennium Development and the Sustainable Development Goals. Chogugudza (2009) notes that NGOs implement projects centred on entrepreneurship and livelihood training, market gardening, market linkages and family clubs. As a result, social workers in these organisations tend to perform individual and community driven projects aimed at

resource provision, while also addressing issues of health and disease particularly with regard to orphaned and vulnerable children and HIV/AIDS, as well as organising access to services for key population groups.

Despite the developmental approach employed by NGOs, food insecurity in Zimbabwe has forced many NGOs to change their focus to addressing this need. Chitereka (2010) claims that many Zimbabwean social workers have been reduced to mere food distributors, thereby relegating them to monotonous, unchallenging menial tasks in which professional ethics play second fiddle (Mupedziswa & Ushamba, 2006:69). Resource shortage has also disabled social workers from adequately doing their work, including home visits and client follow- ups. Common scarcity of computers, telephones or furniture has reportedly demotivated the NGO sector and its ability to carry out its role successfully. Due to donor funding and sometimes lucrative *per diems* for work in rural areas, it must be noted that social workers employed by NGOs are usually the better paid of all social workers in Zimbabwe and have relatively better access to resources due to foreign donor funds. They do, however, usually have shorter term contracts as donor funds are not guaranteed year-on-year; thus job security becomes a challenge.

In addition to resource-based challenges, the NGO sector has also faced politically related challenges in Zimbabwe with the government upon suspicion that most of them support and work towards the regime change agenda. In 2008, the ruling party banned NGOs from operating in the country. This severely compromised the employment and service delivery by many social workers in the country (Chogugudza, 2009). The interference of the Government in NGO operations has been used to explain the slow progress of developmental social work practice in Zimbabwe. Currently, NGOs are fully operating in Zimbabwe and social workers taking up the above-mentioned roles in service delivery.

Little-known yet no less important roles occupied by social workers are in the private and public sectors of consumerism. The Consumer Council of Zimbabwe employs social workers to carry out market-based research on issues affecting consumers, dissemination of information, consumer rights campaigns, as well as client services related to disputes between consumers and service providers. Chogugudza (2009) cautions, however, that, while sizable numbers of social workers are employed in these settings, other trained professionals are also employed to perform the same roles. Social workers have also become known to be employed in industry, mainly in the private sector. Some companies hire social workers to fill human

resources roles attending to issues that may interfere with worker productivity. In addition, they are also employed to manage recruitment and selection, remuneration, job evaluation, industrial relations, occupational safety, training and welfare (Chogugudza, 2009).

4.7 CRITICISM OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE IN ZIMBABWE

The social work profession continues to receive much criticism both internationally and locally regarding its training and actual practice. Some of the criticism is rooted in its history, structural issues and professional space competition. However, some of the criticism is based on aspects attributed to the professionals' perceived lack of agency in taking up sometimes available spaces not only to market the profession but also to bring dignity to the profession. The following section will attend to these criticisms as understanding them is essential when making recommendations regarding the role of social workers in response to Gukurahundi.

Hochfeld, Selipsky, Mupedziswa and Chitereka (2009) identified areas in which social workers have allegedly failed to live up to expectations, and which have been used as basis for criticism levelled against the profession. The authors identified the following criticisms related to social workers and their role in development:

1. Many social workers fail to appreciate the nexus between social and economic development and operate as though they are separate areas of development. This has resulted in social workers in Zimbabwe failing to adequately effect developmental social work practices that successfully address poverty.
2. Many social workers lack a clear understanding of what social development really involves, its prospective benefits or how to effectively promote it.
3. Social workers have generally been unable to challenge existing oppressive political institutions; thus they fail to uphold professional principles relating to the self-determination, empowerment and participation of their clients.
4. Instead of finding solutions in the midst of adversity, many social workers have used the lack of resources as a scapegoat for not working developmentally.
5. Some social workers are ignorant of the above issues and have thus not given them thought. This renders them ineffectual in debates on suitable and applicable social work practices.

Further fuelling the above criticisms, Cowden and Singh (2013:84) allege that "[s]ocial work suffers not just a lack of public recognition, but also a lack of belief in itself". This lack of belief in the profession reportedly causes social workers to shy away from discussions necessary to influence policymaking and to practise professionally at national and international levels. Echoing similar reservations, Mathende and Nhapi (2017) recommend that social workers in Zimbabwe need to work with other professionals, such as economists and development experts, in order to broaden their understanding of social issues and promote social change. Patel and Hochfeld (2012) agree with this sentiment after having conducted a study in Gauteng, South Africa, which concluded that in general social workers lack a basic understanding of economic concepts related to development. To remedy this situation, the authors advise social workers to engage more often with other professionals, particularly in development fields, in order to enhance their knowledge and enable them to make the link between economic and social development.

Addressing the individual conduct of social workers themselves, Mmatli (2008) indicts some social workers for being generally passive and neglecting their role as lobbyists on behalf of their clients. Despite advocacy being a key means to achieve social justice, social workers are accused of shying away from their role as advocates and opting to be mere observers as policies that are either impractical or irrelevant are passed by political players. Failure to utilise the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) and the National Social Work Council to address issues has also been raised against social workers. In addition, social workers in Zimbabwe have been criticised for failing to collaborate with other civil bodies, such as the Human Rights Council, Parliament or the Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission (ZACC) in their fight against violations of human rights and corruption, especially when it directly affects service delivery to their clients. Lastly, Magumbate (2010) highlights a lack of solidarity among social workers as having weakened their position, not only in Zimbabwe, but across Africa as well. He reflects on how relatively few African social workers are renowned internationally or engaged in meaningful work that cuts across diverse platforms. This, he argues, is due to their inactivity on professional platforms which stems from limited opportunities and the inability to afford international member affiliation costs. This creates an impediment to solidarity within the profession.

4.8 OPPORTUNITIES & SOLUTIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK IN ZIMBABWE

In response to the criticisms levelled against the social work profession, several courses of action have been identified as potential opportunities for professionals to address these gaps. Kurevakwesu (2017) quoted a Zimbabwean government minister as stating in a speech that the revitalisation of the social work profession could be the 'magic potion' for some social challenges with which the nation is currently besieged. The following section will identify some opportunities and solutions that the social work profession could adopt in rendering an effective service to their clients. Masuka (2014) suggests that social work practice can be enhanced by shifting from a reactive to a proactive practice, achievable when practitioners engage in a dialogical praxis. Ife (2008) defines dialogical praxis as conversation (dialogue), consciousness and action (praxis) with marginalised groups. This will enable them to identify the real and felt needs of their clients while, simultaneously, paving the way for their own engagement with lawmakers based on their client-given mandate. This will bring about further transformational change to the profession from the domain of social control to a developmental model that accentuates the concept of working 'with' clients and not 'for' clients.

There is presently no evidence to suggest that the social work profession is actively involved in Zimbabwe's political discourse. Lough (2008) maintains that this shift is an opportunity for social workers to change the system by encouraging activism within the profession. McAuliffe, Williams and Briskman (2016) take this shift a step further and recommend that social workers need to occupy space and engage in political activism. Additionally, social workers are encouraged collectively to advocate an increased budget and financial support for causes relevant to their clients' needs. This, they argue, may take the form of activism based on moral outrage at systems of corruption and human rights abuses affecting communities. The authors further encourage social workers to endorse political leaders who advance social justice – and even to stand for political office themselves where possible. The opportunity for social workers to take up political space through activism is shared by Mmatli (2008) who reasons that structural injustices in African countries are rooted in their politics, and hence require political solutions. The author further claims that the exclusion of social workers from political issues systematically excludes them from the broader social policy formulation, thereby affecting their capacity to fully execute their roles at grassroots level.

While the researcher acknowledges the value in the above arguments by Mmatli (2008) and McAuliffe et al. (2016), she cautions that there needs to be a clear distinction between roles

when social workers engage with communities as they need to be seen as non-partisan in their engagement with clients. Open endorsement of political leaders may have the detrimental effect of creating divisions in their practice, particularly with clients who may have a different preference or opinion of the endorsed leaders. The researcher, therefore, argues that the concept of social workers taking up political space needs to be a very carefully thought-out exercise that does not compromise their professional role within the communities with whom they are working.

Another opportunity that could be a game changer in Zimbabwean social work lies in the continued revival of the NASW. One of its key roles could be the advocacy for better working conditions and salaries for social workers to encourage retention across all fields. Mupedziswa (2015) believes that the NASW, various schools of social work and the Social Work Council need to work in harmony to improve the dignity of the profession. He further suggests that these three arms could form a tri-partite alliance that could work progressively to address all the above-mentioned criticisms of the social work profession, its training and practice in Zimbabwe.

In response to the criticism that social work is not well-known and is outshone by other professions, such as doctors and lawyers, in addressing issues of human rights violations, Makwanya (2015) and Muchacha (2016) encourage social workers to increase their visibility and publicly denounce and condemn social injustices. In addition, they urge practitioners to conduct research on impediments which affect social workers and hinder them from performing their advocacy mandate. Such research would lead to an understanding of the silence of the profession and might well offer relevant solutions. Spritzer and Twikirize (2014) challenge social workers to become united first in order to strengthen their capacity to boldly negotiate spaces that will ensure professional recognition if they are to succeed in this bid.

Finally, social workers are encouraged to undergo re-training through Continuing Professional Development (CPD) programmes that will keep them updated regarding new technologies, tools and skills that can enhance their developmental role (Mathende & Nhapi, 2017).

4.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided insight into the global training of social workers with a special emphasis on Zimbabwean social work training. An exploration of challenges related to social work training has also exposed how these filter into challenges which social workers face in

the practice of their profession. The chapter has also extensively explored how legal frameworks have been affected by the economic situation in Zimbabwe, thereby limiting the capacity of social workers to fulfil their mandate. The chapter has concluded with providing insight into how the gaps in practice and training can be addressed in Zimbabwe.

The following chapter will present the methodological framework that guided this study.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY & DESIGN

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The researcher employed various methodologies which will be explicated in this chapter. Rajasekar, Philominathanet and Chinnathambi (2013) define research methodology as the systematic way in which a researcher solves a problem and is characterised by descriptions of how the researcher intends to utilise various procedures to gain knowledge of the concept under investigation. In a similar tone, Leedy and Omrod (2005:12) define research methodology as the general approach that the researcher takes in carrying out the research project, while Babbie and Mouton (2012) add that the researcher's choice of tools is dictated by the chosen research approach. This emphasises the unique steps that are needed to enable objective actions to be undertaken to meet the objectives of the study.

This chapter will outline the methodological journey undertaken while at the same time justifying the use of a qualitative research approach in exploring the role that social workers can play in response to atrocities, such as Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe. The aims, objectives, study setting, data collection process and tools utilised will also be discussed and justified. Lastly, this chapter will detail and reflect on the data analysis process that informed the findings of this study. A case is made for the integration of the social justice theoretical framework in data analysis, as well as how it informed processes of reflexivity and ethical principles that guided this study. The following process was adhered to and will be explained in detail throughout this chapter:

Fig 8: Research process employed throughout study.
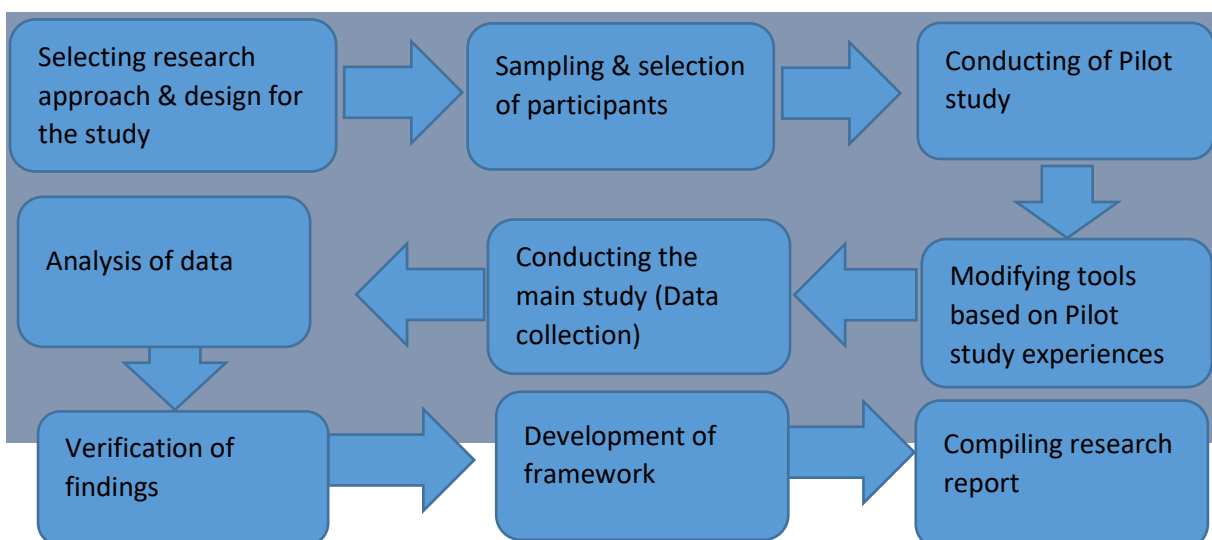
5.2 RESEARCH QUESTION

What role can social workers play in response to atrocities, such as Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe?

5.2.1 Aim of the study

The aim of the study was to determine the role that social workers can play in response to atrocities, such as Gukurahundi.

5.2.2 Objectives of the study

According to De Vos, Strydom, Fouché and Delport (2011), the term 'objective' refers to the desired outcome of a particular enterprise or endeavour. To fully explore the primary research question, the following objectives were pursued:

vi. to explore the narratives of the Gukurahundi survivors and their families,

vii. to explore coping mechanisms used by survivors and their families in dealing with their trauma,

viii. to determine the role that social workers can play in response to atrocities, such as Gukurahundi,

ix. to differentiate the role of social workers from the role of state actors in response to Gukurahundi,

x. to develop a framework for social workers to guide their response to atrocities, such as Gukurahundi.

5.3 RESEARCH APPROACH

A research approach is a plan and procedure for undertaking research, spanning the steps from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation of data (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Critical to undertaking any research study is the determination of the most appropriate research design to be employed which can effectively address the desired goal. This determination is guided by the purpose, nature, context, knowledge discovered and knowledge being constructed with regard to the phenomena being studied (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). Creswell (2014) records three research approaches that can be utilised in answering any research question, i.e. the quantitative approach, the qualitative approach and the mixed methodology approach. In addition to Creswell's (2014) three approaches, Leavy (2017) adds

two more approaches, i.e. arts-based research and community-based participatory research. For this study, the researcher utilised the qualitative research approach. Justification for the qualitative approach will be explored in the upcoming sections in addressing the research objectives of the study.

5.3.1 Qualitative research approach

Creswell and Creswell (2017) define qualitative research as an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. Expanding on this definition, Flick (2018) describes the qualitative research approach as involving the selection and production of linguistic or visual material for analysing and understanding phenomena, social fields, subjective and collective experiences and the related meaning-making processes. The qualitative research approach is concerned with addressing the 'what', 'how' and 'why' of specified phenomena while providing tools for learning how people feel, think and perceive their lived experiences (Green & Thorogood, 2018). Providing more perspective, Leavy (2017) states that the qualitative approach is characterised by inductive knowledge approaches designed to generate meaning through exploring, describing, explaining, investigating and learning about social phenomena in order to build a deep understanding of a dimension of a participant's social life. The author further explains that the underlying value of qualitative research lies in ascribing importance to the participant's subjective experiences and meaning-making processes. Through the use of empirical modes of inquiry, such as case studies, personal experiences, life stories, interviews and introspective reflections, the qualitative approach enables the researcher to draw out and generate descriptions of occurrences, routines or problematic events affecting participants (Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004; Klenke, 2008; Creswell, 2015).

The decision to utilise the qualitative approach for this study was premised on the following characteristics discussed by Christensen, Johnson and Turner (2014) and which the researcher found essential in meeting the study's objectives, i.e.:

- commonly used to understand people's experiences and to express their perspectives – in this instance, the researcher intended to understand the experiences of Gukurahundi survivors and their families.
- requires that researchers view human behaviour as fluid, dynamic and changing over time and place – as the Gukurahundi atrocities occurred three decades ago, it was of interest to capture stories of the changes in participants' behaviour and feelings over

time since the atrocities; hence key interview questions were used to draw out and record the participants' experiences before, during and after Gukurahundi.

- uses a wide- and deep-angled lens to examine holistically human choices and behaviour in its natural setting – Most of the data were collected in Zimbabwe where the atrocities occurred, and the researcher could capture both the verbalised experiences and the observable behaviour of the interviewees.
- focuses on how different groups construct their different realities or perspectives in a bid to examine how these social constructions, reciprocally, influence how people "see" or understand their worlds – It was of essence to include a diversity of research participants in order to analyse, from multiple perspectives, the worlds of Gukurahundi survivors and their family members.

As the research questions were aimed at understanding the experiences of Gukurahundi survivors and their families, as well as the response to Gukurahundi by non-state actors, the qualitative approach was deemed most suitable to draw out these data through interviews. By creating a platform for the participants to voice their experiences, opinions and challenges regarding Gukurahundi, richer and thicker data were gathered which proved useful in understanding participants' experiences, and thereby informing the designed framework.

This research study, therefore, departed from research approaches whose aim was only to highlight the magnitude of Gukurahundi statistically: it employed a more in-depth method of exploring and describing the experiences of the participants beyond the statistics. This is supported by Henning (2004) who emphasises the importance of process rather than outcome in a qualitative study. In choosing mainly participants' homes and natural settings for the planned research activities, this study aligns with de Vos et al. (2011) who argue that the essence of conducting a qualitative study in the research subjects' natural settings, resides in the fact that variables are not controlled. This presents the exact freedom and natural development of action and representation which the researcher wishes to capture. The Gukurahundi narratives have often been accused of being one-sided; qualitative methods are central to the reframing of dominant narratives by creating opportunities for multiple perspectives (Jason & Glenwick, 2012); hence it was considered appropriate for this study.

5.3.2 Rationale for choosing narrative & exploratory research designs

Creswell and Creswell (2018) define research design as types of inquiry within qualitative, quantitative and mixed method approaches designed to provide specific direction for procedures in a study. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) use the term 'strategy of inquiry' in reference to research design, while De Vos et al. (2011) prefer to call it the logical structure that guides the researcher. Babbie and Mouton (2012) sees it as the working blueprint that specifies methods and techniques to be used in a study. Closely complementing all the above definitions, Leavy (2017) likens research design to the process of building a structure or plan for a research project in which the researcher envisages and plans for all aspects that will enable a successful end product - much akin to building a house. Flick (2018) cautions that a research design ought to be flexible enough to allow for adaption and modifications to cater for unexpected events in the field. With this in mind, the narrative and exploratory research designs were adopted for this study as guiding concepts rather than definitive concepts and the researcher remained cognitively open to the possible need for adjustments throughout the study. This will be discussed in ensuing sections when changes were made to the initial design due to sampling challenges. In order to gain an understanding of Gukurahundi through the lenses of survivors and their families, as we are all non-state actors, two research designs which complement each other were used, i.e. the narrative inquiry and the exploratory research design.

According to Flick (2018), narrative inquiry, also known as narrative approach, is an interdisciplinary field concerned with how stories are shared in everyday lives. It is premised upon the assumption that humans are story-telling creatures who derive meaning of their ever-changing world through those stories. Speaking of the stories that people share, Smith (2016) states that narratives are not only personal constructions of individuals but also collective narratives of a particular community or culture. In this study, the narratives of Gukurahundi survivors and their family members also told a story of predominantly the Ndebele community. Defining the role of the researcher in a narrative inquiry, Creswell and Creswell (2018) indicate that the researcher studies the lives of participants and asks them to provide stories about their lives which the researcher will then retell or re-story into a narrative chronology. Furthermore, Christensen, Johnson and Turner (2014) recommend that the researcher delve into the institutional, social, cultural, familial and linguistic narratives of the participants' experiences and analyse the stories told through data sources, such as conversations, field notes, memory box items and photographs. Ollerenshaw and Creswell (2002) emphasise the critical role of the

narrative researcher in 'restorying' the narratives of the participants in order to explore and explicate previously unknown experiences, thus highlighting what these mean to the participants. Throughout this study, the narrative inquiry created an opportunity for survivors and their family members, who have hitherto been rendered voiceless, to share their pain, dreams, wishes and hopes regarding Gukurahundi. Bester (2007) supports the use of the narrative inquiry in similar studies as it provides an opportunity to 'restory' participants' experiences as they share their 'slice of life' through their narratives. Thus, the narrative inquiry was employed in order to give the Gukurahundi survivors and their families an opportunity to share their narratives as experienced during and after the atrocities perpetrated against them.

Employing the narrative inquiry design was, therefore, particularly appropriate for this study as most participants had never been given a platform to talk openly about their experiences. To accomplish the capture of participants' narratives, Dewey's three-dimensional approach which focuses on *interaction* (personal and social), *continuity* (past, present and future) and *situation* (place) was used (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Dewey's approach suggests that there is a need to examine people's personal experiences as well as their interactions with other people in order to understand them. Using Dewey's approach thereby allowed the researcher to explore the Gukurahundi impact on how survivors relate to themselves as individuals, interact with other Ndebele people and with non-Ndebele people. An example of how Dewey's approach was utilised can be seen in the questions set for survivors residing outside Zimbabwe (see Appendix D1).

The first question explored the *interaction* aspect (personal and social):

- How has Gukurahundi affected your life and that of your family?

The next two questions explored the *continuity* aspect (past, present and future)

- What, if any, challenges have you experienced since the massacres?
- How have you attempted to cope and address the challenges you have experienced since Gukurahundi?

The subsequent question explored the *situation* aspect (place)

- How has moving to out of Zimbabwe impacted on your healing process?

Dewey's three-dimensional approach enabled a 360° narrative of participants' experiences before, during and after Gukurahundi which provided for rich data and thicker descriptions.

In addition to the narrative inquiry, the exploratory research design was also utilised to complement the narratives of the participants. Creswell (2014) defines an exploratory research design as a design that focuses on exploring an insight and familiarity for later investigations, particularly when the phenomenon being studied has led to few or no earlier studies to which the researcher can refer. Creswell's definition justified the addition of the exploratory research design for this study as previous studies on Gukurahundi - accessed via the internet, various university repositories and books – revealed a deafening silence regarding the role of social workers in response to the atrocities. Supporting this justification, Saunders (2012) points out that exploratory research designs are effective in laying the groundwork that will lead to future studies, as they provide insight into the background of a particular topic while exposing other aspects not yet researched. A key component of exploratory designs is their endeavour not to offer final and conclusive solutions to existing problems but rather to provide a better understanding of the problems (Nargundkar, 2008). To prevent challenges posed by the chosen design's limitations, the study did not generalise the experiences of participants, but rather provided rich descriptions of participants' experiences based on the sample used for this research with the objective of informing rather than generalising.

The use of both narrative and exploratory research designs was vital in addressing the limitations posed by each design separately, thereby enabling a more rounded result. The interview guides attached as Appendixes B1, C1, and D1 depict the combination of questions that reflects narrative extraction questions and exploration extracting questions.

5.4 POPULATION AND SAMPLING

In the next section, the researcher will explicate the process that was used to determine which participants to include in this study while dissecting the reasons for their inclusion. The researcher will detail the sampling process employed to identify survivors and their family members, as well as non-state actors, to be interviewed for this study.

5.4.1 Population

According to Chaudhury (2010), a population is the entire group about which some information needs to be ascertained by the researcher. Chaudhury goes on to state that participants in a population ought to share at least a single attribute which is of interest to the researcher. Offering characteristics of a population, Majid (2017) asserts that populations are often defined in terms of demography, geography, occupation, time and care requirements among other factors. It follows, therefore, that a population refers to all subjects who could shed more light on the matter under investigation. Due to the vastness of a population, a researcher needs to

refine his or her decision as to which sections of the population will be included in the study. Asiamah, Mensah, and Oteng-Abayi (2017) refer to this as the target population. The aforementioned authors further define a target population as those participants of the general population who remain once a researcher has excluded participants within the population whose inclusion would compromise the research goal, context or assumptions. It follows, therefore, that a target population refers to the research participants who possess specific attributes that are relevant to the concept under investigation. Researchers determine their target population based on their belief of which members of the population can best share their experiences and thoughts under the most convenient conditions (Pernecky, 2016). However, not all participants in the target population can be reached by the researcher due to extenuating factors such as time, costs, availability amongst others. It is critical, therefore, for researchers to determine who their accessible population is in order to meet their research goal within the set timeframe and resources available. Asiamah et al. (2017) define an accessible population as the eligible participants from the target population who are willing to participate in the study and are accessible to the researcher.

For this study, the general population included all survivors of Gukurahundi and their family members, as well as all civil society organisations that played or continue to play a responsive role to Gukurahundi. However, as it was impossible to interview all individuals fitting this description, a sample was gleaned from the target population and constituted the accessible population the sampling of which will now be explained in the following section.

5.4.2 Sampling

By definition, a sample is the element of the population that is considered for actual inclusion in a study (De Vos, Strydom, Fouché & Delport, 2011:223). These authors also use the word 'sub-unit' in defining a sample, thereby implying that a sample is selected from an already defined (accessible) population that can offer insights into the phenomenon being studied to allow for a deeper and more accurate understanding of the population. Christensen, Johnson, and Turner (2014) suggest that a good sample is one that is representative of the population it came from regarding all characteristics.

In order to facilitate access to a wider range of participants, and thus capture the experiences of Gukurahundi survivors and their family members, as well as of civil society organisations involved in responses to Gukurahundi, the researcher made use of two sampling techniques, i.e. purposive sampling and snowball sampling techniques. Essential to the selection of

research samples is the designation of particular populations which are of interest to the researcher and the attempt to select a subset of a predetermined size from them (Bailey, 2008:82). The sample assumed to be sufficient for this study was initially set at **forty** participants; however, only **thirty-five** participants in total were eventually interviewed for this study due to access and sampling challenges that will be explained below.

5.4.2.1 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling technique also known as judgmental, selective, or subjective sampling which entails the deliberate selection of research samples on the basis of the characteristics of a research population and the objectives of a particular study (Christensen, Johnson & Turner, 2014). Flick (2018) believes that purposive sampling is dependent on the deliberate selection of subjects who are information-rich and have the capacity to answer the research question. While Palinkas, Horwitz, Green, Wisdom, Duan and Hoagwood (2015) agree with the need to select information-rich subjects, they argue that the precise meaning of selecting 'information-rich' subjects is largely dependent on the specific strategy, research question and goal of the study. As the word 'purposive' denotes, participants are specifically chosen because they have experienced a particular phenomenon that is directly linked to the 'purpose' for which answers are being sought in relation to the research question of the study (Babbie & Mouton, 2012). Making a case for purposive sampling, Black (2009) reasons that, as qualitative researchers are rarely interested in obtaining insights into central tendencies of large groups of people, purposive sampling provides a cost and time effective capacity to investigate perceptions, beliefs and opinions of smaller groups concerning the events, occurrences, or phenomena being studied to determine why people feel the way they do.

In light of the above definitions and characteristics of purposive sampling, the researcher narrowed down the sampling of participants for this study by purposively selecting individuals who fitted into the following inclusion criteria:

For victims

- being a Gukurahundi primary survivor with lived individual experiences of Gukurahundi,
- being a family member of someone directly affected by Gukurahundi with secondary victim experiences concerning Gukurahundi.

Organisations

- working for an organisation that provided support to victims, survivors and their families during Gukurahundi,
- working for an organisation that is currently providing responsive support to survivors of Gukurahundi and their family members.

The following sequence of activities preceded the purposive selection of participants:

Step 1: Gaining entry into civil society structures

Following the ethical approval by the University of the Western Cape's Higher Degrees Committee to commence with the research study in 2017, the researcher began the process of identifying participants who matched the above-mentioned inclusion criteria.

Between 2018 and 2019, the researcher approached civil society structures inclusive of NGO's, religious organisations and civil rights groups known for advocating the address of Gukurahundi in Matabeleland and the Midlands provinces. This process involved an internet search for relevant organisations and identifying contact people within those organisations. Due to the researcher's being based in South Africa, emails and direct messages to organisational and official social media pages were the main mode of initial contact. An example of such initial contact emails has been attached to this thesis (Appendix D).

Once the organisation's representative had responded to the initial contact, phone calls were scheduled, using Skype and WhatsApp applications. During these meetings, the researcher explained the purpose of her research in more detail as per information sheet (Appendix E). The researcher would then explain the two-fold assistance required from these organisations, i.e. (i) assisting with the identification of participants who fitted the sampling criteria, and (ii) identifying personnel within their organisation willing to be interviewed as a representative of their organisation. During these meetings, the selection criteria were clarified in detail with personnel from these structures to enable a near accurate identification of the right participants who could provide rich data.

In most instances, the contact persons were not the decision-makers regarding their capacity to consent to participation in the study or to assist with accessing participants. As a result, the initial meetings normally concluded with the organisations requesting electronic copies of the information sheets and consent forms which they used as a basis for internal discussions to determine their willingness to participate or not.

As organisations were approached at different intervals, feedback was also sporadic. Between 2018 and 2019, the researcher made follow-up contact with the identified organisations to determine their willingness to participate in the study following the initial contact. All organisations that had been approached agreed to participate, as well as to assist with the identification of participants according to the given inclusion criteria.

Step 2: Contacting potential participants

As the researcher is not familiar with Matabeleland and the Midlands and had very limited personal knowledge of individuals who could fit the inclusion criteria, there was, from the onset of the study, significant reliance on support offered by the personnel of the civil society organisations discussed in Step 1 above. These individuals essentially became gatekeepers during the data collection process. Singh and Wassenaar (2016) define gatekeepers as essential mediators with knowledge, connections, membership and institutional power to grant or withhold access to participants during research.

Gatekeepers from consenting organisations assisted the researcher by going through their databases and identifying current or previous beneficiaries who had received organisation-specific Gukurahundi-related support, including counselling, assistance with legal matters or socio-economic assistance. Due to different protocols within different organisations, some organisations gave the contact details of potential participants directly to the researcher to make initial contact herself. Other organisations preferred to communicate with the potential participants first on behalf of the researcher and explain the study to them, and only when a participant showed interest to know more would they share his or her contact details with the researcher.

Once the researcher had received the contact details of prospective participants, initial communication happened mainly via WhatsApp due to its cost effectiveness. At this stage, invitations to attend information sessions were given to these prospective research participants. This process generally commenced with a WhatsApp message from the researcher to prospective participants. Below is an example of the messages sent:

> "*Greetings, my name is Nyasha Manjengenja, a PhD student from South Africa. I have received your contact number from ..... based at ......I am conducting a research study on Gukurahundi and I have been informed that you may have experiences that can add value to my study. Kindly respond to*

this message if you would like me to give you a call to give more details. Regards, Nyasha."

All messages to prospective participants generally involved the researcher introducing herself and explaining how she had obtained the potential participant's contact details followed by a short description of what the research was about. In the text message, the researcher inquired whether the participant would be willing to receive a WhatsApp call from the researcher in order to be given more verbal information and thus determine his or her willingness to participate. Once a potential participant responded and indicated willingness to hear more, the researcher and participant would agree on a date and time for a phone call.

In keeping with the social work value of self-determination, the researcher was diligent in sending a message before calling as it gave potential participants an opportunity to reflect, and in some instances consult with their family members, on whether they wanted further engagement with the researcher or not. Once a participant consented to a phone call, the researcher confirmed the time of call and then called the prospective participant as agreed upon. None of the participants contacted expressed refusal to attend the information sessions.

During the phone calls, the researcher would then share more details about the study and how participants could become part of the study. Prospective participants were not requested to make an immediate decision regarding their participation due to the sensitive nature of Gukurahundi and its implications. The researcher also explained that she would travel to Zimbabwe in December and would then organise information sessions with groups of potential participants. At these sessions more detailed information would be given and participants would be afforded an opportunity to ask more questions to enable them to decide regarding their participation in the study. In total, the researcher contacted fifty-eight prospective participants by phone and invited them to attend the scheduled information sessions.

Step 3: Information sessions

Throughout this study, the researcher travelled to Zimbabwe three times, i.e., in December 2018, August 2019 and December 2019. Once these visits had been confirmed, the researcher contacted the 58 participants via WhatsApp to inform them of the meeting dates and venues. During these visits, the researcher conducted small group information sessions with the prospective participants who had indicated willingness to hear more about the research in a bid to determine whether or not they wanted to participate in the study.

Out of the above-mentioned 58 prospective participants invited to the information sessions during the three visits, thirty-six individuals attended the information sessions. In the interest of voluntary participation, the researcher did not request invited participants to give reasons for their non-attendance; however, upon inquiry with the gatekeepers, some of the reasons verbalised related to the political muzzling of Gukurahundi discussions in Zimbabwe, particularly in 2018, as a possible deterrent. In January and October of 2018, Mthwakazi Republic Party (MRP) activists were arrested and charged with undermining the authority of the President when they demonstrated, calling for him to be criminally prosecuted for what they perceived to be his crimes during Gukurahundi (Bulawayo 24, 2018). As a result of the Zimbabwean government's heavy-handedness towards those who bring up the Gukurahundi issue, it proved very challenging to find participants willing to talk to a stranger, in particular a Shona stranger, without the assistance of gatekeepers. In some instances, prospective participants indicated during the initial contact call their reluctance to participate, while in some instances they indicated their hesitation during the information session.

During the information sessions, some prospective participants raised concerns and fears, such as that the researcher might be a government operative, thereby inducing fear and uncertainty in them. Despite these verbalised misgivings, some participants who initially had reservations eventually decided to participate. However, they still expressed their misgivings around these matters. Their concerns have been captured in the transcribed data and will form part of the data analysis detail. To allay the concerns of would-be participants, the researcher ensured that the information sessions had a maximum of fifteen participants each in order to ensure that there was sufficient time for everyone present to ask questions freely. To dispel the fears of prospective participants even more, the researcher also shared with them the University Ethics Clearance documents permitting the study to be conducted, as well as her student card as proof that she is registered with the University of the Western Cape. Addressing the issue of field access, Flick (2018) cautions that gaining physical access into a setting does not necessarily guarantee social access to the individuals who occupy it. Clark (2011) agrees with this line of thought and states that legitimacy and social access in a field setting are dependent on the researcher's gaining social acceptance, and this requires indirectly negotiating field relations with participants through the gatekeepers.

Following these information sessions, only fifteen participants out of the thirty-six who attended consented to participate in the study and were interviewed. The other twenty-one persons who had been contacted and invited to participate in the study either refused to

participate soon after the information session, initially agreed to participate and then cancelled on the day of their individual interview or did not arrive for the actual interviews despite having confirmed participation.

Step 4: Conducting of interviews

The researcher then scheduled individual one-on-one meetings with the participants who had agreed to be part of the study. This process will be expanded on in detail in **Section 5.5**. After having conducted the fifteen interviews, the researcher felt that the sample size of fifteen was too limited to provide data reliable enough to draw conclusions and inform the role that social workers can play in addressing Gukurahundi. The limitation of purposive sampling in its inability to allow for making generalisations is discussed by Christensen, Johnson and Turner (2014) who argue that the ability to generalise based on a single study is limited, as sample sizes are usually very small in relation to the population. In addition, it was also apparent that data saturation had not yet been attained as each participant interviewed was still adding a new perspective and information which revealed the need to add more participants until no new information was coming forth.

It must, however, be noted that there is a debate in academic and research circles regarding the relevance of sample size in qualitative research. Some scholars argue that sample size is not crucial for statistical generalisations as that pertains to quantitative studies, while others argue that emerging data ought to guide a researcher regarding sample size. Hence a researcher need not pre-determine a desired sample size prior to the study but rather adjust as the research unfolds (Mason, 2010; Trotter, 2012; Robinson, 2014; Palinkas et al., 2015). Patton (2015) suggests that a midway between these divergent views regarding sample size is best adopted if the researcher starts off with an advance specification of a minimum sample size which is then adjusted during the research process. Concluding this line of thought, Flick (2018) recommends that, of essence, the sample size should increase according to the heterogeneity of the phenomenon to provide the necessary breadth and generality upon which conclusions can be formulated.

To increase the capacity for coming to deeper conclusions and to attain data saturation, a second sampling technique was then used to access more participants to take part in the study. It must be noted that this was an adjustment to the original research design and became necessary when it became apparent that these were needed if the objectives were to be sufficiently attained.

5.4.2.2 Snowball sampling

Snowball sampling or chain sampling is defined by Polit and Beck (2012) as a convenience sampling method applied to reach difficult-to-access participants. The authors praise snowball sampling for being cost effective and efficient in ensuring that a researcher will, in the end, have a sample that can add rich data to a subject as they are specifically chosen for their experience in the matter being researched. Also offering a definition for snowball sampling, Rubin and Babbie (2016) and Patton (2015) define it as a sampling strategy in which one case organically leads to another.

Thus, in addition to purposive sampling, the researcher also used snowball sampling. Participants who had been selected using purposive sampling were then approached - after their interviews – and asked to link the researcher to other persons who may fit the sampling criteria and who may be open to and comfortable with participating in the study. Once these individuals' contact details had been accessed, the researcher used the same method as in the first set when a WhatsApp message was sent first and, if prospective participants consented to a phone call, this was arranged. During the phone call, the researcher briefly explained the study and invited them to participate in it.

However, the lack of geographical proximity of the identified possible participants who reside in sparsely populated regions, presented a challenge: small group information sessions in the same location were not possible. As a result, the researcher explained the purpose of the study individually to prospective participants via phone calls. The response from the prospective participants was not immediately required and the researcher made a second phone call in each case based on how much time they thought they needed to come to a decision regarding their participation.

As in the first instance, some participants agreed to take part in the study while some preferred not to. This process led to an additional eleven participants who were interviewed, bringing the total number of participants interviewed, using both purposive and snowball sampling, to twenty-six. Once these twenty-six interviews had been completed, the researcher felt that data saturation had been attained as no new information was now emerging. The data collection process involving survivors and their family members was, therefore, concluded.

5.4.2.3 Sampling of non-state actors

To fulfil the second part of the objectives of this study, which entailed exploring the role of non-state actors in responding to Gukurahundi, non-state actors were also interviewed. These were purposively selected with the main criterion being professionals who had worked with or were currently working for CSOs involved in Gukurahundi work. As the researcher had already identified organisations through which participants had initially been selected, the researcher approached the gatekeepers in these identified organisations and asked them to participate in the study.

In addition, the researcher contacted professionals and activists who had been featured in the media and who advocated the addressing of Gukurahundi. Emails were sent out to these individuals with an information sheet explaining the study and inviting them to participate in the study. A total of twelve individuals were reached in this manner; ten confirmed willingness to participate in the study while there was no response from two of the identified individuals. Of the ten who responded, only one person could not be interviewed due to his unavailability at the time of data collection. As a result, nine personnel representing civil society organisations, professionals and activists were interviewed.

Therefore, in total, thirty-five people provided data which have been used in this study. The inclusion of non-state actors from civil society personnel, professionals and activists who may not necessarily have direct experience as Gukurahundi survivors or family members, was justified as data received from this group of participants informed the research with respect to responses to Gukurahundi by non-state actors and revealed gaps to be responded to by social workers. Furthermore, these additional interviews also formed part of the data verification processes as these participants were considered neutral and able to provide non-subjective data.

The researcher is aware that a sample of thirty-five may not fully capture all the Gukurahundi experiences; however, this sample highlighted how hard-to-reach the participants were for political and safety reasons and offered a basic understanding of their Gukurahundi experiences essential for subsequent studies of this nature. While purposive and snowball sampling were deemed most appropriate for this study, they have been indicated as highly susceptible to selection bias and influences which are beyond the control of researchers (Babbie & Mouton, 2012). While these are acknowledged limitations of the chosen techniques, their impact has not been considered significant enough to alter the findings of this study.

5.5 DATA COLLECTION

Sutton and Austin (2015) summarise data collection as the process of gathering and measuring information on variables of interest in an established systematic fashion that enables one to answer stated research questions, test hypotheses and evaluate outcomes. The data collection process is systematically determined by the chosen methodology and research design in a bid to answer the research question. For this study, data were collected from thirty-five participants using settings that best suited their personal circumstances, i.e., in their homes, in public places, in their offices or via Skype.

For this research report, the data collection process will be split into two parts. The first part will provide a justification for the research setting, data collection tools, as well as the role of the researcher, translator and gatekeepers during the study. The second part will explicate the actual process that was followed to gain rich data for the study.

PART 1:

5.5.1 Research setting

Data collection took place mainly in the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces in Zimbabwe. However, Ndebele people residing in other parts of the world were also interviewed. As there is a significant proportion of Ndebele people residing in South Africa after having escaped Gukurahundi and the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe (Crush & Tevera, 2010), some interviews were conducted in Cape Town where the researcher is based. In addition to the face-to-face interviews, four interviews were conducted via Skype with participants residing in the United Kingdom, United State, South Africa and Sweden. This created an opportunity for the researcher to capture different voices across the participants as their experiences are largely influenced by their current realities. This assertion is supported by Crush and Tevera (2010) who maintain that the perceptions of Zimbabweans are largely influenced by whether their destination countries and communities are inclusive or exclusionary.

All Zimbabwean-based interviews with survivors and their family members were conducted in the participants' homes except for one participant who opted for a public place for fear that, if the researcher was a state informant, he could be traced back to his home. Interviews in the participant's homes enabled the researcher to capture participants lived experiences in relation to their socio-economic realities which shed more light on their perceptions regarding what constitutes healing and social justice for them. Finally, interviews with non-state actors

representing various civil society organisations were conducted in the offices of the particular organisations.

Reflecting on the interview settings, it must be noted that interviews conducted in participants' homes appeared to give participants a sense of control, especially in relation to the researcher being Shona. This was observed when two participants in different interviews indicated that the researcher needed to feel grateful to be allowed into their homes as they generally did not associate with Shona people. While the assertion of control by participants was a desirable aspect, in some instances, it ignited uncertainty regarding safety for the researcher, especially when participants veered off the research questions and delved into the politics around Gukurahundi. This experience confirms the instructions of Monette, Sullivan and DeJong (2011) who caution researchers to be aware of how power relations, such as pertaining to gender, ethnicity and other dimensions of social differentiation are manifested in the cultures and places where research is conducted and how they shape the ethics and politics of knowledge constriction in fieldwork.

Doykos, Brinkley-Rubinstein, Craven McCormack and Geller (2014) allude to the challenges experienced by researchers who are considered to be 'outsiders' by participants as it may require them to work harder at establishing rapport with participants in comparison to researchers who are considered to be 'insiders.' They, however, also caution that the 'insider' status may have its own disadvantages as it can result in participants' self-censoring if they feel that they are being judged by a peer. The use of gatekeepers was certainly useful in this process as they played the balancing role of assuring participants that the researcher could be trusted and was merely contributing to the academic body of knowledge around the subject, thereby facilitating acceptance of the researcher by participants.

5.5.2 Data collection tools

Interviews were employed as the main data collection tool while observations by the researcher were utilised as the secondary data collection tool. Interviews were identified as the most appropriate tool to gather thick descriptions and rich data to enable the researcher to access the personal experiences of Gukurahundi survivors and their family members, as well as the experiences of non-state actors who had played a responsive role in Gukurahundi matters. According to Kabir (2016), face-to-face interviews enable the asking of detailed questions and allow probing to elicit rich data. Additionally, literacy requirements for participants are eliminated while non-verbal data can also be collected through observations. The decision to

use interviews as the main data collection tool aligns with Silverman (2005) who asserts that interviews are an appropriate tool for exploring sensitive topics, particularly when little is known about the participants' individual experiences. In keeping with this line of thought, Fylan (2005) states that the purpose of interviews is to establish reasoning behind peoples' perceptions, attitudes and beliefs pertaining to specific events, occurrences or phenomena. According to De Vos et al. (2011), interviewing is the most used data collection tool in qualitative research, and both researcher and participant are necessary and unavoidably active and involved in meaning-making of the data.

5.5.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews are conversations between interviewers and interviewees which are guided and directed by the interviewer in a bid to yield the information which they require (Fylan, 2005). Reid and Mash (2014) add that semi-structured interviews utilise pre-determined question guides designed to set out broad issues assumed to be important by providing a sequence of open-ended questions which allow for flexibility and in-depth insights of the phenomenon being studied. Further guidance by Symon and Casswell (2012) emphasises the importance of the interviewer's role (in this case the researcher) in paying attention to the phrasing of questions and further probing after initial responses to a question in order to deepen understanding and gain more clarity, as well as to move from general questions to more specific questions.

The researcher used the above guidance in structuring the interview guides (Appendixes 1, 2 and 3). As three categories of people were interviewed, i.e. direct survivors of Gukurahundi, family members of victims and survivors of Gukurahundi, and non-state actors representing the civil society, three interview guides were formulated. Each guide was specifically designed to capture the experiences of that particular group in line with the objective that best suited their category. In addition, distinctions were made in the question sets with respect to those who never left Zimbabwe following the atrocities and those who are currently residing outside Zimbabwe following the atrocities. Critical to note, however, is that the interview guide was not a dictatorial tool as the researcher allowed for flexibility depending on what came up during the interview (Yin, 2014).

Taking into account the complexities of language as a tool designed to subjugate the Ndebele during Gukurahundi, the researcher purposefully translated the interview guides into three languages, i.e. Ndebele, English and Shona. Participants were requested to indicate their

language of preference prior to the interview date in order to ensure the presence of a translator where required. This consideration was vital in ensuring the success of the data collection process as supported by Teshuva, Borowski, and Wells (2021) who view language as a two-way process used to express meaning while influencing what *can* be expressed, as social reality is unique to one's own language.

5.5.2.2 Observations

Christensen, Johnson and Turner (2014) point out that observation in qualitative research entails watching behavioural patterns of people in certain situations in order to gather information about the phenomenon of interest. Complementing the use of interviews as the main data collection tool, the researcher also used observation as a data collection tool when interviews were conducted in the natural settings of the participants, i.e. in their homes. It was quite challenging for participants interviewed via Skype video conferencing as observations were limited to and constrained by the technology used which mainly focused on the facial features of both researcher and participant. Babbie and Mouton (2008:293) name *simple observation* and *participant observation* as the two types of observational tools utilised in qualitative research. The latter refers to the researcher becoming a member of the group/individual being studied, whereas the former refers to the researcher observing participants' behaviour and actions as an outsider. In this instance, the researcher employed simple observation of verbal and non-verbal actions of the participants, particularly their body language, to capture critical nuances which words cannot convey in some instances. For interviews conducted in participants' homes, the researcher observed the home environment and living circumstances of participants, especially in reference to their socio-economic realities attributed to Gukurahundi. However, Mears (2012:165) cautions that, as a secondary tool, observation is rarely a stand-alone tool as its interpretation is usually linked to the vocalised experiences.

Throughout the interviews, the researcher jotted down all observations in a field journal and, where appropriate, asked follow-up questions based on her observations. This 'right of reply' to the researcher's observations proved very useful in aligning the researcher's observations with the participants' actual experiences and eliminated assumptions in instances where the researcher made an observation that could have been incorrectly interpreted. For instance, one participant smiled as she was talking about how she watched her aunt die following wounds inflicted during 5th Brigade beatings. Upon further inquiry regarding the smile while referring

to a painful occurrence, the participant explained that smiling was her coping mechanism to keep her from crying. The use of observations as a tool is supported by Denscombe (2010) who stresses the importance of researchers not only relying on what people *say* they do or think without also observing participants' actions and interrogating these. This view is seconded by Christensen, Johnson and Turner (2014) who argue that people do not always do what they say they do; therefore, observations aid the researcher in identifying potential incongruence between attitudes and behaviour of participants. Despite the self-evident benefits of observations as a data collection tool, Mears (2012), too, cautions that they are not always an accurate measure of congruence as people tend to conceal their inner states when they know that they are being observed and may, therefore, act differently to how they really feel inside.

5.5.3 The roles of the researcher, translator & gatekeepers

The role of the researcher is paramount in a qualitative study. As alluded to above, the researcher was the main instrument of data collection both as an interviewer and an observer. Klenke (2008) acknowledges that the researcher's role varies in every research process according to the purpose of the research. In this study, the researcher assumed the role of an emic researcher. Yin (2014) defines an emic researcher as one who attempts to capture participants' indigenous meanings of real-world events and looks at things through the eyes of members of the culture being studied. Similarly, Willis, Jost and Nilankanta (2007:100) define an emic researcher as a researcher who seeks to "look at things through the eyes of members of the culture being studied." This role contrasts with that of an etic researcher whose approach is to use structures or criteria developed outside the culture as a framework for studying participants (Yin, 2014). Entering the research setting as an emic researcher was critical to enable participants to reveal their own meanings ascribed to their situations and circumstances and not dictated by the researcher.

As the researcher is not fluent in IsiNdebele, it was critical to employ a translator to assist with interviews of participants who preferred to communicate in IsiNdebele. The translator chosen for this study was a community member who has been active in Gukurahundi advocacy. For this sensitive role it was necessary to select someone with whom participants could identify and whom they could trust to enable them to engage freely. The role of the translator was exclusively to facilitate the translation and back-translation of the interview process to ensure that both researcher and participant understood each other. All thirty-three participants interviewed conversed mainly in English; however, there were instances in which participants switched to IsiNdebele, particularly when they felt that the English language did not fully

capture their experiences. The translator was also critically important during the transcription of data for translation purposes. It was crucial throughout the study for translators not to distort, modify or reduce what the participants had said as this is a common fear in research as it threatens validity and methodological rigour (Lauterbach, 2014). Berman and Tyyskä (2011) assert the essence of neutrality and invisibility of translators in relation to their personal thoughts, opinions and feelings related to the data that they are translating. Littig and Pöchhacker (2014), however, raise the profile and importance of translators during interviews as more than mere 'invisibles', but rather as first data recipients and co-producers of data - and therefore meaning.

The role of gatekeepers in this study cannot be overstated. The researcher's ethnic origin was a limitation whose potential negative impact was diluted by the use of gatekeepers. From the outset of the study, the researcher contacted key role players in the field of Gukurahundi, mainly from civil society organisations. These took on the role of gatekeepers during the data collection process, assisting with the identification of participants who fitted the sampling criteria, as well as arranging information session meetings with potential participants. For this study, the gatekeepers were exclusively Ndebele - a strategic decision designed to build confidence and trust among the potential participants given the sensitivity of the topic being researched. A draw-back noted by the researcher regarding the use of gatekeepers pertained to the dynamics of power in instances in which participants might have felt coerced to participate in the study, especially when they were still receiving other services from these organisations. This was mitigated during the information sessions when the researcher clarified the importance of voluntary participation, informed consent, as well as the right of withdrawal with no adverse consequences. This process was critical as it saw a significant number of potential participants opting not to take part in the study. While this was a drawback regarding the data collection process and timeline, it was a win for ethics in research and demonstrated that the researcher respected the participants' right to self-determination. It is the researcher's view that she handled issues of power dynamics and self-determination with appropriateness, as Cunliffe and Alcadipani da Silveira (2016) suggest that in some instances, researchers are unprepared for practical challenges and ethical dilemmas which they encounter in the field.

PART 2:

5.6 THE DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

Having elaborated on the sampling criteria, data collection tools and the various roles of different role-players in this study, the researcher will now document the data collection flow. Although the following steps have been presented in a sequential manner for the purposes of coherent reporting, it is imperative to highlight that the process was not always linear as data collection processes were determined by when participants consented to being part of the interviews. As a result, in 2018, when the first information session was conducted, some interviews were conducted immediately afterwards. However, two more information sessions were held in 2019 and interviews were conducted subsequently, thereby repeating the process until data saturation was attained.

Fig. 9: Illustration of the data collection steps employed

Start	• **Step 1**: Acquiring permission and ethical clearance to conduct research from the University • **Step 2**: Gaining entry into civil society organisations through cold calling, internet searched and referral
Midway	• **Step 3**: Information session meetings with potential participants to explain research process • **Step 4**: Signing of consent forms and setting meeting dates and venues with participants
End	• **Step 5**: One on one individual interviews with participants (Pilot + Main study) • **Step 6**: Member checking session with participants

Previous sections have already discussed how Steps 1 – 4, illustrated in Fig. 9, were carried out. The following sections will, therefore, discuss how the pilot, main study and member checking processes were conducted to complete the data collection process.

5.6.1 Pilot study

To test the feasibility and appropriateness of the research tools (in this case, the interview guides and observations), a pilot study was conducted. Suresh (2018) defines a pilot study as a miniature trial run of the methodology planned for a major research study designed to improve methodology of the study. In addition, a pilot study can also assess the feasibility of a study and identify potential problems that may be faced by a researcher in the actual large research. While not a mandatory research process, Creswell (2014) recommends conducting a pilot test to assist the researcher in identifying and eliminating errors, ambiguities, bias and discrepancies in data collection instruments.

Taking a cue from this recommendation, soon after having obtained permission to conduct the study in 2018, the researcher conducted two interviews as part of the pilot study. These interviews comprised a family member of a Gukurahundi victim, as well as a representative of a civil society organisation. These two participants were selected based on convenience as, at the time of interviewing, they lived in Cape Town where the researcher resides. It was not possible to find a participant who was a primary Gukurahundi survivor at the time of the pilot. While this was a limitation, it must be noted that the two pilot interviews provided ample insight into the usability of the research tools. Making a case for convenience as permissible during a pilot study, Creswell (2014) argues that convenience, access and geographical proximity during a pilot study greatly reduce research costs and allow for efficient use of time.

During the pilot study, the researcher picked up on language nuances that informed the need to change the manner in which some questions had been structured as they proved to either come across as offensive or condescending to the participants. The researcher shared transcripts of the two pilot interviews with the academic supervisor and was guided regarding changes necessary to ensure that the objectives of the study would be met while ultimately informing the research question. Due to the flawed nature of the first research instrument (interview guide), data from the two interviews have been excluded from this study. This was a necessary decision in keeping with consistency to ensure that a uniform process was utilised for all participants. This decision echoes the words of Sekaran and Bougie (2016) who argues that a pilot test serves the purpose of ensuring consistency of internal data, thereby offering reliability of the measurement scales while testing the goodness of data.

5.6.2 Main study

Following a successful pilot study, the researcher engaged in the main study's data collection process. Data gathered from the main study constitute the foundation upon which the findings, recommendations and framework designed in this study are based.

The following section will detail the data collection process in relation to the study objectives and in accordance with the stages that will be described below.

Table 6: Data collection steps followed:

ACTIVITY:	PHASE:	PARTICIPANTS:
	Phase 1	Semi-structured interviews with survivors of Gukurahundi.

| Conducting one-on-one semi-structured interviews | Phase 2 | Semi-structured interviews with family members of victims and survivors of Gukurahundi. |
| | Phase 3 | Semi-structured interviews with non-state actors representing civil society. |

The interviewing process spanned two and a half years during which a total of 35 participants were interviewed. While each interview process was different in that each participant's circumstances were different, especially for interviews conducted in the homes of participants, the researcher's process was guided by each unique circumstance. The general standard for most of the home-based interviews involved the following process:

- Upon arrival and sharing of pleasantries, the participants were requested to direct the researcher to their chosen interviewing space which would ensure privacy and ergonomic comfortability for both the participant and the researcher. In the case of participants who requested a translator, the latter was introduced and involved from the very start of the process.

- The researcher would then guide the participant through the consent forms in order to obtain written proof of consent regarding participation, as well as consent to be audio recorded.

- Once this process was completed, the researcher would begin to ask the interview questions. Depending on the participants, interviews generally took between one and two hours.

- For interviews conducted via Skype, once the back-and-forth emails regarding finding a mutually appropriate time and interview platform were completed, the researcher would then send the consent form to the participant's email. Participants were requested to read through the consent forms and revert to the researcher if they had any questions before signing. During this process, none of the participants had questions or concerns, and they signed the forms electronically or manually and either scanned in signed copies or took a picture of the signed copies and emailed this to the researcher.

- On the day of the interviews the researcher sent reminder emails to participants in the morning just in case they had not diarised it. The researcher then called the participants via Skype and would request permission to record the call-conversation using Skype's recording function before any further details would be asked for.

- Once the above was in motion and pleasantries had been shared, the researcher would begin the interview process. As all participants being interviewed via Skype indicated comfortability with being interviewed in English, translators were not part of this process.

While most participants generally responded to questions as asked, a few participants veered off interview material and spoke of their concerns regarding Gukurahundi from a political angle and the current status of the country. In those instances, the researcher would gently remind the participants that this was an academic study intended to generate academic knowledge, and the researcher was, unfortunately, unable to delve into issues outside the scope of the research questions.

Twenty-six semi-structured in-depth interviews with survivors of Gukurahundi and their family members were conducted. Interviews were mainly conducted in English; however, isiNdebele and Shona languages were also minimally used depending on the preference of the participant. (See **Appendix B1** for the set of questions for Matabeleland-based participants and **Appendix B3** for participants based in the diaspora.) All interviews were transcribed into English afterwards.

In addition to the above interviews, a sample of nine interviews with non-state actors, representing personnel from various religious, NGO and civil society organisations, were also interviewed using the same methods indicated above. These interviews were key in triangulating the data and were all conducted in English as per the participants' preferences. (See **Appendixes C1, C2** and **C3** for the set of questions.) Hence in total 35 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted for this study. As per the principles of snowball sampling, interviews were halted when data saturation had been attained.

Every research study exists to fulfil specific objectives. The success of any study is dependent on its ability to meet the set objectives. Table 5 below illustrates how each interviewing phase aligned to set objectives. It is the researcher's considered opinion that the semi-structured interviews were able to elicit the required data to inform the objectives based on the interview guide and the proof of this assertion will be documented in detail in the next chapter when the data are analysed.

Table 7: Data collection steps in relation to study objectives:

PHASE:	OBJECTIVE TARGETED:

1. Interviews with survivors of Gukurahundi	**(i)** to explore the narratives of the Gukurahundi survivors and their families
2. Interviews with family members of victims & survivors	**(ii)** to explore the coping mechanisms that they have used thus far in dealing with their trauma
3. Interviews with non-state actors from religious and civil societies, and NGOs.	**(iii)** to differentiate the role of social workers from the role of other non-state actors in response to Gukurahundi.

5.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis culminates the research process as the researcher scrutinises gathered data to determine the extent to which the research question has been answered. Babbie (2012) describes qualitative data analysis as the non-numerical examination and interpretation of observations with the intent of discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationships. Christensen, Johnson and Turner (2014) underscore this definition by describing data analysis as the categorising, ordering, manipulation and summarising of data to obtain answers to research questions while interpretation refers to the assignment of significance or coherent meaning to the data. Marshall and Rossman (2014) bemoans the tedious nature of data analysis as it requires reading the same data several times to ensure accurate, in-depth and incisive findings. According to Christensen, Johnson and Turner (2014) qualitative data analysis is much more eclectic, and there is no single correct way of analysing the data because of the nature of the data collected. Bloomberg and Volpe (2012) simplify this by stating that, in general, qualitative data analysis requires only coding and searching for relationships and patterns until a holistic picture emerges.

In this study, data were analysed in two steps. The first step involved the researcher's analysing the transcribed data and field notes. The second step commenced after the member- checking process in which the researcher returned to the data and analysed feedback from the participants in relation to documented themes and conclusions drawn to check for discrepancies in the findings made. The table below depicts how the data analysis process assisted with the attainment of the research objectives. Of importance to note is that, while the data collection process enabled the researcher to understand the experiences of Gukurahundi survivors and their family members, the data analysis process aided the understanding of the role of social

workers in response to Gukurahundi, as well as indicating what was required in a framework for social workers in order to inform their response.

Table 8: Data analysis steps in relation to overall objectives

ACTIVITY:	PURPOSE:
1. **Consolidating & analysing interview & field notes data.**	generating themes that respond to the research question in guiding the development of a framework for social workers.
2. **Conducting member-check in meeting and analysing data thereafter.**	to assure the credibility of data gathered and themes developed to ascertain whether they are true representations of participants' experiences.

A two-fold approach to the data analysis process was taken for this study, i.e., a thematic analysis and a theoretical framework analysis as suggested by Jackson and Mazzei (2013). Thematic data analysis refers to the strong identification of "salient themes, recurring ideas or language, and patterns of belief that link people and settings together" (Marshall & Rossman, 2014:107). Jason and Glenwick (2012) also define thematic analysis as a method of analysing qualitative data involving the search for recurring ideas (referred to as themes) in a data set. They further add that these identified themes ought to capture something important in relation to the research question and something salient to participants. Detailing the process of discerning themes, Braun and Clarke (2019) explain that a researcher needs to start by identifying patterns which emerge from raw data, and then classifying them into distinct themes. This is achieved by paying particular attention to patterns of beliefs or themes that emerge while investigating undercurrent themes that stood out from the data – and then analysing the important ideas that emerged from the data. Justifying the use of thematic analysis in studies where little is known about participants' lived experiences, Pistrang and Barker (2013) emphasise that the revealed themes give voice to 'the other' by creating space for those groups of people traditionally unrepresented or underrepresented in research to present their viewpoints in their own words, unhindered by predetermined response categories. Specifically for this study, Gukurahundi survivors and their families have not been fully represented in academic research - hence the emerging themes which will be discussed in the data analysis chapter afforded them this opportunity.

In generating themes from the gathered data, the researcher analysed the interview and field notes data according to Braun and Clarke's (2013) six phases of thematic analysis, i.e.:

1. familiarisation with data,
2. coding,
3. searching for themes,
4. reviewing of themes,
5. defining and naming of themes, and
6. writing up the report.

In fulfilling these steps, the researcher began data analysis by immersing herself in the interview data gathered to become fully acquainted with them. All data, including field notes and transcripts, were used to arrive at clear insights. The researcher then coded the data. Creswell (2015:156) defines coding as "the process of analysing qualitative text data by taking them apart to see what they yield before putting the data back together in a meaningful way." Categorising is the process of grouping similar or seemingly related codes (Saldaña, 2011). Once all the data had been coded the researcher identified emerging themes for the purpose of interpretation (Creswell, 2014). The themes were used to make inferences in addressing the research question. Once inferences had been made, the final analysis results were documented. An in-depth write-up of these findings provides the basis of the next chapter, i.e., Chapter 7 of this thesis.

In addition to the coding conducted by the researcher, an independent coder was also contracted to code the data in a bid to attain inter-coder reliability of the findings as recommended by Syed and Nelson (2015). This coder did not have insight into the research question or the objectives of the study. The purpose for withholding this information from the independent coder was to eliminate bias and to facilitate honest and authentic findings (Elliot, 2018). The themes generated by the independent coder were compared with those extracted by the researcher and utilised together, revealing the most appropriate themes that would provide answers to the research question.

In addition to the thematic analysis done, data were also theoretically analysed in accordance with the social justice theoretical framework. Braun and Clarke (2013) concede that there are no strict guidelines in a thematic analysis and it is often used as an initial step in the analysis of data to enable the researcher to become sufficiently conversant with the findings, subjecting them to other types of analysis subsequently. Taking this cue, the researcher subjected the data

to further analysis. Jackson and Mazzei (2013:261) argue that the assigning of codes and themes in data analysis is insufficient as, with a mechanical thematic analysis alone, it does little to examine the complexities of participants' experiences in a manner that enables the simultaneous opening up of proliferated knowledge. They further claim that data examined outside of theoretical concepts inhibit the inclusion of un-thought-of data. In addressing this anomaly, they suggest 'plugging in', which refers to the process of thinking about the theory in relation to the data and vice versa, which results in the creation of chaos out of which new knowledge is realised. Jackson and Mazzei (2013) reflect on this process as a process of 'thinking with theory' to enable assemblage in the analysis as the researcher asks analytical questions that flow from concepts entangled with the theory and philosophy of the data under analysis. In addition, Jason and Glenwick (2012) caution that a weak thematic analysis is one that fails to consider the theoretical framework that guides the work; hence the need to merge thematic and theoretical analysis in order to address this potential pitfall while strengthening the analysis process.

To achieve this process, the researcher merged the themes emerging from the thematic analysis conducted and then referred to the social justice theory and used it to highlight issues of representation, recognition and redistribution in line with Fraser's (2008) social justice theory, as well as Nussbaum's (2016) Human Capabilities framework. These were then used to develop a framework that could be utilised by social workers when formulating a response to atrocities, such as Gukurahundi, as the data highlighted gaps in social work response, thereby exposing the niche addressable by social workers.

Finally, as part of data analysis, the researcher conducted a member-checking process to confirm the conclusions arrived at using theoretical and thematic analysis. Member-checking is described by Creswell (2014) as when a researcher takes the final report - or specific descriptions or themes - back to the participants to determine whether the participants would confirm that they are accurate. All research participants, inclusive of survivors of Gukurahundi and their family members, as well as non-state actors, were considered to participate in the member-checking process. While this process came after the data had been analysed and themes developed, it was an essential aspect of data analysis as participants interfaced with the analysed data to determine whether these accurately represented their experiences.

Unfortunately, due to the outbreak of COVID-19 and the travel restrictions instituted in Zimbabwe and South Africa, this process could not be done onsite and was modified to a virtual

meeting via Skype. As the researcher was not able to provide data or finances to cover participation during the virtual session, only seven participants attended the member- checking process. This comprised three survivors and family members and four non-state actor representatives. Despite the low turnout, the session achieved its goals and resulted in an adjustment to some themes which, attendees felt, did not accurately represent them in the manner in which they had been phrased. This process was essential for triangulation to ensure that the findings and suggested framework accurately represent the response which the participants wish social workers to take when engaging with the Gukurahundi atrocities. Data triangulation refers to the use of multiple sources of data to examine an assertion (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Following the member-checking session, the researcher felt confident in the credibility of the findings and then embarked on the final process of meeting the research objective which was the development of a framework to guide social workers in how they could respond to atrocities, such as Gukurahundi. It was essential to ensure that the themes gleaned from the study are a true representation of the participants aspirations with regards to the role of social workers in response to Gukurahundi. Two research questions were intentional in asking participants what they thought should be the role of social workers e.g

- What role do you think social workers can play to facilitate healing processes for survivors and their families going forward?
- What impediments to you think social workers may encounter in addressing the Gukurahundi trauma?

Using response from these two questions, the researcher analysed in responses in providing a framework usable by social workers in informing their role.

5.8 TRUSTWORTHINESS

The research process has a direct impact on the manner in which data are interpreted and the final results determined. As a result, the generalisability of the findings of qualitative research studies is limited (Creswell, 2014). Be that as it may, it is necessary that data are deemed trustworthy in relation to their credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability. This section seeks to provide justification for the study to be deemed fitting the trustworthiness scale.

Polit and Beck (2012) define data **verification** as the sifting of data for accuracies and inconsistencies. This process entails the researcher moving back and forth between design and implementation to ensure congruence among all research aspects from interview guides,

sampling criteria, data collection tools and strategies as well as data analysis (Holloway & Wheeler 2010). To ensure data verification during this study, the researcher did not set the research design as a rigid framework but instead systematically checked all aspects constantly while making determinations of when modifications were necessary in the attainment of reliability, validity and rigor (Elo, Kääriäinen, Kanste, Pölkki, Utriainen & Kyngäs, 2014). Additional activities to ensure data verification carried out by the researcher included continuous checks of methodological coherence, sampling sufficiency and thinking theoretically throughout the study as suggested by Polit and Beck (2012).

Data are also verified for **credibility.** Credibility pertains to the valid representation of phenomena in line with the findings of a study (Holloway & Wheeler, 2010). In order to achieve credibility, the researcher conducted a remote member-checking session post data analysis and theoretical framework formulation. Findings were presented to participants in order to establish from them whether the final themes tabulated appropriately represented *their* frame of reference in a believable manner (D'Cruz & Jones, 2014). The use of multiple data sources and methods throughout a study also supports the data credibility criterion (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). As discussed throughout this chapter, participants from all walks of life were interviewed. Additionally, triangulation of data by interviewing personnel from civil society organisations also increased the ability to verify the credibility of data gathered from the individual interviews. The data analysis process also involved the services of an independent coder who was able to generate themes based on transcribed interviews. This process was essential as it enabled the researcher to compare her generated themes with those of the independent coder and interrogate similarities and differences in the themes thus generated.

D'Cruz and Jones (2014) emphasise the need to check data for **transferability**. This is ascertained by the flexibility of generalising generated knowledge to similar contexts. According to Flick (2018), to attain transferability, a researcher needs to provide sufficient detail to enable readers to judge the applicability of findings to other contexts. While there is no expectation of the researcher to prove that the findings are applicable, there is an expectation that the researcher provide sufficient evidence for those wishing to replicate the studies to assume that the findings can be applied and would produce similar results (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). To achieve this, the researcher sourced participants from diverse contexts, yet relevant to the research question. Zimbabweans based in Zimbabwe, Johannesburg, Cape Town, the UK, the USA and Sweden were interviewed. In addition, interviewed participants belonged to a wide range of social strata, religions and levels of education, thereby ensuring diversity of

life circumstances. However, as this was a context specific study, only Ndebele people were included. The justification for this is based on the argument that, in spite of differing circumstances after Gukurahundi, the stories of survivors and their family members during the atrocities are homogenous.

Bitsch (2005:86) refers to dependability as "the stability of findings over time." D'Cruz and Jones (2014) maintain the essence of verifying data for their **dependability** once contextual differences are acknowledged. In meeting this standard, the researcher utilised a homogenous question set and methodology across all participants. The same problem formulation was retained throughout the study to enable correlation. Furthermore, dependability was assured by undertaking an inquiry audit in which accurate and detailed records were kept of the research methods and strategies throughout the research process. For this reason, data from the pilot study were excluded from the final findings as the interview guide had been modified once the pilot study had been completed.

Flick (2018) defines **conformability** as the ability to provide a chain of evidence between the data and conclusions that are reached. D'Cruz and Jones (2014) provide that this is only possible when the researcher is aware of his or her personal and social positioning in relation to power dynamics in a study. Echoing these sentiments, Tobin and Begley (2004:392) add that conformability is "concerned with establishing that data and interpretations of the findings are not figments of the inquirer's imagination but are clearly derived from the data". To achieve this ideal, the researcher engaged in self-reflexivity and consistent peer review through the support of two PhD students. As mentioned above, the researcher also employed the services of an independent coder to code the data gathered. This ensured objectivity in the findings produced. Power issues in relation to the researcher being Shona in a Ndebele setting have also been discussed and their impact identified and reflected upon throughout this study. As recommended by Kääriäinen, Kanste, Elo, Pölkki, Miettunen and Kyngäs (2011) the researcher adopted a 'devil's advocate role' in the analysis of the results by actively searching for and describing negative instances that contradicted prior observations. This will be portrayed in detail during the discussion of the findings in the next chapter.

Closely related to conformability, the researcher engaged in continuous self-reflection throughout the study. Nagata (2004:141) describes **self-reflexivity** as having an on-going conversation with oneself concerning what one is experiencing, while one is experiencing it. This involves engaging in a meta-level of feeling and thought, while at the same time remaining

in the moment. The importance of engaging in self-reflexivity is also emphasised by Trochim (2006) who posits that the exploratory nature of qualitative studies is subject to bias as the researcher has the responsibility to interpret findings not necessarily backed by numerical figures. Hence self-reflexivity addresses the issue of bias by enabling the researcher to be more self-aware in order to manage and control his or her own biases when they present themselves during a study (Christensen, Johnson & Turner, 2014). To address bias, the researcher kept a research journal in which her observations, personal thoughts and feelings pertaining to the research were documented for the purposes of reflection and use in peer debriefing discussions with two fellow PhD students who are also social workers and thus attuned to social work principles and ethics. In addition, the researcher also constantly paid attention to how power influenced the shaping of the research experience (Leavy, 2017). The power of the researcher, participants and gatekeepers was constantly assessed for how it influenced the research processes, particularly keeping in mind the already existing power dynamics around the Shona and the Ndebele regarding the subject matter.

5.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics refers to the principles and guidelines that enable one to uphold the ideas and beliefs which one values. Christensen, Johnson and Turner (2014) maintain that in any study the researcher needs to consider the interplay between (i) the relationship between society and science, (ii) professional issues that may emerge during a study, and (iii) the treatment of research participants. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011), as well as Leavy (2017), allude to an ethical substructure that impacts every aspect of the research process from the beginning to the end of a study. They add that decisions, such as who will be involved in the study, and where or how the study will be carried out, are all ethical decisions hinging on the ethical substructure which exists in a three-level dimension, i.e.:

(i) the philosophical dimension which is determined by the researcher's value system and addresses the question 'What do you believe?'

(ii) the praxis dimension of ethics which addresses and informs the question 'What do you do?' during the study, and

(iii) the reflexivity dimension of ethics, which combines the philosophical aspect and praxis, and addresses the question 'How does power come to bear?'

Shamoo and Resnik (2015) caution researchers to be mindful of ethical considerations, to promote true knowledge as this is the primary goal of research, while preventing the fabrication of data and being guided by what is right and wrong in a study. Before commencement of this study and the data collection process, permission was sought from the University of the Western Cape's Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee. The committee evaluated the research proposal in its entirety and made suggestions and recommendations which were incorporated by the researcher in keeping with principles of a research study. Following approval, a pilot study was then conducted which also informed the researcher on adjustments required to align with all ethical principles of research and the social work profession upon which this study has been undertaken.

Silverman (2005) reminds researchers that they should always remember that, while they are doing their research, they are in actual fact entering the private spaces of their participants. Given the sensitive nature of Gukurahundi, the researcher paid particular attention to the nuances that come with the territory, both from a political and a social angle. While information around Gukurahundi is in the public domain, the researcher was aware that this is still a very sensitive and emotive subject for survivors and their families.

The researcher ensured **informed consent** and **voluntary participation** by fully informing participants about the research scope, its area of inquiry, the research goal, and the intended procedures (Roth & von Unger, 2018). To achieve this, the researcher held information sessions with participants during which all information pertaining to the research was shared, and participants were invited to ask any questions that they might have regarding the research or their participation. After this process, participants were given an opportunity to think about whether or not they wanted to participate in the study. This included, for some participants, checking in with their family members as information shared sometimes included persons beyond the participant who was being interviewed. Once this process had been completed and participants had indicated willingness to participate, they were requested to signed informed-consent forms which had been translated into English, isiNdebele and Shona to suit the language preference of the participants (**Appendixes A1, A2, A3 and A4)**. In addition to signing the forms, participants were informed of their **right to withdrawal** at any point in the study if they felt, for any reason, that they no longer wished to participate in the study without fear of negative repercussions to them. This was particularly important for participants who had been identified by gatekeepers as receiving a service from the relevant organisation.

The individual's right to **anonymity** was respected by the use of pseudonyms chosen by participants themselves. In some instances, the researcher herself does not know the real names of some of the participants as they chose to remain anonymous for security reasons. The researcher also ensured **confidentiality** by storing all information in a password- protected computer only accessible to the researcher, as well using the pseudonyms for all written reports. Throughout this report, no participants, both those who chose pseudonyms and those who used their real names, have been identified. The researcher also negotiated permission to audio-record interviews with the participants.

In the possible, but unlikely, event of recurring trauma induced by reliving the Gukurahundi experiences during the interviews, the researcher was prepared to act promptly. Although none of the participants requested counselling support, provision had been made to refer participants experiencing distress for debriefing and counselling. For participants in Zimbabwe, the services of a counsellor located in Matabeleland had been arranged so that participants were properly supported post-research through counselling if needs be. For participants in Cape Town, provision with a Cape Town-based counsellor had been made. The researcher kept a research journal throughout the study which assisted in reflexivity processes (Swartz et al., 2011). While political security risks were a possibility in this study, they were not encountered both by the researcher and the participants.

5.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter has laid open the research processes that guided this study. The appropriateness of conducting a qualitative study has been fully explained by highlighting the aims, objectives and main question that guided the study. All processes pertaining to the selection of participants and the steps undertaken to gather data for the study, as well as to analyse the data, have been explained in detail.

The next chapter is an extension of the methodology chapter as it delves into the theoretical framework which underpins this study. The methodology utilised throughout this study aligned with the social justice theoretical framework, and the latter was also used in the theoretical analysis of the findings. The following chapter will, therefore, detail the social justice framework and how it guided the methods utilised in this study.

CHAPTER 6: SOCIAL JUSTICE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The identification with and grounding of any study in the appropriate theoretical framework is deemed one of the most essential elements of any research process (Iqubal, 2007). Affirming this view, Osanloo and Grant (2016) postulates that theoretical frameworks ought to resonate with every part of the research process from the problem definition to the findings and conclusions drawn. Shedding further light on this concept, Abend (2018) defines a theoretical framework as the guiding outline of a study, consisting of concepts, definitions and references to relevant scholarly literature. Osanloo and Grant (2016) consider the theoretical framework to be the 'blueprint' of the entire dissertation inquiry, guiding the researcher on how to build and support a study as it provides the structure of how the researcher should philosophically, epistemologically, methodologically and analytically approach the study in its entirety.

This brief chapter will provide an overview of the social justice theoretical framework which was chosen to underpin the entire study. The researcher will define social justice and provide a justification for its inclusion as the backbone of this study. The researcher will also discuss social justice in relation to Nussbaum's (2000) 'capabilities' approach to justice and Fraser's (2008) three-dimensional view of justice. The chapter will conclude by portraying how these concepts relate to social work practice, thereby justifying their inclusion in this study.

6.2 DEFINING SOCIAL JUSTICE

Martin and Ngcobo (2015) posit that social justice is an elusive, shifting and dynamic concept that exists both as a process and as a goal. The complexity of social justice is further emphasised by Boyles, Carusi and Attick (2009) who maintain that its use in different contexts with differing meanings and purposes, both from historical and political perspectives, makes it a contested concept. Attesting to the complexity and universality of social justice, Cole (2007) gives an example of how social justice can be used in the political arena to depict how European migrants can reclaim lost privileges, while in the social arena it can be used in relation to the redistribution of resources for European nationals in Health and Social Services. In the context of this study, social justice can, therefore, be utilised to inform politically how Gukurahundi

survivors and their family members can reclaim lost properties and assets, while socially it can inform how government systems and policies can be designed to ensure redistribution of resources to ensure better access and equity for the Ndebele.

The concept of social justice was brought to prominence in academia through the work of Rawls and has since evolved and been modified by scholars who have come after him. Rawls defined social justice as having two basic principles, i.e., equal rights to basic liberties in a society, as well as ensuring the accumulation of social and economic benefits by those most disadvantaged in a society (Rawls, 1971). According to Rawls, society is a co-operative venture for mutual advantage governed by principles of justice which determine how various benefits and burdens of social cooperation ought to be distributed. Due to disagreement over which principles of justice ought to take precedence, Rawls argued that the social contract of tradition should enable a society to secure agreements on how it conceptualises justice (Rawls, 1971). With reference to Gukurahundi, one could, therefore, postulate that Rawls would argue that the survivors and their family members ought to be involved and possibly take the lead in determining agreements on what justice entails for them and the process to attain it.

In Rawls' first principle of social justice, i.e., each person having a right to basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty accessed by others, he determined that this right ought to be accessed by everyone without their needing to exert any effort to acquire it - it should simply be guaranteed for all by virtue of existence. These basic liberties include political liberty attained through the right to vote and be eligible for public office, freedom of speech and assembly, liberty of thought, the right to acquire personal property, and freedom from arbitrary arrest. Considering Gukurahundi survivors and their family members without access to birth certificates or national identity documents, it becomes apparent that they are disenfranchised from this basic liberty, as they cannot participate in national government elections which would have enabled them to assert their right to vote for candidates who represent them at national level.

With respect to the second principle meant to guarantee each person access to the accumulation of social and economic benefits, Rawls determined that there ought to be arrangements put in place socially and economically to enable particularly those most disadvantaged in a society to gain such access. In addition, he argued that attainment of social and economic benefits should be tied to the positions or offices that one has come to occupy, and effort must be made to ensure such offices or positions are open for all to access. Rawls added that wealth and income

distribution need not be equal; however, it must be to everyone's advantage and accessible to all. The relevance of this second principle in relation to Gukurahundi becomes apparent when one considers that children of Gukurahundi victims, who are more vulnerable and have missed opportunities to attend school and increase their competitive advantage in the employment sector, will naturally struggle to attain the social and economic benefits enjoyed by those who had not been affected by Gukurahundi.

Following on Rawls' work, Adams, Bell and Griffins (1997:4) identified "the equal and full participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their need" as the ultimate goal of social justice. The aforementioned authors further explain that the social justice process involves the democratic, participatory, inclusive and affirmative aspects of human agency and human capabilities. Contemporary academics have sought to define social justice as the fair and equitable distribution of power, resources and obligations in society to all people, regardless of race or ethnicity, age, gender, ability status, sexual orientation and religious or spiritual background (Van den Bos, 2003). Furthermore, Goodman, Liang, Helms, Latta, Sparks and Weintraub (2004) have defined social justice as the professional action designed to change societal values, structures, policies and practices, such that disadvantaged or marginalised groups gain increased access to tools of self-determination. The above definitions of social justice denote values of inclusion, collaboration, cooperation, equal access and equal opportunities as the underlying fundamental principles of social justice (Sue, 2001). Kennedy and Arthur (2014), as well as Prilleltensky and Nelson (2002), all agree that the absence of social justice undermines the nexus between justice and overall health and wellbeing. Hence the absence of justice exposes individuals to increased physical and emotional suffering, as well as greater vulnerability to illness. The authors further posit that social justice and access to resources are inextricably tied to collective wellbeing; hence the absence of social justice has the ability to have detrimental effects on relationships, families, communities and nations. Based on these definitions, it can, therefore, be argued that the non-address of Gukurahundi is an act of injustice, depriving survivors and their family members of access to increased tools of self-determination, as well as access to equal opportunities, thus being an affront to human dignity. The social justice theory is, therefore, used throughout this study to explore the experiences of Gukurahundi survivors and their family members (*process*) and inform the necessary steps required to respond to these experiences (*goal*).

Prilleltensky (2012) stresses the importance of promoting social justice at four different levels, i.e. the personal, interpersonal, organisational and community levels. He further describes the

impact of optimal, suboptimal, vulnerable and persisting conditions of injustice on wellness outcomes. Prilleltensky adds that, the further removed humans are from social justice across the four different levels, the more vulnerable they are to physical, psychological, emotional and financial ill-health. Gollowitzer and van Prooijen (2016) reason, therefore, that perceptions and reactions to injustices have detrimental effects on human beings. Social justice, therefore, creates room for increasing wellbeing because of the power that capabilities and opportunities offer through equitable distribution of resources, promotion of relationships, equal participation and allocation of fair responsibilities to all people within a society. The explored narratives of Gukurahundi survivors and their family members will shed more light on how individuals, communities and, to some extent, the entire nation have been detrimentally affected and precluded from overall wellbeing as a result of Gukurahundi. It is, therefore, deduced that employing the social justice framework when working with Gukurahundi survivors and their family members has the potential to improve their overall wellbeing.

Practitioners working in the field of social justice are thus urged to challenge existing practices of socially unjust systems, as well as to seek to understand the enablements of injustice in order to confront them (Tripp, 2005). Goodman, Liang, Helms, Latta, Sparks and Weintraub (2004) conclude, therefore, that social justice practitioners need to pay attention to the micro-level injustices confronting individuals, the mezzo-level injustices confronting communities and organisations, as well as the macro-level injustices manifested through social structures, ideologies and policies. The framework designed towards the end of this study will, therefore, make recommendations on how social workers can respond to Gukurahundi injustices at micro, mezzo and macro levels while promoting an enabling environment for social justice to be attained.

6.3 FRASER'S THREE DIMENSIONAL APPROACH TO JUSTICE

As the field of social justice has continued to evolve, Nancy Fraser, a feminist political philosopher, developed a normative approach to social justice. Although Fraser did not offer a specific definition for social justice, she determined that, for social justice to be realised, *participatory parity* needs to be attained. Fraser defined participatory parity as the ability to participate on an equal footing as full partners in social interactions with others. The social arrangements that enable participatory parity can only be realised when there is:

1. redistribution of resources (social and economic dimension),

2. recognition of status (cultural dimension), and

3. representation (political dimension).

Fraser coined the slogan "No redistribution or recognition without representation" (Fraser, 2008:282). Following on Fraser's theory, Bozalek (2017) concluded that, for complete realisation of social justice, all three conditions are necessary for participatory parity and none alone is sufficient in itself. Commenting on Fraser's three dimensions for participatory parity, Power (2012) reflected that, although these dimensions are related, each dimension carries with it specific forms of injustice that enable it, thus requiring different strategies to reduce the specific injustice, as well as different conditions to enable participatory parity. In applying Fraser's concept to Gukurahundi, the researcher has sought to understand how resources in Zimbabwe could be redistributed to enable participatory parity. The relevance of redistribution has been highlighted throughout this thesis as literature has exposed the disparity of access to resources between mostly Shona people in Zimbabwe and other ethnic groups, particularly the Ndebele (Rwafa, 2012). In applying Fraser's concept of recognition, the researcher has also sought to explore how the Ndebele, whom literature has depicted as assuming a second class citizen status (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008), could attain recognition of their status. Mindful of the concept of representation, the researcher has also sought to explore how the Ndebele could attain equal access to the political dimension, as literature also reflected on how the main 'Ndebele political party' (ZAPU) has been forced into submission and to play second fiddle to the dominant 'Shona political party' (ZANU PF). The researcher, therefore, justifies the inclusion of Fraser's theory by analysing the narratives of participants in this study as they divulge the social and political trauma that they have experienced owing to a lack of recognition, status and resources in Zimbabwe. Fraser's theory has also been useful in determining how a framework for social workers could ensure redistribution, recognition and representation.

6.4 NUSSBAUM'S 'CAPABILITIES' APPROACH TO JUSTICE

In addition to Fraser's three dimensions for participatory parity as a means to attaining social justice, Nussbaum's *human capabilities* approach also provided theoretical grounding for conceptualising social justice for this study. Nussbaum (2000) envisaged social justice to be pursued in the attainment of human dignity and, therefore, proposed a capabilities approach that can be used to evaluate quality of life. Capabilities are defined as the set of valuable

functionings to which a person has effective access (Sen, 1999). These capabilities are, therefore, a set of opportunities that are interconnected with substantial freedoms enabling humans to function fully within a society. The capabilities approach motions that freedom to achieve wellbeing and human dignity is based on two prerequisites, i.e., what people are *able to do* and what people are *able to be,* thus determining the kind of life they are actually able to live (Robeyns, 2017). In essence, the research will explore what the Ndebele are able to do based on the access they have to opportunities in Zimbabwe and what they are able to be in relation to the freedoms designed to ensure optimum human functioning in Zimbabwe.

Nussbaum (2000:84) uses the term 'basic capabilities' to refer to "the innate equipment of individuals that is necessary for developing the more advanced capabilities". For example, a new-born baby may have basic capability of speech and language; these, however, need to be fostered for them to be realised as the child grows. In effect, having a certain capability at one's disposal does not always imply that a person can access and utilise it fully. Critical in Nussbaum's conceptualisation of social justice and capabilities is that people ought to have access to choice in whether or not to take up certain capabilities - and whether they take them up or not needs to be respected; e.g., in the context of Gukurahundi, one could extrapolate that, if access to individual counselling for survivors and their families is made available and accessible for all, one's choice to go or not go for counselling ought to be respected.

Nussbaum argues that societies either have or do not have a conception of basic justice; hence, if a society argues that it has a concept of justice, that conception ought to be specified. She rejects the idea that a society simply issues blanket endorsements of freedoms or capabilities without being clear about what those capabilities are for them to be evaluated. In the same vein, for this study, the researcher will not take for granted that the Ndebele have freedoms and capabilities in Zimbabwe by virtue of being Zimbabwean, but rather will analyse the extent to which the said justices are accessible. Nussbaum (2011) provides a list of the following 10 human capabilities that the state must ensure to enable full human functioning for its citizens. She considers these essential in the attainment of social justice which results in attainment of human dignity:

Table 9: Nussbaum's 10 Capabilities

CAPABILITY	EXPLANATION
1. **Life**	Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length
2. **Bodily health**	Being able to have good health, including reproductive health

3. **Bodily integrity**	Being able to move freely from place to place
4. **Senses, imagination, thought**	Being able to use one's senses; being able to imagine, to think, and to reason and to do these things in a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education
5. **Emotions**	Being able to have attachments to things and persons outside ourselves
6. **Practical reason**	Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's own life
7. **Affiliation**	Being able to live for and in relation to
8. **Other species**	Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature
9. **Play**	Being able to laugh, to play and to enjoy recreational activities
10. **Control over one's environment**	(a) Political: being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; (b) Material: being able to hold personal property.

According to Nussbaum, this list, together with its precise location of thresholds, needs to be democratically debated and incorporated into constitutional guarantees and international human rights legislation through overlapping consensus. These capabilities are, therefore, to be seen as basic goals of any society, and each society needs to access the freedom to endorse fundamental entitlements as it sees fit. Despite the liberty to endorse certain freedoms at different thresholds, Nussbaum argues that a fully just society can only be achieved when every capability is held equal for each and every person at the determined threshold. In other words, if a society neglects any one of these capabilities to promote another capability, it is guilty of short-changing its citizens and, therefore, failing to achieve social justice for all (Nussbaum, 2001). For Gukurahundi survivors and their family members, this theory will be used to evaluate the extent to which they are afforded equal access to these capabilities. Instances where they have to forego one capability, e.g., life at the expense of emotions will be explored.

The political arena is, therefore, crucial in the attainment of social justice as it sets the parameters for who accesses what capabilities at what threshold. Human dignity is thus enhanced when humans are provided with the right materials, access and support to become fully capable of moving from lower-level capabilities to higher-level capabilities. Consequently, governments have the responsibility to ensure that *all* citizens can develop the

minimum threshold. Nussbaum advocates the translation of the ten capabilities into implementation and policies that should be executed at a local level, taking into account local differences. Nussbaum, Rawls and Fraser all agree in that they call upon societies to consider diverse community needs; hence one set of principles, liberties or freedoms cannot be indiscriminately applied to a community simply because it worked well in another. Applying Nussbaum's capabilities approach to Gukurahundi survivors and their family members required the researcher to explore how human dignity has been affected by the experience of Gukurahundi. In addition, through exploration and analysis of the participants' narratives, the researcher was able to identify which capabilities Gukurahundi survivors and their family members have access to and which ones they are restricted from accessing. From the literature review, it emerged without a doubt that access to education, employment and political freedom is a challenge for Gukurahundi survivors and family members who do not have national identification documents. Although education and employment systems are available to all, using the capabilities approach one draws the conclusion that persons with no legal documents will be barred from school and employment opportunities because they are not actually able to access an available capability. Using the capabilities approach, the researcher was then able to analyse the impact this has on human dignity and overall wellbeing.

Despite Nussbaum's approach to justice as being considered the more developmental and advanced of all capability theories or approaches, it is not without its own criticisms. Okin (2003) criticised it for reflecting typical 21st Century American liberal values as opposed to a contemporary global consensus. Menon (2002) has also criticised it for being overly specific and paternalistic while ignoring other important capabilities related to quality of life measurements used in developmental fieldwork. Nussbaum (2011) has responded to these criticisms by arguing that her lists are not impositions of definitive capability theories but rather humble objects for democratic deliberation and decision-making by those concerned.

6.5 APPROPRIATENESS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE THEORY FOR THIS STUDY

Throughout this study, the social justice theoretical framework was used to inform the role that social workers can play in responding to Gukurahundi. Social justice was utilised as a fitting theoretical framework for this study because of the explorative and descriptive nature of the research questions which required a theoretical framework that is able to take the lived experiences of the participants into account. Additionally, social justice theory was also considered for this study due to its versatility and applicability both as a goal and as a process.

As a goal, this thesis takes on an advocacy academic role that seeks to lay open the experiences of Gukurahundi survivors and their family members. As a process, this thesis seeks to inform, through framework development, the role that social workers can play in response to Gukurahundi and in line with their professional processes.

The role of social workers as advocates of social justice has been dealt with in Chapter 4 Section 3. Additionally, Chapter 4 Section 7 addressed the gap in social work practice, revealing social workers' deafening silence in Zimbabwe on issues related to justice - particularly when matters are entangled in political controversy. The use of the social justice framework for this study seeks, therefore, to address an academic gap experienced by social work scholars in Zimbabwe while attending to a practice gap in order to propel social workers into social justice action regarding the Gukurahundi atrocities. According to Bocci (2016:7), "inaction is an action that supports social injustices." Use of the social justice theoretical framework, therefore, attempts to reduce the complicity of the social work profession's silence in justice conversations. This view is backed by Kennedy and Arthur (2014) who argue that, in a society in which a culture of oppression persists, there is no neutral stance; hence the professional person is a political person.

The IFSW and NASW allude to the value of social workers in the promotion of social justice in relation to society and in relation to challenges fostered by negative discrimination, unacknowledged diversity and exclusion of their clients. Positioning this study within the social justice theoretical framework was, therefore, critical in the attainment of justice for Gukurahundi survivors and their family members. It was important for the researcher to use Fraser's 3-dimensional concept of recognition (of the real and felt needs of the Gukurahundi survivors and their family members), representation (of their experiences) and redistribution (of the 'lost' resources both materially and emotionally). Additionally, social work practice is about recognising and creating opportunities for the realisation of the inherent worth of all human beings. Nussbaum's capabilities approach was thus an appropriate framework able to achieve this goal.

Sabbagh and Schmitt (2016) postulate that, due to various approaches across various disciplines contributing academically and theoretically to issues regarding social justice, academics ought to produce studies that establish explicit connections between social justice, capabilities and well-being in different spheres of life. This study's use of both Fraser's and

Nussbaum's approaches, therefore, seeks to provide the connection as denoted by Sabbagh and Schmitt.

6.6 ALTERNATE THEORIES APPLICABLE TO THE STUDY

Although not utilised in detail, several other theoretical underpinnings have also provided a framework of thinking with regard to this study. Elements of the social constructivist theoretical framework have also undergirded the study process. Creswell (2007) explains that social constructivism is a world view in which individuals try to understand the world in which they interact with other individuals. Kukla (2013) states that social constructivism considers how humans construct their own reality through their lived experiences. In other words, a researcher cannot discover reality as it does not exist before its social invention. Knowledge is, therefore, socially and culturally created by those experiencing it as and while they are experiencing it. Thus, humans ascribe meaning to their interactions with each other and with their environment through learning. This learning does not take place inside an individual but rather as they engage in social activities within their environment (Jackson et al., 2006). Throughout this study, the researcher considered how Gukurahundi survivors and their family members have constructed their realities based on the collective challenges that they have experienced during and after Gukurahundi, and how these have shaped their interactions within the environment. For example, the research questions sought to explore how survivors and their family members utilised categories that structure and describe their experiences. This, in turn, provided an understanding of how they analyse their world as they develop subjective meanings of their experiences, as well as a conception of what it means to be a Gukurahundi survivor in present day Zimbabwe, thereby informing their own social constructs (Creswell, 2007, cited in De Vos et al., 2011).

Another theoretical framework that also guided the research process, albeit as a minor framework, was the resilience theory. Rutter (2006) takes a lifespan approach to resilience by asserting that resilience is not a chemistry of the moment but something more evident throughout one's lifespan. He, therefore, defined resilience as an interactive concept that is concerned with the combination of serious risk experiences and a relatively positive psychological outcome despite those experiences. Individual differences, such as genetics and personality or temperament may determine how different people respond differently to risk and protective factors. The practitioner, therefore, must assess individual needs in relation to particular circumstances as opposed to assuming that, if people experienced similar risks and

made use of similar protective factors, their response ought to be the same. Masten (2011) defines resilience as the capacity of a dynamic system to adapt successfully to disturbances that threaten system function, viability or development. According to Masten, individuals do not withstand risk, but rather change to accommodate risk. Ungar (2011) draws on a strengths-based perspective in viewing resilience as the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to health-sustaining resources, such as opportunities to experience wellbeing. To achieve resilience, it is, therefore, critical for an individual's environment to provide these health resources, as well as provide a positive cultural experience in spite of exposure to significant psychological or environmental adversity. Central in all these definitions of resilience is the understanding that resilience is not an individual trait or characteristic but rather a dynamic process through which individuals encounter adversity or significant hardship (Walker, Anderies, Kinzig & Ryan, 2006).

In this study, the resilience theory was critical as Gukurahundi occurred 33 years ago. By exploring the various significant adversities experienced by Gukurahundi survivors and their family members, the researcher was able to identify how different people have responded similarly or differently to the same adversity. Critical in developing a framework and making recommendations in this study was the resilience concept that emphasises how different people deal differently with adversity, while simultaneously informing social workers of how protective factors may have increased the resilience capacity in some individuals. Hence, from the data collection and analysis, it is to be understood that this framework was essential in acknowledging the different ways in which participants have shown resilience - or not - and how this may guide social workers when dealing with collectives that have had similar experiences but have responded differently to adversity.

6.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has sought to outline the theoretical blueprint that governed this study. The social justice theoretical framework has been discussed in relation to how it should guide social work practice. Rawls', Nancy Fraser's and Martha Nussbaum's work has been highlighted in relation to how their conceptualisation of social justice provides a suitable framework for guiding the role that social workers can play in response to Gukurahundi. The resilience and the social constructivist' theories were also briefly highlighted in relation to how their concepts provided understanding in respect of working with persons who have undergone harrowing

circumstances with socially constructed labels allotted to them while they attempt to bounce back from the adverse experiences.

The next three chapters endeavour to provide answers to the research question by presenting an analysis of the collated data. These will be analysed from demographic detail to emerging themes. The researcher will lay out the themes in relation to the theoretical analysis as previously discussed in Chapter 5 Section 7.

CHAPTER 7: DATA ANALYSIS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 5 expanded on the research methodology employed for this study in a bid to answer the research question. Following the explication of the data collection process, Chapter 6 then located the study within the social justice theoretical framework which is the basis upon which this study was conducted. The following three chapters will lay out and discuss the emerging data using the methodology discussed throughout Chapter 5, while positioning the findings within the relevant literature in order to confirm or reject previous studies on the subject matter. Through an analysis of the findings, the researcher will also present new ways of thinking in relation to the subject matter by presenting a framework that can be used by social workers involved with those affected by atrocities, such as Gukurahundi.

In order to recapture the reader's attention, the goal of this study was to determine the role that social workers can play in response to atrocities, such as Gukurahundi and similar atrocities elsewhere. The findings will be presented in three consecutive and interconnected chapters comprising three parts in the following fashion:

Fig 10: Data presentation sequence:

PART 1: WHO ARE THEY?

Presentation and analysis of demographic data and observations made during the data collection process.

PART 2: WHAT ARE THEIR STORIES?

Presentation and analysis of themes and sub-themes emerging from collected data.

PART 3: WHAT MUST HAPPEN?

Presentation of the framework emerging from the analysed data.
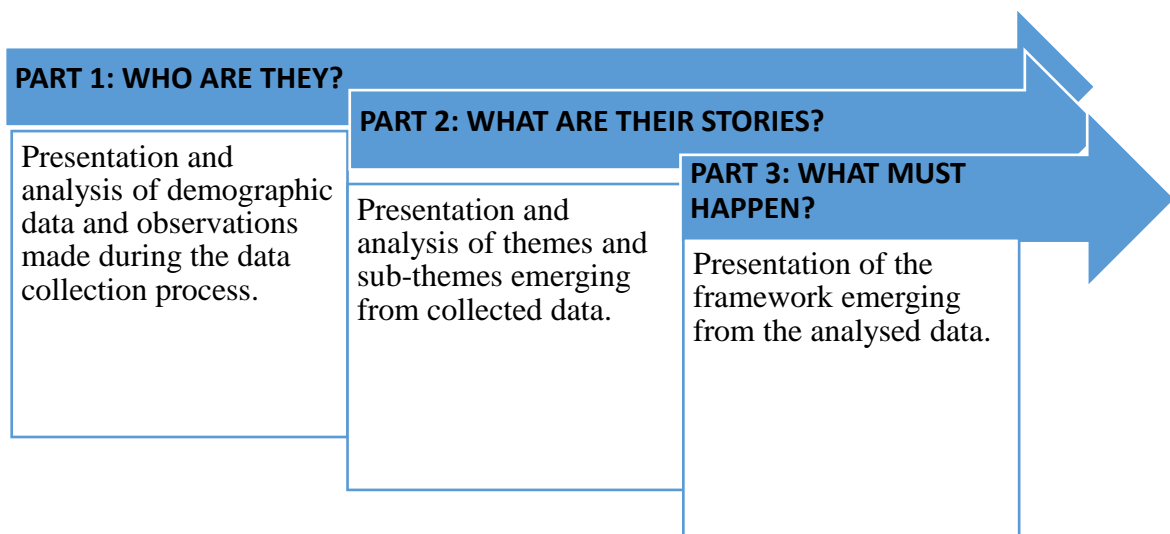
Upon commencement of the data analysis process, a pattern began to emerge which told a story

in three parts. The first part informed the researcher of who the participants were in relation to Gukurahundi; the second part informed the researcher regarding the individual and collective stories of the participants' Gukurahundi experiences, while the third part informed the researcher regarding their aspirations in response to Gukurahundi. An analysis of the data based on these three emerging stories enabled the researcher to develop a framework that can be utilised by social workers working with survivors and their family members. Throughout the subsequent three chapters, the researcher will present how the research questions were answered based on the collected and analysed data. In addition, the researcher's personal observations collated throughout the data collection process will be presented and analysed to substantiate, support or negate previous literature and emerging information collected in this study.

To complement the data collection tools, the researcher made use of observations which were documented and analysed throughout the study. According to King, Horrocks and Brooks (2018) a good researcher is sensitive to nuances that participants may not always openly verbalise. The recording of non-verbal cues is therefore crucial as part of analysed data. Despite observations being used as a secondary data collection method, acknowledging them was fundamental in increasing the researcher's sensitivity and awareness of participants' lived environments. Analysing observations therefore brings to the fore participants' experiences that may be so entrenched in their natural settings hence easily ignored by researchers (King, Horrocks and Brooks, 2018).

Having explained the data analysis process to be followed, the researcher will now delve into the first part of the analysis of the data. This will comprise a presentation and analysis of the demographic details of all the participants interviewed.

PART 1: WHO ARE THEY?

7.2 PRESENTATION OF DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

The positioning of research subjects is critical in enabling the researcher to identify who participants are in relation to their experiences, as such experiences are inextricably tied to who they are as individuals. This was particularly important for this study as, to date, mystery and obfuscation regarding this dark period in Zimbabwe's history has been the norm. While there

are efforts by survivors, activists and other interested parties to expose who the real victims and survivors of Gukurahundi are, the magnitude of their experiences, the ongoing consequences of Gukurahundi, as well as who the actual perpetrators are – much of the information has remained concealed – by the silence of both survivors and perpetrators. Conflicting accounts, denialism and deliberate concealment of information have resulted in some Zimbabweans erroneously denying that Gukurahundi ever occurred. The presentation and analysis of demographic data and observations will identify who the Gukurahundi victims, survivors and their family members are, as well as who the civil society organisations that responded or continue to respond to Gukurahundi are. This will add weight and a voice to the consequent narratives of the participants, thereby giving the reader a solid basis that facilitates understanding of the next two chapters which will explore the stories, experiences and aspirations of these participants. Most importantly, proponents of social justice advocate the recognition of *identity politics* which embraces a difference-friendly world in which assimilation into the majority is an affront to independence (Fraser, 1988). By reserving a chapter to locate and analyse the demographics of participants in this study, the researcher aligns with Fraser's theory of recognition as she argues that misrecognition is a status injury that impedes individuals and groups from participating on a par with others in the arena of social interaction.

7.3 DEMOGRAPHICS OF SURVIVORS

The table below presents an analysis of the demographic details of survivors. 'Survivors' refers to participants who experienced Gukurahundi first-hand and who, during this study, shared their personal stories. Data were collated to outline their age, sex, relationship status, education level and current socio-economic status. In keeping with Fraser's theory of recognition, participants ascribed to themselves which categories best defined them as opposed to the researcher's determining for herself which category to ascribe to participants.

Table 10: Survivors' demographic data:

Participant	Age	Sex	Relationship status	Education level	*Socio- economic status
1	82	M	Widowed	Primary school	Low
2	74	M	Married	Never schooled	Low
3	71	F	Never married*	Primary school	Low
4	69	M	Divorced	Diploma	Middle

5	69	F	Married	High school	Low
6	61	F	Married	Primary school	Low
7	60	F	Single	High school	Low
8	56	M	Divorced	High school	Low
9	54	F	Widowed	Primary school	Low
10	52	F	In a life partnership	High school	Low
11	49	F	Single	Diploma	Low

"Never married" was not a category in the researcher's documents. Instead, the participant in question introduced this classification stating that she did not feel that she fitted into the pre-determined classifications given by the researcher.

Participants shared with the researcher the above information which has now been translated into a table. The classifications have, therefore, been suggested by the participants and not ascribed by the researcher.

7.3.1 Analysis in relation to age of survivors

From Table 10, it is noted that the youngest Gukurahundi survivor interviewed was 49 years old while the oldest was 82 years old. Owing to Gukurahundi having happened nearly four decades ago, it was reasonable to expect that the survivors would fall within this age range. Killander and Nyathi (2015) have criticised the Zimbabwean government for the amount of time it has taken to concretely address Gukurahundi. They argue that most Gukurahundi survivors are now very old while many survivors have since passed on, thereby making it difficult to ascertain the full extent of direct victim testimonies. This assertion was also discussed in the CCJP report which alleged that because of the passing of time, some older survivors' memory had degenerated due to old age. Furthermore, in some instances, these survivors had suffered trauma which affected their memory thus making their testimonies challenging in the search for justice (CCJP, 1997; Killander & Nyathi, 2015). This narrative was, however, disputed by most participants in this study as they insisted that, while their accounts may be considered to be anecdotal evidence not useful for judiciary processes, the real victims never forgot their experiences and are able to recount them in detail. It is interesting to note that studies conducted by Eppel in 1998 indicated that close to 60% of her research participants were direct Gukurahundi survivors (Eppel, 2014). In essence, had the Zimbabwean government made concrete efforts to address Gukurahundi then, more in-depth survivor accounts would have been obtained and recorded. It, therefore, stands to reason to conclude that the numbers of survivors have since diminished without any real effort having been made to address Gukurahundi. This leads one to wonder whether delays in addressing Gukurahundi have been a carefully thought-out strategy to evade the full extent of the atrocities as survivors have now aged or are long deceased. This view is supported by Killander and Nyathi (2015)

who assert that frustrating a constructive and restorative handling of the Gukurahundi aftermath has remained a top priority for key political figures in Zimbabwe who wield great political power, the reason being that they would be directly implicated should legal processes be instituted.

Another interesting dynamic noted regarding age was that the male survivors were the oldest with the female participants generally falling within a lower age range. This observation begs the question and possibly corroborates the literature that speaks of how Gukurahundi targeted mainly Ndebele men (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). While not fully corroborated in this study, this observation may add weight to the assumption posed by some that Gukurahundi intended to stop procreation of the Ndebele by killing men of child-bearing age.

7.3.2 Analysis in relation to sex of survivors

The gender classification of Gukurahundi survivors was quite interesting in that out of the 11 participants interviewed, only four were male. From the observations in the participants' homes, it was also evident that most homes were female-headed households. In addition to there being very few male participants, the latter were more advanced in age in comparison to the female participants. The difficulty in accessing male participants could be an indication which corroborates the assertions that Ndebele men were the main death victims of Gukurahundi, while their female counterparts were mainly victims of sexual violence acts (Killander & Nyathi, 2015). A witness account affirms this finding when she said:

> *"As a woman, I had no option because my husband had been killed, so if they said lie down, I did so without asking questions lest I die for nothing like my husband."*

The gendered nature of what fate befell victims and survivors will be explored in more detail in the next chapter as corroborated by testimonies of the participants. It must, however, be noted that other similar studies on processes, such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, actually found more male participants willing to share their stories in comparison to female participants. This led to the creation of special 'women spaces' in which they could share their accounts. Ndlovu (2019) alleges that the dearth of female participants in such processes is usually because, culturally, women are not provided space to be heard as they are male dominated. It must be noted that sexual violence is also not easily talked about. This brings to the fore participatory parity as discussed by Fraser (1998). Fraser argues that institutionalised androcentric norms exclude the full participation of women as they are

marginalised from deliberative bodies that would place them on par with men. The remedy for this would then require both distribution of access that guarantees participation and also recognition of their status as women. For this study, the participation of more female than male participants could be attributed to the prevalence of female-headed households due to migration as a significant number of men have left the country in search for a better livelihood (Crush & Tevera, 2010). Hence this ought not to be mistaken as an assumption that there is gender parity regarding Gukurahundi matters as women's voices remain stifled and recognition remains elusive.

In terms of the actual interviews, the researcher observed that the female participants went into greater detail when narrating their stories while the men were mainly brief and required probing to elicit more detail. Azhar and Mohindra (2012) find this consistent with how men generally converse as they report that men tend to avoid personal and emotive conversations that may make them appear weak. O'Kearney and Dadds (2004) concur with this line of thinking on the basis that men are gendered from a young age to conceal their true feelings. Affirming the researcher's findings, Bauer, Stennes and Haight (2003) portray women as autobiographical in conversation as they give lengthier, vivid and more comprehensive detail when telling a story. The consequence for this research, therefore, was that more female data were collected, and female accounts produced most of the content which informed the themes that were generated in this study. The limitation of having fewer men in this study will be further discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.

7.3.3 Analysis in relation to relationship status of survivors

The table below further portrays the relationship status of survivors:

Table 11: Survivors' relationship status

Relationship status:	Females:	Males:
Single	2	0
In a life partnership	1	0
Married	2	1
Divorced	0	2
Widowed	1	1
Never married*	1	0

*Never married was not on any of the pre-populated relationship statuses but the participant was specific in that she wanted to be categorised as such.

The impact of Gukurahundi on intimate-partner relationships came out strongly in this study despite there being very little literature that expounds on this theme. The testimonies of survivors opened up the lid on how intimate-partner relationships suffered and continue to suffer as a result of survivors' experiences. While marriage is highly regarded in the Zimbabwean culture and is often considered an achievement and social integrity symbol, only three of the participants identified themselves as married, with two of the three married individuals being women. The rest of the participants fell within the single, in a life-partnership, divorced, widowed or 'never married' categories. The 'never married' category was particularly interesting in that it was not part of any demographics category given to participants when they were asked to label their marital status. Instead, one female participant insisted that she wished to be captured as 'never married' as opposed to 'single' and had this to say:

> *"I can't say I'm single as if this single is my choice! I was about to get married when these Gukurahundi's came and it was double trouble for me. I was raped by the dissidents in the afternoon and raped by the Gukurahundi people in the evening. My boyfriend started hearing stories about me and called me a prostitute then he disappeared. Just like that my dream of becoming a respectable married woman was gone, so write that this one was never married because marriage escaped me."*

What was peculiar about this female participant's narrative was that, when she experienced Gukurahundi, she was in her 20s and is now in her 70s, but disclosed to have never recovered from the loss of her pending marriage. This resulted in her never marrying which she attributes to Gukurahundi. The Gukurahundi's referred to by this woman were the 5th Brigade soldiers while the 'dissidents' were the defectors from the Zimbabwe National Army.

In addition to her story, nearly all the participants alluded to their current relationship status as being directly aligned with their Gukurahundi experiences. Those categorised as 'widowed' lost their partners during Gukurahundi or afterwards and cited unresolved health and psychological issues related to their Gukurahundi trauma as being responsible for the death of their partners. Those who were divorced alluded to the challenges experienced in their marriages due to an inability to recover from their Gukurahundi experiences, while the 'single' persons either struggled to 'keep' relationships as they struggled to be intimate following sexual violent acts perpetrated against them or were too afraid of losing loved ones after having

lost loved ones during Gukurahundi. It was, therefore, concluded that Gukurahundi had a profound effect on intimate-partner relationships.

7.3.4 Analysis in relation to education level of survivors

One of the major devastations of Gukurahundi in the affected areas was the shutting down of schools, as well as the destruction of schools in Matabeleland and Midlands provinces. It was, therefore, prudent to analyse the impact this might have had on the survivors interviewed. The table below presents the educational levels attained by survivors:

Table 12: Highest education level attained by survivors

GENDER	NEVER ATTENDED FORMAL SCHOOL	PRIMARY SCHOOL	HIGH SCHOOL	DIPLOMA/ DEGREE
Female:	**0**	**3**	**3**	**1**
Male:	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**
Total:	**1**	**4**	**4**	**2**

From the above table and from the accounts of the survivors, it was ascertained that the educational levels of participants are quite low in comparison to the general education levels in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe has often been touted as a highly educated nation, a perception that has also led to its citizens being ridiculed by other countries for being so educated and yet failing to address the economic and political issues that continue to bedevil the nation. Seven out of eleven participants recounted how they were forced out of education after their schools had been destroyed or closed down during Gukurahundi or how they lost teachers due to Gukurahundi violence, resulting in their schools being abandoned. Some recounted how their benefactors' income was lost due to theft, acts of arson or the death of their breadwinners due to Gukurahundi related atrocities. The following quotes depict the impact of Gukurahundi on education:

> *"You know nothing, my sister! I became a home defender when my school became like a ghost town after the soldiers had come and killed four teachers right in front of some students. Soon after that, the school closed down, the headmaster disappeared. The rumour says he was accused of housing dissidents at the school at night."*

It would appear that the impact of Gukurahundi on education was felt more by women as they related how dwindling financial resources resulted in their being forced out of school so that their male siblings could attend instead. Further illustrating the gendered impact of Gukurahundi on education, one female participant also said:

> *"For me it hurts when people laugh at me for being poor because I was bright. But I had to drop out after the rape and realised that I was pregnant. Everything just became black for me up until today."*

Further concretising Gukurahundi's impact on education, a CSO representative also spoke about the challenges in attaining education even after Gukurahundi when he said:

> *"It's even funny that there is Lupane State University in Bulawayo because you must ask yourself that who was this university built for because when you look around the local area, there are no decent schools since they were all destroyed by Gukurahundi. So it tells you that these schools were not built for us. I remember after 1987 when the unity accord was signed that grown women in their 30s started coming back to sit in primary school because their schooling had been disrupted by Gukurahundi."*

The impact of Gukurahundi on education continues to be felt which possibly explains the low education levels of the survivors interviewed. This is felt as a double-pronged jeopardy as very little has been done by the government to restore educational infrastructure destroyed during Gukurahundi. The observed feeling amongst most participants was that this is perceived as a deliberate ploy to ensure that the people of Matabeleland are ineligible for opportunities for advancement which would have been improved by higher educational levels. In February 2021, there was a social media furore over a released list ranking Grade 7 national examination results which allegedly claimed a 0% pass rate by Matabeleland schools (Newsday, 2021). Without denying the authenticity of the ratings, the Zimbabwean government denied that the list originated from them and, therefore, needed to be dismissed. A report by the Newsday (2021) quotes pressure group leader Mbuso Fuzwayo saying:

> *"This sad development has been going on for years. It can be attributed to lack of restorative justice after the Gukurahundi genocide. The region lost a lot of infrastructure and human resources that would have made the region at par — if not better than the rest of the country."*

While the assertions by Mr Fuzwayo have a place in the discourse on the state of education in Matabeleland and Midlands, it must also be noted that there was a sharp nationwide decline in the Grade 7 results with the country recording a mere 37.11 nationwide pass rate (Zimeye, 2021). Other factors, including the global Corona viral disease (Covid19) outbreak, as well as protracted school teacher strikes, can also account for this nationwide decline in educational outcomes. Lack of access to education puts the social justice discourse at the forefront as unequal access to education limits access to social and economic entitlements (Rawls, 1971) and is, therefore, an affront to equality.

7.3.5 Analysis in relation to socio-economic status of survivors

Only one out of the 11 survivors identified himself as belonging to the middle-income socio-economic status. The rest identified themselves as low-income earners. The levels of poverty were also clearly visible in most of the homes visited during the interviews and were observable by the often old and worn-out buildings and furniture within the homes. In addition, a sizable number of the participants do not own the houses they are residing in and are tenants. The one participant who is a middle-income earner has a diploma in education and worked as a teacher. He was also a Member of Parliament (MP) in Zimbabwe, as well as a former Minister of State in the Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration which explained his well-appointed and furnished household. Despite this, he also spoke about how the current economic situation in Zimbabwe had affected his earning capacity as he was no longer in government. One of the major cries of those advocating the addressing of Gukurahundi is what they perceive to be the structural injustices that have seen the government ignoring development and revival of factories and businesses in Matabeleland and the Midlands which were ravaged during Gukurahundi.

7.4 DEMOGRAPHICS OF FAMILY MEMBERS TO VICTIMS/SURVIVORS

The following section will now analyse the demographics of the family members to victims and survivors of Gukurahundi. It was essential to separate the demographic analysis in order to capture specific issues and possibly draw comparisons and differences in their experiences as family members from those of the actual survivors.

Table 13: Family members' demographics

Participant	Age	Sex	Education level	Socio- economic status	Relationship to victim/ survivor
1	67	M	Diploma	Middle	Parent
2	64	F	Primary school	Low	Parent
3	60	F	High school	Low	Wife
4	57	F	High school	Low	Life-partner
5	57	F	University degree	Middle	Wife
6	52	F	High school	Upper-middle	Aunt
7	50	F	High school	Low	Sibling
8	47	M	Primary school	Low	Child
9	45	M	Diploma	Low	Child
10	43	F	High school	Low	Child
11	41	M	Diploma	Middle	Sibling
12	41	F	High school	Low	Child
13	37	M	University degree	Upper-middle	Uncle
14	32	M	High school	Low	Sibling
15	28	M	University degree	Middle	Child

7.4.1 Analysis in relation to age of family members to victims/ survivors

A notable and interesting dynamic regarding the age of family members is the participants' diversity in age range. While the youngest participant was 28 years old and the oldest was 67 years old, there was a wider age range in comparison to the age range of survivors. It was, therefore, deduced that family members of those who either succumbed to Gukurahundi or are still alive fall within a wide age-range spectrum. Notable is that the youngest participant who is 28 years old was born just after Gukurahundi had ended. Despite this, their account of the impact of Gukurahundi on them is profound as reflected in this quotation:

> *"I never saw my father, I'm told that he ran away when the situation was very hot in Nkayi. Sadly he never came back and my mother had to deal with the pregnancy alone. Some say he was killed, others say he crossed over to South Africa or Botswana. But if he crossed over, why did he never come back to a wife and child he loved especially when it all ended? I'm convinced*

that he is dead, but my mother, she still thinks someday he is going to walk

back home and say "hello, I am back!"

From the above account, it is clear that even those who were born after Gukurahundi continue to suffer the impact of what happened to their older relatives. Another age dynamic noteworthy is that males generally tended to be younger while the female participants were older. This observation is particularly important as younger men have been at the forefront in their fight for cessation following Gukurahundi. Increasingly, younger men have also driven the Gukurahundi advocacy. One wonders and could posit that young Ndebele men are filling the space lost by older Ndebele men who were killed during Gukurahundi. This could also be attributed to transgenerational trauma and the need to revive the Ndebele nation.

7.4.2 Analysis in relation to sex of family members of victims / survivors

Similar to the gender dynamics in the group of interviewed survivors, there were more female participants in comparison to males in the group discussed here. However, unlike the survivors' group, the margin here was almost negligible as there were seven males and eight females. This variable was interesting to note as it confirmed an observation which the researcher has made in Gukurahundi literature, as well as Gukurahundi activism, namely, that men's voices are generally amplified.

7.4.3 Analysis in relation to socio-economic status of family members of victims / survivors

In relation to the socio-economic status of family members of survivors, there was a slightly tilted scale with nine participants identifying themselves as low-income earners, four as middle-income earners while two identified themselves as upper-middle income earners. Further analysis of the socio-economic status revealed that five of the middle- and upper-middle income earners are residing in the diaspora and have attained either a degree or diploma. It is, therefore, postulated that, despite having been affected by Gukurahundi, families, whose relatives managed to acquire higher education levels and an opportunity to leave Zimbabwe, increased their income earning potential. Most participants who fell within the low-income category attributed their current financial situation to the Gukurahundi experiences of their families which affected their livelihood as illustrated by the following participant;

"You, you are Shona, you know that song which says: If I had been educated,

I would have been a VIP. Some of us never had that chance, when my family

was forced to burn their cattle kraal by 5th Brigade, our hopes of becoming

*something died. We never had anything then and we never became anything now.***"**

Another participant related the following:

*"**This Zimbabwe is a joke. More so if you are Kalanga or Ndebele. There is nothing for us here. With my diploma, I can't even get a decent salary. Sometimes it's not even about the past, it's about the government not caring for us even now**."*

The musings of the above quoted participants validate the assertion that some citizens in Matabeleland and the Midlands believe that a continuing genocide is perpetrated against the Ndebele through structural violence. The allegations regarding The Grand Plan, a document said to have been developed by the Mugabe-led regime outlining their plans to ensure that the Shona - and specifically Shona dialects - gain prominence and power by dominating other ethnicities seems to be believed by some participants (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008). As a result, they believe that their current socio-economic status, despite Zimbabwe's tough economic outlook, is a creation of the Shona-led government.

7.4.4. Analysis in relation to relationship to Gukurahundi victims /survivors

Understanding the relationship of interviewed relatives to primary Gukurahundi survivors or victims was essential in ascertaining their proximity to the raw data, as well as to be informed regarding their personal and collective struggles resulting from being related to a Gukurahundi victim or survivor. Of the fifteen participants interviewed, five were biological children to primary victims / survivors, three were siblings, three were intimate partners, two were extended family members, while the remaining two were parents to the primary victims / survivors.

From the narratives of this group, it was evident that Gukurahundi had affected them differently yet so intimately. The emotional trauma of adults – at the time young children - recounting stories of how they witnessed the humiliation, torture and death of their parents and other relatives was done with such vividness as though it had occurred only recently as opposed to over 30 years ago. What was synonymous with most narratives was, as Father Lapsley put it, that they seemed to be 'caught in a moment of history' (Ngwenya, 2014). This was further evidenced by some participants who, when telling their narratives, even shifted from utilising past tenses into using the present tense as though they were currently experiencing Gukurahundi:

> *"I was sleeping and then all of a sudden, bang, bang bang! People are pushing the door and entering. I start shouting to my wife to say hide and hide the kids. I'm just looking down, hiding my tears because I already know that it's over. I'm praying, Father God take my spirit."*

In traditional Ndebele culture, family is a close-knit community for whom the nuclear family is as crucial as the extended family. As a result, when some uncles and aunts were speaking, one assumed that they were referring to a biological child or sibling. It was only upon further inquiry that one would discover that they were referring to a cousin or other relative from the extended family.

The impact of Gukurahundi on family members also became perfectly clear in their post Gukurahundi narratives as they often had to bear the brunt of raising orphaned children, taking care of relatives with lifelong disabilities and trauma resulting from Gukurahundi, as well as attend to the financial needs of their relatives. Even more important was the observation that some participants also considered themselves victims of Gukurahundi. This was prevalent among those who had witnessed acts of brutality against their relatives or other community members. A quote from one participant illustrated this dynamic:

> *"My memory is so vivid. I saw people being beaten and as a child that was scary and heart-breaking to the extent that I still get nightmares about those things. I am also a victim of the things I witnessed."*

Given the above account, it is, therefore, imperative to recognise that family members experienced both vicarious trauma, as well as secondary trauma.

7.5 DEMOGRAPHICS OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATION PERSONNEL

In addition to the survivors and their family members, representatives from CSOs who worked with or are currently working with family members and survivors were interviewed. While these were not directly impacted by Gukurahundi on a personal level, through the course of their work, they have encountered stories which assisted with data verification, as well as triangulation for this study. Perhaps a surprising dynamic that emerged in this particular group during data collection was how some interviewees had started off as activists and had subsequently become Gukurahundi victims themselves, either during Gukurahundi or after the atrocities in the course of their advocacy work. As a result, while some were interviewed as

activists, they divulged that they could also be considered survivors of what one participant termed '*a continuing genocide*.'

Table 14: CSO demographics

Participant	Gender	Type of CSO	Activism status during Gukurahundi	Activism status after Gukurahundi
1	F	Faith-based org.	Not active	Active
2	M	NGO	Active	Passive
3	M	NGO	Passive	Active
4	F	Community group	Active	Active
5	M	Advocacy group	Not active	Active
6	M	Faith-based org.	Not active	Passive
7	M	NGO	Not active	Active
8	F	Advocacy group	Not active	Active
9	M	Faith-based org.	Active	Passive

7.5.1 Analysis in relation to gender of CSO representatives

The dearth of female participants among the CSO representatives interviewed was apparent. The researcher observed this anomaly even during the participants' recruitment stage. In almost all the organisations approached, the men were at the forefront of addressing Gukurahundi directly and openly, as well as showing willingness to participate in this study. This posed a possible subject for future research: to explore possible reasons for the limited female voices in Gukurahundi activism. This dynamic was particularly interesting in that it contrasted the demographic detail of survivors who were mainly female and begged the question of what could possibly have happened to these vocal female voices at professional or organisational level.

Possibly to understand the above dynamic, one needs to keep in mind that Zimbabwe remains a patriarchal society which favours the dominance of men at the expense of women (Miranda, 2020). The lack of female representation at Gukurahundi interventions might be a symptom of fear, the silencing of female voices in such spaces or even the difficulty to penetrate circles predominantly occupied and owned by male voices.

Notwithstanding the above, the feminisation of care work was also alluded to by two of the female participants interviewed as they explained the following:

> *"How I started this activism is very funny. I used to take in children whose parents disappeared or died in the 80s. So people began to know that if you have an orphan, you just go to MaKhumalo. So now we even get funding sometimes to assist with food and birth certificates."*

> *"As a woman, if you decided to speak out on such issues you just needed to be sure of yourself because they did not hesitate to rape you and make you an example. But I could not keep quiet, after what happened to my sister, I owed it to her to do this work; otherwise her death was in vain,"*

For the first female participant, it was in her performing care work that her vocation expanded into Gukurahundi advocacy, while the second female participant felt it was her duty, in memory of her deceased sister, to become involved in Gukurahundi advocacy. Notable regarding the gendered nature of how females and males engaged with Gukurahundi was that female participants seemed to have a personal reason for taking on the Gukurahundi issue. Their engagement, however, was mainly at the level of care work which could be perceived as a self-healing strategy, while for the men their self-healing strategy seemed to avoid the care-giving aspects and focused more on impacting the Gukurahundi discourse at governance level.

It was also observed that the men spoke with misgivings, anger and, in some instances, with shame about their inability to act during the actual atrocities and felt that joining Gukurahundi advocacy and activism would enable them to restore their position as the protectors of their families, as well as society in present day Zimbabwe. While it was not possible to know the gender ratio in the CSOs represented here, what was clear during this study was that the men were more willing, able and available to discuss Gukurahundi activism, advocacy and response in comparison to the females.

7.5.2 Analysis in relation to Civil Society Organisation type

In analysing the various types of CSOs that were represented in this study, it is important to revisit the definition of a CSO. Von Dyck (2017:1) defines it as an ecosystem of …

> "… organized and organic social and cultural relations existing in the space between the state, business, and family which build on indigenous and external knowledge, values, traditions, and principles to foster collaboration and the achievement of specific goals by and among citizens and other stakeholders."

This definition is broad and accommodates a diverse spectrum of CSOs. For this study, the CSOs represented included faith-based organisations, non-governmental organisations, as well as community and advocacy groups. The broadness of this group enabled the collection of rich data which made it possible to address one of the main objectives of this study which was:

to differentiate the role of social workers from the role of state actors in response to Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe.

Based on the researcher's observations during the study, there is a wide variety of types of CSOs working to address Gukurahundi. As this research explored previous and current Gukurahundi interventions by CSOs, it became apparent that during the actual atrocities, it was mainly faith-based organisations that took an active role in denouncing the brutalities committed, as well as responding by providing direct support to victims, survivors and their family members. The Catholic Church became the most prominent religious voice openly addressing Gukurahundi, with other religious structures also assisting - but mostly clandestinely.

A shift, however, seems to have occurred following the end of Gukurahundi. It appears that pressure groups that operate mainly as advocacy groups are now at the forefront of raising their concerns over the non-address of Gukurahundi. These pressure groups are mainly calling for justice, reparation, cessation and devolution following what they deem to be the Zimbabwean government's deliberate lack of political will to address the Midlands and Matabeleland crisis. In addition to pressure groups there are also NGOs whose main thrust has been the provision of basic resources including financial and material support, as well as legal aid and documentation support, particularly with national identity documents. In addition, NGOs also seem to assist increasingly with deceased estates processes of Gukurahundi victims, emotional support through counselling services, as well as journalism services to reveal the true Gukurahundi narratives of survivors and their family members.

Community groups were also observed to have taken on a similar role to that of NGOs despite not being formally registered. They are generally underfunded and, therefore, perform supportive services using their personal resources, as well as with the support from well-wishers. It is understood that other NGOs have also played a critical role, particularly in exhumations, reburials and forensic work. However, no representative could be accessed during the data collection process of this study.

The impact of these various CSOs has mainly been in their direct work with survivors and their family members as opposed to eliciting a national impact through informing and possibly directing a national strategy for Gukurahundi intervention. The reason for this has been three-fold, i.e., (i) internal challenges related to human resource capacity, funding and squabbles amongst CSOs which resulted in splits and fallouts due to conflicting agendas, (ii) external challenges related to the political situation in Zimbabwe which has stopped, threatened and sometimes arrested activists because of their Gukurahundi advocacy, and (iii) community related challenges with regard to fear, as well as obtaining the necessary buy-in from the communities they intend to serve. Regarding the latter challenge, Van Dyck (2017:2) perceives it as common occurrence and argues that there is a growing gap between organised civil society and the constituencies they represent owing to growing public distrust, questions about their relevance and legitimacy, failure to uphold their mandate when faced with challenges, as well as the danger of 'following the money' at the expense of single-mindedly pursuing the vision. Supporting this notion, Maddison and Carson (2017) reveal that some CSOs are co-opted by the government by accepting government funds which, in turn, limits their capacity to criticise the government and perform their advocacy role in the fear of 'biting the hand that feeds them.'

7.5.3 Analysis in relation to activism during Gukurahundi vs activism after Gukurahundi

An important observation during this study was the shifting activism status of the CSOs represented. Of the nine representatives interviewed from the various CSOs, the following table presents statistics regarding their activism status during and after Gukurahundi;

Table 15: Activism status of CSOs during and after Gukurahundi:

Activism status	During Gukurahundi	After Gukurahundi	Currently
Not active	5	0	2
Passively active	1	3	3
Very active	3	6	4

From the above table, it became clear that during the atrocities themselves, very few CSOs actively and openly administered services to victims, survivors and their family members. This confirms witness testimonies in which one participant, when asked if he sought any assistance for himself following months of incarceration at one of the camps, responded:

> *"Help (laughs sarcastically) from who, from where, for the why? No one wanted to be seen helping anyone because it was like pointing the gun at your own face!"*

New players have now joined Gukurahundi activism with more CSOs openly and actively intervening at different levels. Despite the organisations that participated during the atrocities still being operational, it would seem that they have now taken a back seat in present-day Zimbabwe's Gukurahundi advocacy. The researcher found this rather unfortunate as these CSOs hold institutional knowledge of being first-hand respondents who attended to some victims, survivors and their family members. While various reasons were proffered for their non-activity, it appears that the greatest challenge relates to the fatigue of fighting for so long without achieving tangible results at national impact level. It is also significantly noteworthy that the new players are no longer just requesting reconciliation and restitution, but are also calling for radical measures, including judiciary processes and cessation – particularly CSOs operating as pressure groups.

Consistent, however, is the number of CSOs that have remained passive in their Gukurahundi intervention. Representatives from these organisations indicated that, while Gukurahundi is not their core mandate, from time to time they encounter a family requiring support and then they intervene. However, due to the highly politicised nature of their work, they have chosen to intervene only on a needs basis and without ever making Gukurahundi their core mandate. It is evident, therefore, that the highly politicised nature of Gukurahundi has been a deterrent for CSOs as there is seemingly a great fear to challenge the state openly due to its heavy-handedness in dealing with what they consider to be dissent. One representative from an advocacy group stated the following:

> *"I have been humiliated, arrested and put through all kinds of tough times because I dared to speak out to say this thing must be addressed."*

The above statement reveals how challenging it is for professionals actively to be involved in advocacy in Zimbabwe as the legal system has been seen as failing to protect those who call to account state players who may be implicated in wrongdoing. The highly politicised case of Zimbabwean journalist Hopewell Chin'ono who, at the time of writing this thesis, was incarcerated for exposing corruption within government is a case in point where professionals within their line of duty are harassed and arrested instead of the focus being turned on the actual perpetrators. In July 2021, the President of Zimbabwe issued a stern warning to non-

governmental organisations perceived to be dabbling in issues of a political nature outside of their mandate. He further threatened to de-register any such organisations perceived to be engaging in political matters. It may, therefore, be postulated that the silence of social workers in Zimbabwe in matters, such as Gukurahundi, might be related to the fear of being accused of going against the government which is the perceived culprit of orchestrating and implementing Gukurahundi. This, therefore, renders social workers in Zimbabwe unable to fulfil their mandate of delivering social justice to citizens.

7.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has engaged the reader on the identity of who the Gukurahundi survivors and their family members are, as well as with the CSOs that have been working with them. The next chapter will present the themed experiences of survivors and their family members in a bid to expose their challenges and experiences which will, in turn, inform the role that social workers can play in addressing Gukurahundi and similar atrocities elsewhere.

CHAPTER 8: PART 2: WHAT ARE THEIR STORIES?

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In most African cultures, stories are an essential cultural tool utilised to disseminate information, educate, as well as communicate. Having identified who the Gukurahundi survivors and their family members are in the previous chapter, this chapter will delve into their personal and collective experiences of Gukurahundi. The narratives shared by participants enabled the researcher to identify themes that will provide insight into the role that social workers can play in response to the emerging issues - though within their scope of practice.

In a PhD study on Gukurahundi, Ngwenya (2014) reveals that his participants constantly expressed a need to tell their stories, as well as to know that they are being listened to. Farwell and Cole (2001) attest that the documenting of victim stories enables the transformation of private pain into political dignity and alleviates the internalisation of blame by victims regarding their circumstances. Throughout this chapter, the researcher will identify the main and sub-themes that emerged and reflect on the words used by participants in relation to relevant literature to either support or negate the findings that were made.

8.2 THEMES & SUB-THEMES

Table 16: Thesis themes & sub-themes

THEME	SUB-THEME
8.2.1 Helplessness, resentment and guilt within families	8.2.1.1 Helplessness experienced by parents during and after Gukurahundi 8.2.1.2 Resentment experienced by those left behind 8.2.1.3 Guilt experienced by family members who escaped death and atrocities
8.2.2 Experiences of loss	8.2.2.1 Loss of time & opportunities during Gukurahundi

	8.2.2.2 Inability to resume life plans after Gukurahundi
	8.2.2.3 Lack of closure and inability to process grief
	8.2.2.4 Loss of liberation war status felt by ex-combatants and their family members
8.2.3 Cultural complications faced by families	8.2.3.1 The angry dead
	8.2.3.2 Lack of consensus on handling of exhumations
	8.2.3.3 Cultural and spiritual challenges attributed to unknown progenitor
8.2.4 Health complications arising from atrocities	8.2.4.1 Physical health complications
	8.2.4.2 Mental health challenges
	8.2.4.3 Sexual and reproductive health challenges
	8.2.4.4 Impact on intimate relationships
	8.2.4.5 Abortion, infanticide and abandonment as an 'eraser of atrocious experiences'
	8.2.4.6 The double jeopardy of disclosure
8.2.5 National impact of Gukura-hundi	8.2.5.1 To be Zimbabwean or not to be? (Statelessness)
	8.2.5.2 Perceptions of relegation and 2nd class citizenry
	8.2.5.3 Perceptions of the government
	8.2.5.4 Perceptions of Shona people
	8.2.5.5 The vengeance or let-go dilemma

8.2.1 Helplessness, resentment and guilt within families

This theme will reveal the emotional trauma experienced by participants in this study manifested through feelings of helplessness, resentment, anger and guilt. These feelings were portrayed as affecting individuals and spilling into their family relations. It was also evidenced that communities as a whole felt the weight of these emotional burdens, thereby indicating that collective trauma was still being experienced by survivors and their family members.

8.2.1.1 Helplessness experienced by parents during and after Gukurahundi

Parents in particular presented and verbalised feelings of helplessness emanating from their inability to protect their families during Gukurahundi, as well as their inability to provide for them after Gukurahundi. The roles of protection and provision were identified as intrinsically important to parents as a measure of whether or not they were succeeding at parenting. Hence their inability to protect and provide evoked feelings of frustration and helplessness which made them self-judge their worth as parents. Illustrating this, one male parent said:

> ***"When my daughter was raped, I was not there but even if I had been there, what could I have done? So it was better I was not there because at least it saved me from having to see just how useless a parent I am. But watching how it destroyed her life afterwards and knowing you can't reverse it, I wished I had been there, maybe I would have died trying to protect her – at least it would have been something. I failed my only girl."***

Probably making the inability to protect his daughter more challenging for the above-quoted father is the social expectation of his fatherly role based on traditional black African culture. Ntarangwi (2014) explains that in traditional African homes, the mark of a good father entails paying fees, providing economically and disciplining children. One father's struggle to fulfil his parental role after Gukurahundi was depicted in this statement:

> ***"I cannot explain to you the shame I feel knowing that I woke up one day and could not afford to feed my children or take them to school simply because the industries shut down. Even to this day, I am embarrassed when I think of the lives my children live even though they now have their own homes. One child ended up becoming a well-known thief but I could not even reprimand him because sometimes, he brought home food we did not have."***

The father in question relayed the helplessness he felt in not being able to reprimand his children after Gukurahundi as he linked their negative life choices and actions to their Gukurahundi experiences. Children who have gone through trauma sometimes engage in risky and difficult behaviour which, in some cases, may be the result of serious mental health issues, such as Oppositional Defiant Disorder (ODD) or Intermittent Explosive Disorder (IED) (Schooler, Smalley & Callahan, 2010). This view is supported by the National Child Traumatic Stress Network (2014) whose research findings concluded that, when children undergo severe

trauma and their brains and bodies are overwhelmed by the traumatic memories, they may engage in extremely dangerous behaviour as they are unable to process the consequences of their behaviour and its impact on others. Studies on resilience have, however, cast a positive light on children's ability to bounce back to baseline functioning following a traumatic event in comparison to adults (Theron, 2016).

Probably compounding the feelings of helplessness among parents is their awareness of the multi-faceted tragedies they and their families encountered. Some families lost loved ones to death and disappearances while simultaneously experiencing loss of income and family status resulting in a complete overnight lifestyle change. Van de Kolk (2005:2) defines this as complex trauma which occurs when multiple, chronic or prolonged developmentally adverse events befall the same people. Possibly adding to the helplessness of parents during and after Gukurahundi was the lack of support in dealing with their own trauma, as well as the inability to access professional support for their children. According to Child Welfare Information Gateway (2014), parenting a child that has gone through trauma requires the parent to be equipped to identify triggers, recognise secondary trauma, as well as help the child to feel safe once again. It can, therefore, be assumed that lack of supportive counselling and therapeutic services for families during and after Gukurahundi contributed to the deep feelings of helplessness experienced by parents.

8.2.1.2 Resentment experienced by those left behind

Closely related to the feelings of helplessness discussed above were feelings of resentment experienced by both survivors and their family members. MacLachlan (2010), as well as Worthington and Scherer (2004), define resentment as a hostile emotion qualified by the perception of having suffered a wrong and when unresolved, becomes chronic and is associated with rumination which monopolises one's psychological resources and may become detrimental to one's health and wellbeing.

In this study, some children identified with resentment aimed at parents, older siblings or relatives who had escaped Gukurahundi by fleeing to other areas whether temporarily or permanently. A sizable number of participants mentioned loved ones who fled to neighbouring countries, particularly Botswana and South Africa, while some escaped to other parts of Zimbabwe that were immune from the Gukurahundi violence. At the other extreme end were

participants who felt resentful towards those who died during and immediately after Gukurahundi. One participant, whose husband committed suicide after Gukurahundi, conveyed her resentment as follows:

> *"I curse my husband for his selfishness. We all went through it but he was too weak and chose the easy way out. He drank Norolon[12] and died leaving me to deal with it all alone.*"

Another female participant, speaking of her husband's escape, expressed her anger and resentment by stating that:

> *"True love was tested those days. We heard the rumour that they were coming for my husband and he thought it was best to escape to Marondera where we had a brother staying there. Of course it saved his life and we are grateful but the way we were harassed and beaten up when the soldiers came that night, I will never forget. Some husbands stayed for the sake of their families, but mine did not think of what would happen to us. He only thought of saving his own life.*"

It was clear that Gukurahundi presented a challenge for families. Listening to the accounts of participants reveals the complex decisions that were made - usually with little family consultation due to the fast-tracked nature of the attacks. Family expectations of one another were also severely challenged, thereby creating internal family conflict over how to respond to the challenges which Gukurahundi presented. A profound struggle appears to be the deep-seated instinct for self-preservation which the International Dictionary of Psychoanalysis defines as both a set of behaviours and psychical processes employed by individuals in an attempt to preserve their own existence (Mijolla, 2005). Some individuals' choice to self-preserve by escaping created family rifts which continue to be felt and attract resentment. Further engaging with the theory of self-preservation, Zondag (2005) states that pain may cause an organism to determine ways to stop the pain. One could, therefore, argue that for those who chose to commit suicide during or as a result of Gukurahundi opted out of their capacity to self-preserve. Linked to this line of argument, Grauer (2014) conducted a study on the theory of self-preservation and why soldiers would surrender. His findings revealed that surrender or capitulation is usually directly related to a person's perception of the treatment they would likely receive upon surrender. Based on this argument, the researcher, therefore, postulates that

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[12] Norolon is a drug used to treat malaria.

those who opted to commit suicide or flee Gukurahundi may have envisaged that the treatment they would receive from the 5th Brigade soldiers during Gukurahundi would be so severe that fleeing or death offered them a better outcome. Death was invariably implicated by some participants for giving rise to resentment as they felt that those who died 'had it easy', irrespective of whether their death was due to suicide or murder during Gukurahundi.

In addition to the above, some participants revealed challenges experienced by those who returned to their homes after having fled during Gukurahundi. Due to the resentment from family members, these reported experiencing rejection by their families and community members for having left despite the real danger that may have led to their death. A conundrum was also illustrated by resentful family members who understood why their loved ones escaped and mentally did not hold it against them; however, the intensity of the challenges they experienced in their absence evoked resentment for having been left to deal alone with the impending danger and its consequences.

8.2.1.3 Guilt experienced by family members that survived death and atrocities

In addition to hopelessness, anger and resentment, guilt was a strong emotion admitted to by survivors and their family members. While resentment was directed towards family members, guilt was internalised and directed towards the self. Some participants expressed their struggle to forgive themselves for the roles that they played or did not play during Gukurahundi, while some blamed themselves for the atrocities experienced by others. One participant in particular revealed how she was forced into the recruitment of women who served as sex slaves for the 5th Brigade soldiers:

> *"I was told point blank that if I did not bring other women to satisfy these men, they would all sleep with me until they were satisfied."*

Another participant exposed his role which lead to the death of some fellow villagers during a night vigil by stating;

> *"By that time I was in so much pain and just wanted the pain to stop. So I exposed the guy I knew has assisted some comrades, so they killed him right in from of us. It saved my life but now I live with the guilt of knowing my mouth led to the guy's death."*

An interesting observation was that, where participants had been forced into revealing certain information that led to the death, harassment or torture of others, they began to perceive themselves as one with the perpetrators. This internalisation of guilt and 'self-bashing' continues to cause much internal grief and the inability to forgive themselves – even today.

According to Nader and Mellow (2000) guilt is associated with either a perception or realisation of having violated an important social, moral or ethical rule and this realisation may induce hopelessness, self-harm, intensify trauma or complicate grief reactions. Further to this point, Carlson and Dalenberg (2000) provide that guilt presupposes the presence of choice and the power to exercise it. It is the researcher's understanding that for participants who presented with unresolved guilt during the interviews, their guilt was often misplaced and tenuous as it assumed presence of choice where in fact, they had been immobilised by the torture and fear of further harm or death during Gukurahundi. Carlson and Dalenberg (2000) explain this behaviour by relating that often individuals who have gone through trauma are troubled by the thought that they were unable to control what was happening and the guilt might be an unconscious attempt to control, counteract or undo helplessness. The aforementioned authors also add that people are usually particularly frightened to admit to themselves that the events that occurred were completely random, senseless and immobilising; hence they assert control by choosing to believe rather that there was something that they could have done instead and did not do it. It is also possible that as the 5th Brigade soldiers would commit atrocities and leave immediately, survivors had no opportunity to take revenge or exact redress; thus they had no one at whom to vent their anger and frustrations and therefore internalised their emotions in a bid to 'punish' someone for their trauma and found the self an accessible outlet for such 'punishment' or revenge.

Some participants also suffered from survivors' and bystanders' guilt. Nader (2011) defines survivor's guilt as a reaction which one experiences when one (a) feels guilty for surviving harm or injury when others were not spared, (b) was unable to rescue someone who needed help and who then died during a disaster, or (c) was unable to overcome or stop the perpetrator from inducing harm. Schiraldi (2000) explicates bystander's guilt as the reaction one feels when (a) being unable to intervene during an atrocity, and then continues with a happy protected life while others suffer immensely, and (b) when being unable to undo the long-term effects of that suffering in others. With regard to participants in this study, it was concluded that their feelings of guilt were hindering normal life progress and positive relationships,

particularly when guilt was experienced by individuals living in the same home, i.e., partners who felt they had let down their significant others during Gukurahundi. So engrained were the feelings of guilt that some participants attributed their current challenging life circumstances to punishment from a higher power for their perceived wrongs during Gukurahundi. Some felt that they deserved the punishment which life was sharing out to them - much akin to self-recrimination.

This theme explored how helplessness, resentment and guilt are manifesting themselves in the lives of Gukurahundi survivors and their family members. The externalisation of these emotions has resulted in rifts within families and communities, while the internalisation of the same has resulted in emotional and psychological trauma for individuals. Due to a shortage of organisations offering therapeutic services to address these adverse emotions, many participants still struggle to recover from them - which points to an area that might benefit from social work interventions at micro and mezzo levels.

8.2.2 Experiences of loss

As expected, given the brutalities experienced during Gukurahundi, all participants interviewed alluded to feelings of loss across different dimensions of their lives. The levels of recovery and healing in relation to those losses also varied. These varying levels of healing were attributed to challenges among family and community members as some were perceived to have 'forgotten' what they collectively went through, while others felt they wanted to move on and not remember their negative experiences. Inadvertently, these various ways of addressing loss were causing tension and acrimony in homes, in relationships, within communities and even in the national dialogue on Gukurahundi. The following theme will explore how various losses have impacted survivors and their family members.

8.2.2.1 Loss of time & opportunities during Gukurahundi

The importance of time is often articulated in daily discourse with old adages emphasising the inability to recapture lost time. For many participants, time and opportunities were lost during Gukurahundi.

Illustrating loss of time during Gukurahundi, a participant recounted:

> *"The time I spent in Bhalagwe witnessing terrible things and wondering if I would be next…you can't get that time back. Four months of my life down the drain while my peers were progressing. I never recovered."*

In a similar manner, illustrating loss of opportunities, the following participants stated:

> *"Can you imagine, I had just started a new job when it came and boom just like that, I became a fugitive instead."*

> *"My father was one of the best farmers in Zhombe and he had planted everything sorghum, millet, maize, you name it! No one knows who did it but fire ravaged everything and we became poor overnight. That's how we stopped schooling."*

For some participants, the derailing of their life plans presented a challenge that continues to make them feel that they could have attained better financial, educational or relationship outcomes had it not been for Gukurahundi. This results in perpetual regret and self-pity and has made it difficult for some of them to bounce back and move on.

8.2.2.2 Inability to resume life plans after Gukurahundi

Closely associated with the loss of time and opportunities *during* Gukurahundi is the inability to resume life plans *after* Gukurahundi. Owing to various experiences and what was lost to participants, they admitted to an overwhelming inability to recover. Highlighting the inability to resume personal relationships due to separation during Gukurahundi, a female participant recounted her experiences:

> *"We were separated just before our wedding. It was 2 years before we were reunited and during that time, a lot had happened. He changed, he became a different person, maybe it's what he went through, I don't know but he was never the same and the marriage couldn't happen. He left and I have been alone ever since."*

To illustrate the inability to pursue an education after Gukurahundi, the following participant is quoted:

> *"Even if I wanted to go back to school in '87, I had now become a mother because of the rape. Everywhere they looked at me as if I was a loose woman*

> *so going back to sit on the desk was a non-starter. But I was intelligent and*
> *I know I could have become a nurse or something.*"

Further illustrating the inability to resume life plans due to post-Gukurahundi disability, a participant shared:

> *"It's not like I did not try to pick up the pieces. But as you can see, my leg*
> *does not work anymore. So here I am a vendor on a wheelchair but I had a*
> *life before all this."*

The inability to resume life plans manifested itself in two distinct ways in different participants, i.e., some were caught up in negative self-talk resulting from their experiences which immobilised them from attempting to pursue opportunities that they had missed, e.g., returning to school. For others, the conditions after Gukurahundi did not enable them to resume lost opportunities, e.g. their health had been compromised, the job opportunities or relationships were no longer viable for them to pursue.

Hart, Gagnon, Eryigit-Madzwamuse, Cameron, Aranda, Rathbone and Heaver (2016:7) define resilience as the capacity of individuals to "overcoming adversity, whilst also potentially changing, or even dramatically transforming". The authors emphasise the importance of introducing resilience to social justice discourse wherein interventions are not only designed to accommodate vulnerability, but to challenge it as well. Perhaps a peculiar finding in this study, consistent with resilience literature, was that those who faced Gukurahundi setbacks in their adult years struggled to 'bounce back' and resume their life plans after Gukurahundi as quickly as those who were much younger (van Breda, 2018). It was noted from the data that most family members interviewed, and who are children to victims or survivors, reported being more traumatised by the impact of Gukurahundi on their parents and less by their personal Gukurahundi experiences. This brought to the fore the impact of transgenerational trauma and presents a challenge that social workers may need to address during interventions with Gukurahundi survivors and their family members. Dyregrov, Gupta and Gjestad (2000) caution, however, that the notion of resilience in children should not be overstated as it may constitute a denial of trauma that enables political systems to evade the responsibility of interventions for post-war traumatised children. Additionally, children's resilience is intrinsically tied to the availability of family and protective factors designed to mitigate the risk they are exposed to. It is the researcher's considered view that, while resilience matters, in the

case of Gukurahundi, one ought to be careful to avoid labelling those who seem to have failed to 'bounce back' as being less resilient. The prevailing socio-economic and political environment of Zimbabwe has been very challenging for most people, more so when one has already been negatively impacted by Gukurahundi.

8.2.2.3 Lack of closure and inability to process grief

The circumstances under which Gukurahundi occurred, particularly in relation to loss of life, made it very challenging for participants to find closure and process their grief. While death is an unavoidable part of the human experience, what appeared challenging for most participants was the means by which the deaths occurred, as well as the inability to bury their dead in a manner culturally, morally and religiously acceptable to them. The following participant's quote illustrates this sub-theme:

> *"We will all die and that's ok but my uncle died a painful death. They say he had his balls crushed there at Bhalagwe until he bleed to death. Why so harsh when they knew they would kill him anyway? It haunts me to this very day and I wasn't even there."*

Illustrating the difficulty in grieving when no confirmation of death has been received, another participant said:

> *"My mother literally died from a broken heart. When our father was tipped off that they were coming. He escaped. We said our goodbyes but thought it was temporary. Thirty-three years later he has not come back! Is he alive? Who knows? How do we even mourn when you don't know what fate befell him? So with all that, my mother wasted away, she got high blood, depression and all these stress illnesses until she died one day while sitting under a tree, just like that. So I lost a mother and a father within seven years and I also feel like I can die of heartbreak just like my mother because none of it makes sense."*

Further reinforcing the challenges to process grief, another participant stated the following:

> *"Not only in the Ndebele culture but in our culture as black people…We failed to bury my brother according to our own norms and cultural values. We had to bury him at night, in a rush and could not even get a grave number;*

> *so we can't even go to his grave to perform cultural practices required. So*
> *this thing continues to haunt us probably for the rest of our lives."*

The inability to find closure and process grief was also evidenced by the emotional responses narrated by some participants, e.g., the participant who said:

> *"But you know what's funny, I have never shed a single tear. From watching*
> *our hut being set alight and my brother being made to dig his own grave and*
> *his wife forced to fill up the grave while these dogs urinated on top of it, no*
> *funeral no what. To this day I feel a block of salt on my throat but the tears*
> *just can't come out."*

Apparent during the interviews was the prolonged trauma experienced by survivors, further fuelled by the lack of acknowledgement of Gukurahundi by the Zimbabwean government. Much anger and resentment over the handling of Gukurahundi after the signing of the Unity Accord of 1987, which put a stop to the massacres, was verbalised by participants. The denial by the government was identified as contributing to the inability to find closure as participants felt that, if the gruesome deaths were at least acknowledged by the government, they might begin to heal. The lack of Gukurahundi accountability has further complicated how death rituals were performed during and after Gukurahundi. According to Cacciatore and DeFrain (2015), death-related rituals provide structured ways to mourn and express grief. In addition, they prescribe acceptable ways to handle and dispose of the deceased bodies. Failure to perform such rituals may bring about debilitating manifestations of psychopathology which may limit one's ability to revert to normal life following the death of a loved one. Based on the above accounts of participants, one can, therefore, conclude that the indiscriminate manner in which deaths occurred during Gukurahundi and the inability to perform the necessary death rites of passage have been an impediment to healing which has resulted in an inability by some to move on and resume their life plans following death of loved ones.

It must, however, be noted that some participants reported having found coping mechanisms for their grief. One participant said:

> *"I don't. I want to tell you that I have actually accepted it. I'm one of the*
> *bitterest people. I am bitter but I have also accepted that it is what it is. This*
> *is a social issue and I should not take it personally. Because I majored in*
> *educational psychology and I understand how the human mind works it*

safeguards what you need. This bitterness is damaging me more than the person who caused it to me. And you have these countless cycles. So I cope by telling myself that I am not the only one who experienced this and it will kill me more to dwell on the past."

The initial work of Kübler-Ross, as well as Kübler-Ross and Kessler (2005), establishes five stages of grieving, i.e., anger, denial, bargaining, depression and acceptance. It could be said of various participants that they were going through some of these stages with the most prominent emotions owned up to being persistent anger and depression. It must be noted, however, that Kübler-Ross and Kessler's stages are not without academic criticisms as some have found them too prescriptive, lacking sound empirical evidence and conceptual clarity and, therefore, calling for them to be discarded in therapeutic care (Corr, 2015; Bonanno, 2009; Stroebe, Schut & Boerner, 2017).

8.2.2.4 Loss of liberation war status felt by ex-combatants and their family members

In addition to the emotions addressed in this theme, ex-combatants and their family members presented with a unique experience in relation to their perceived loss of status during and after Gukurahundi. The infighting between ZANLA and ZIPRA, which led to the Entumbane crisis and other skirmishes, led some ex-combatants to either demobilise or desert the Zimbabwe National Army.

An ex-combatant who demobilised in 1980 related how, despite leaving the army honourably and following the necessary protocols, he was under surveillance and constantly felt unsafe. This was verbalised as follows:

> *"I'm an ex-ZIPRA person. I demobilized from the Guerrilla Army in 1980, but because of my teaching background, I went back to my career....but I increasingly felt unsafe. I saw strange people, well-dressed but very frighteningly looking and I knew I was under surveillance, so I left immediately."*

Ex-combatants provided another perspective to the onset of Gukurahundi by sharing that, even before the widespread Gukurahundi massacres occurred, they had already started experiencing purging and were relegated to second class citizenry within the Zimbabwe National Army

despite having played an equally valuable role as ZANLA ex-combatants. Illustrating this perspective, an ex-combatant stated that:

> *"For me the Gukurahundi started then in 1980. Because of the skirmishes, I did not want to go to Entumbane. We were actually provoked by ZANLA by ZANU leadership… their actions you could tell the plan was to quickly down our numbers to the point that they promoted ZANLA soldiers ahead of ZIPRA with no merit whatsoever. And I think that strategy worked. So, they frustrated some out of the camp through brutalisation, through, you know refusal to promote them and so forth. But it was not the only strategy. The other strategy was also to in fact to attack them."*

Narrating how his brother, also an ex-combatant, was brutally killed after independence, a participant said:

> *"The Gukurahundi started for me also in 1982 around July when my brother who was born of that woman over there* (pointing to a portrait on the wall). *Her last born, the one who came out after me. We were together in the war. He integrated but he was killed… My brother died in an ambush. He was ambushed. He was a military man integrated into the national army, but he was killed by ZANLA contingent of the troops."*

Probably upsetting and causing discomfort for the ZIPRA ex-combatants interviewed was their perceived illusion of independence. They related how they expected a better Zimbabwe after attaining independence and sacrificing their personal needs to liberate their country from colonial rule. The brutality of Gukurahundi and targeting of ZIPRA soldiers, therefore, felt very personal for them and was experienced as both disrespectful of their role during the liberation struggle and also cruel and malicious. Particularly interesting, however, was that, despite sharing their painful experiences, all the interviewed ex-combatants did not present with regret over their role during the liberation war struggle and intimated that, although they were unhappy with their unacknowledged war-hero status, they were proud to have been part of the liberation war struggle.

It appears that the ZIPRA ex-combatants interviewed felt that they had been stripped of all dignity that ought to accompany their war-hero status. This manifested in how some of them were allegedly accused of being dissidents. Illustrating this challenge, an ex-combatant shared his experiences as follows:

> *"I was thoroughly beaten. I was being kicked by stick buttons and butt of the guns while being asked about dissidents; yet they knew very well that I was a faithful comrade. Then it came to my mind I pretend like a person who is dead then they just said he is dead and they left me."*

Furthermore, some ex-combatants revealed that the jostle for government positions and opportunities after independence allegedly resulted in some comrades within ZIPRA 'selling out' and seeking to change the Gukurahundi narrative for political expediency. One ex-ZIPRA combatant bemoaned the treatment he received from fellow ZIPRA comrades after Gukurahundi. He shared how he was politically tainted during an election campaign.

> *"If it wasn't for him I would have died in Lusaka. Imagine how I felt. In my campaign in Plumtree against ZANU, *** and *** came to campaign and this is what they said to the public that 'Don't be misled by **. He was just my driver during the war.' And then people told me that '…you have never told us that you were just an ordinary driver.' Then I said 'Look, I did not even know how to drive when I was in the war. I was driven. I did not know how to drive. How could I have been his driver?"*

In addition to the loss of status experienced directly by ex-combatants, family members of deceased war-time heroes felt that their relatives had not been fully honoured either after Gukurahundi or posthumously and they were embittered by that. A child to a deceased ex-combatant made the following assertions:

> *"Heroes acre was built for Shona soldiers. My father was a soldier during the struggle. He played a prominent role in our independence but when he died, no one even our own ZAPU comrades fought for him to be buried at the Heroes Acre. His role was completely unacknowledged. He gave everything for a country that gave him nothing, not a government position like they give each other or even honour upon his death. It's sad."*

The experiences of the ZIPRA war veterans raised in this section echo those of Mozambican FRELIMO ex-combatants as noted by Wiegink (2013). Wiegnick conducted a study which revealed that, after the war, reintegration was a major challenge as most soldiers expressed disappointment at how their government treated them post-war. Similarly, these soldiers also acknowledged that their poverty status was directly related to their lack of education due to their decision to abandon self-growth by participating in the war. Weignick, however, argues

that, while this is often perceived as a deliberate act, an unacknowledged reality is that after a war most systems are broken; thus ex-combatants join the countrywide ranks of unemployment and poverty which affect almost everyone else. In the case of Zimbabwe, though, this can be counter-argued by the disparities that exist between the ex-ZIPRA and ex-ZANLA combatants, the general experience having been that the latter have had more access to opportunities than the former, thereby giving credence to the feelings of marginalisation and being stripped of status as identified by participants in this study.

Concluding this theme and relevant sub-themes, Gukurahundi losses are described as both material and non-material. The deeper losses pertain to loss of life which cannot be recovered, while equally important, yet somewhat easier to bear, are the losses people experienced in relation to opportunities, time, livelihoods and health. The inability to place Gukurahundi in a national discourse and receive a fitting response and address from the government has significantly contributed to the inability to find closure, healing and recovery from these losses.

8.2.3 Cultural complications experienced by families

Family members interviewed during the study narrated how they suffered, and continue to experience, cultural complications as a result of Gukurahundi. These challenges range from the inability to perform certain cultural practices due to limitations emanating from how their family members deceased, as well as the inability to observe culture and tradition due to a lack of family consensus following the atrocities.

8.2.3.1 The angry dead

The concept of the 'angry dead' is well documented by Eppel (2014) following her work in Matabeleland with an organisation that sought to conduct exhumations and reburials of Gukurahundi victims. Eppel (2014) explained the concept of the 'angry dead' as emanating from the belief that Gukurahundi deceased victims are aggrieved and angry and, therefore, not resting in peace. The inability to rest in peace was identified by traditional leaders and families in some areas as being evidenced by cultural complications experienced by the living. In some instances, the deceased are believed to be communicating through dreams and catastrophes, demanding a decent burial that includes the performance of certain rites of passage and rituals for the dead. Eppel (2014), therefore, concluded that in order to effectively heal the living, the dead needed to be healed emotionally first by giving them befitting reburials and conducting the necessary cultural and traditional rituals. This concept is supported by Werbner (1991) who writes that the tears of the dead are inadvertently shed by the living. Thus, when someone

passes on, failure to perform such rituals has negative outcomes. Illustrating the dilemma of not being able to bury loved ones according to tradition and ritual, a representative of a CSO shared this account:

> *"What we have encountered in some instances is that a family member will be saying, I can't sleep at night because my relative keeps asking me why we did not give him or her a proper burial. In some instances, these people even get terribly sick until they seek traditional help to address the spirit of the dead people."*

Emphasising the importance of adhering to recognised death and burial rituals, Eppel (2014) notes that following culture is a fundamental human need and restrictions to attending to this human need can result in ambiguous loss.

Further complicating Gukurahundi burials was the fact that most of them were clandestinely done at night in order to hide evidence of the killings. As a result, some family members never had the opportunity to bury their relatives themselves - or in instances where they did, they could not perform the necessary traditional rituals. One CSO representative shared the following account pertaining to a family whose members had been advised by traditional healers that the misfortunes they were experiencing could only be resolved once they had performed the necessary rituals for their deceased father, a Gukurahundi victim:

> *"…now it happened but that thing happened in 1984 in the remains of that man by the name *** we only discovered them sometime last year….his son alerted us and some other people who have an interest in the matter and this is the time when a certain organisation which deals with the exhumation and reburial by the name Ukhuthula trust got involved. So probably after 34 years that is when this family had to directly mourn or witness how their father was buried but the son he was saying it took me 34 years to disclose this information because at the end of the day we were not even aware of what was going to happen to us as a family if we had pre-empted the information that our father is lying at that mountain."*

As deduced from the above quotation, some families knew where their relatives were buried; however, fear of the government had led them not to disclose the details so as to safeguard their own lives should the information be intercepted by state operatives. Accepting death without

a body was found to complicate the mourning process for bereaved family members and loved ones in this study, and for some there was a persistent self-blame for the inability to perform the required traditions, despite the circumstances under which the deaths had occurred.

It appears that some family members feel that they can never rest or truly move on with their lives if they do not know how their family members died in order to perform the expected rituals. Another CSO representative shared the following story illustrating this challenge:

> *"Just in my room few days ago where we were still trying to make sense and follow up one of who was also kidnapped by the ⁵ᵗʰ Brigade, and the children of that man were saying 'We are still trying to get to the proper line of where our father was buried.' They were saying to us 'If we happen to find where our father was buried, truly we are going to heal because we just want to know where he was buried. We just want to even bump with his bones and from there we will be healed."*

Despite none of the interviewed family members sharing personal accounts of how they had been affected by the 'angry dead', CSO representatives shared extensively regarding this phenomenon. Work done by forensic organisations that were briefly able to conduct Gukurahundi exhumations and reburials before being forcibly shut down due to the government's pressure, also alluded to how families expressed cultural complications as a result of the 'angry dead.' Eppel (2014) concluded her study on the 'angry dead' and the need to honour traditional practices to appease them by suggesting that communities, such as in Zimbabwe, where the political context impedes addressing justice issues legally, may need to resort to psycho-social processes. These psycho-social processes ought to address the belief systems of animistic communities and provide pockets of spaces where mediation, cultural rites of passage and traditions are given the room to be performed in a non-threatening environment. This provides a space for social workers to intervene in order to uphold the traditional and cultural beliefs of Gukurahundi survivors and their family members.

8.2.3.2 Lack of consensus on handling of exhumation

Families were also portrayed as being very conflicted regarding whether or not to allow exhumation and ritual processes to be conducted. Reasons proffered for this conflict included the suspicion that exhumations were only being facilitated hurriedly by people sympathetic towards the government of the day and would be used to destroy evidence which some family

members felt was critical if a legal prosecution route for Gukurahundi perpetrators was ever instituted. In conflict with this group, was a group that felt that in instances where graves were known, it was more disrespectful to the dead to continue delaying exhumations and reburials despite the elusive justice around Gukurahundi. This conflict was illustrated by two participants as follows:

> *"As an organisation, we comprise of victims of Gukurahundi and some others who are not victims but are passionate about resolving this matter. We say that it is completely laughable that the very perpetrators of this genocide now want to come and say let's help you bury your loved ones. They just want to bury all the evidence of what they did. No, we say an international body must come and address this issue."*

The second participant said:

> *You see, families are torn. There is the obvious culture that must be observed, especially when you see that the family is really struggling to prosper because their relative died a painful death. But you see, even if we are one, our belief systems differ, some have also become Christian and it becomes a challenge because they say it is evil to communicate with the spirits of the dead. But in reality we are Africans and the dead do talk, but you see, the Christians end up frustrating the process even further and people's situation becomes worse that when before." [sic]*

The lack of consensus over the way forward was portrayed as causing conflict at family and national level. Family members have come into conflict with each other due to their differing views on the matter. In the same manner, organisations advocating restitution regarding Gukurahundi have also come into conflict with each other as some support the reburials and with the expedition of such processes, while others feel that the government is expediting the process in order to further bury the evidence of the atrocities as it were. This has remained a largely contentious issue to which solutions are being sought. However, its negative impact is creating divisions among survivors themselves thereby adding to their woes.

8.2.3.3 Cultural and spiritual challenges attributed to unknown progenitors

According to Ngwenya (2016), it is essential in the African belief system that one needs to confer with one's ancestral spirits to address anomalies in one's life. Ngwenya identifies

children born to women following Gukurahundi rapes as experiencing an existential dilemma and lacking a spiritual bedrock to turn to when they have to deal with cultural complications because they do not know their biological fathers. To approach one's ancestors, one needs to be well-versed with their genealogy in order to interface with them.

Challenges associated with the inability to perform rites of passage when women gave birth following a Gukurahundi-related pregnancy were described with pronounced indignation. Due to the continuous sexual abuse of women during Gukurahundi, participants related how they or their family members fell pregnant following forced sexual encounters with the 5th Brigade representatives or the 'dissidents'. So complex was the issue of forced sexual encounters that, according to some participants' revelations, they knew of family members who had been forced into incestuous intercourse resulting in pregnancies during the massacres. Various cultural and spiritual challenges were revealed by participants in relation to the inability to receive either damages or lobola which is paid when a woman is impregnated or is married. Challenges in performing certain traditional practices just before a child is born and requiring the involvement of the paternal family, as well as the inability to address spiritual challenges that may befall a child - also requiring paternal representation - were alluded to. In most instances, participants revealed that women were raped by someone or multiple people and by the time they discovered that they were pregnant, there was no way of tracing the progenitor. In instances where the person was known, fear and hatred of the assailant made it challenging and almost impossible to involve them in their offspring's life. In addition to children born of rape, some committed couples had consensual intercourse which led to offspring; however, couples were separated as the male usually fled Gukurahundi without having the opportunity to inform his own family members of the existence of the female partner, the pregnancy or the child. This sometimes resulted in women failing to contact the paternal side of the family, thereby making it challenging to seek their involvement in rites of passage and other such traditional practices. Illustrating the challenge of unknown fathers, a relative revealed the following:

> *"We once faced a situation where this child was bedwetting even at the age of 16 which is not normal. The traditional healer told us the child's father was causing this because he wanted us to find him. How do you look for the man that raped you? Worse, you know nothing about him, no name, nothing. All you can remember is his ugly face on the day he violated you?"*

The belief that a progenitor can initiate a spiritual predicament in order to locate his unknown children is commonly believed in African cultures. Families that suffered Gukurahundi, therefore, face the double dilemma of having to address challenges of a seemingly cultural nature and having to confront the brutality of situations that resulted in the birth of some children. Further illustrating these spiritual challenges, a participant also revealed the pain of having married without the presence of his father as he was unknown:

> *"When I married my wife, my uncles represented me. As we were celebrating afterwards, an in-law jokingly laughed why my mother's brothers had performed rituals intended for my paternal uncles. You know in that moment, that thing cut deep that here I am, a grown man getting married but my own father or his family at least are not here to perform their cultural role to bless this marriage. It really spoiled a happy moment for me and they noticed it.*"

Some deeply traditional people revealed that they felt they could not prosper in certain areas of their lives because certain cultural traditions had not been performed. This left a constant wondering and lack of fulfilment which affects their mental wellbeing right up to today.

On the flipside, paternal families also disclosed challenges that they experienced in having to trace offspring of their deceased relatives. Due to the length of time it took to find the children, some faced resistance and in some instances were over-charged for the damages required traditionally as a punishment for their deceased relative's inability to care for their own offspring, even if Gukurahundi had been the main hindrance. Illustrating this predicament, one male participant stated the following in relation to his brother who was murdered by the 5th Brigade:

> *"No he was not married. But he had a child that he fathered during Gukurahundi operations, not in the War. The challenge was that he is dead now and I know that he had a child in Lupane. I discussed this with my family saying look I think *** had a child and we have not seen the child I think it is improper... so we entered into negotiations with the maternal side. There wasn't understanding - in fact - the father - again I think it is because of the tribalism issue. I remember him saying to us 'Please get your piece of shit out of my house' in reference to that child."*

This theme and relevant sub-themes highlighted the challenges associated with culture and tradition. Families are left unable to observe traditional practices, and yet feel punished by ancestral powers for their inability to address what had never been in their control in the first place. In addition, the lack of consensus of how families, communities and the nation ought to handle cultural practices and rituals in the absence of justice is tearing families apart. This is further compounded by differences in beliefs in which some family members are holding on to cultural practices and insist that they are the best way to go, while others, due to varying religious beliefs, associate traditional cultural practices with evil and demonic worship.

Prominent in this theme was the need for interventions that account for the belief system and cultural practices of participants. Gray, Coates, Bird and Hetherington (2013) advocate employing decolonised social work interventions when working with homogenous communities, such as the communities that have suffered Gukurahundi. The authors posit that social workers utilising this model need to identify and discourage destructive beliefs and practices while supporting the reclaiming of indigenous beliefs and practices. This will weaken the effects of colonialism and create opportunities for the promotion of traditional practices in contemporary settings and thus aid healing.

8.2.4 Health complications arising from atrocities

Overall health was probably identified as one of the most serious casualties of Gukurahundi. Participants related how their physical and mental health in particular continued to take a knock long after the atrocities. The brutal nature of the massacres resulted in temporary and permanent disabilities for some participants and their family members. The reduced quality of life resulting from health complications has also led to economic challenges for some as they have been forced out of the active population group due to the limitations imposed by their health circumstances. The following section will provide an analysis of the impact of Gukurahundi on physical, mental and emotional health with an emphasis on sexual and reproductive health as related by participants.

8.2.4.1 Physical health complications

Physical attacks on the body were identified as a common occurrence during the Gukurahundi massacres. Beatings and torture particularly during night vigils and household searches were narrated as resulting in severe pain and impairment for survivors and their family members. Some physical torture led to death while those who escaped death suffered disabilities and health complications that continue to affect their daily functioning.

Narrating the extent of physical torture he experienced, a male participant went into detail explaining the brutal nature in which he was attacked and his subsequent health complications:

"This man had a hammer. He struck me with the hammer in my head. Luckily because I was being cornered, I was standing against the wall, when I fell down I kind of sagged. I did not fall like a log. I sagged along the wall, that's what saved me. It took about a week or two weeks that search, that's only when I went to hospital. I went to a private doctor. These guys took me for an x-ray and they explained to me that you were struck with an object, I said yes, they said what was it? I said it was a hammer, by who? They wrote it down, it's on record, it's recorded. I think in fact I should go and get a copy of it and photocopy for evidence for people like yourself so that you can understand that 1982-83 this is what happened to this person… I have an endless headache. The option that I had was either go for an operation, which I was not guaranteed to succeed. Secondly, it would be so expensive, my teaching job salary I was not likely to afford it. And so they said look, this could be lifelong pain you could have to live in. And I live with that today… The explanation now is that, over the years the fragmentation of joints because they kind of moved apart when they attacked me… So, there is kind of permanent space around this particular fragment that was affected….It's a permanent injury."

One of the challenges during the massacres - well documented by the CCJP (1997) report - was the fear of victims to access medical treatment and care. The fear of further victimisation for disclosing what had happened to them impeded survivors from accessing treatment in case it attracted the fury of 5th Brigade operatives. As a result, some people who could have sought out timeous medical help to address physical complications stayed away, thus further complicating their physical condition.

Participants who incurred health complications following Gukurahundi assaults reported undergoing compounded challenges, particularly now that Zimbabwe's health care system has severely declined over the years resulting in exorbitant medical costs which render medical care inaccessible to the general citizen. Further illustrating the predicament regarding Gukurahundi-related medical care, a participant who knew that the researcher would be travelling from South Africa to Bulawayo for the data collection process confessed to having

contemplated requesting her to purchase pain medication on his behalf to manage the pain he continues to experience due to beatings sustained during Gukurahundi:

> *"When I spoke to you three days ago, I almost said to you please can you bring me pain stops or adco-dol. That's what I live on. These have damaged my kidneys. I'm very much aware that they are damaging me, but I either stop these and get a stroke as a result of the severe pain or try to keep on, soldier on. I don't know what's gonna happen in the end. But it can be so severe when it's extremely hot or when it's extremely cold."*

Confirming the complications to physical health and wellbeing, a CSO representative also shared the depth of such complications for one female client with whom he has worked and who suffers extensive physical challenges as a result:

> *"You know, if we had time, I would have taken you to this woman in the rural areas. But that woman has a story to tell and I would not want to say the story on her behalf but you should just see her. She sits on a wheelchair today. And when she explains what she went through and the sexual abuse that got her into that wheelchair, you will shed tears.*"

Health complications, particularly the prolonged and permanent ones, were identified as having a long-term negative impact on the earning opportunities of some participants and their family members. By virtue of physical limitations, certain jobs, particularly labour-intensive work, are not an option for some people. This presents a double jeopardy for unskilled survivors who do not have the academic qualifications to occupy a less physically intensive office job. Some participants expressed anger at their inability to obtain an education due to Gukurahundi and then suffering physical limitations due to the physical attacks. This intensified the feelings of being robbed of both health and a decent earning capacity which have a direct correlation to an improved standard of living.

8.2.4.2 Mental health challenges

In addition to the physical health challenges, mental health challenges were also observed to affect both direct and indirect Gukurahundi survivors. While some related personal trauma, others experienced vicarious trauma which impacted negatively on their mental health and well-being. It was evident that both witnessing and experiencing Gukurahundi atrocities had

the potential to severely affect mental health. Illustrating the trauma of being a witness to atrocities during Gukurahundi, one participant provided the following picture:

> *"We witnessed even some incidences whereby you would get pregnant women and the 5th Brigade soldiers would come and say these women are carrying a dissident child in their wombs and the one would say the child who is in this stomach is a boy the other would say no it's a girl then they would say let's put money if your prediction is correct to say it's a girl then you will take that money. But the whole issue was all about them biyonating that lady open so that foetus falls down and we watched them celebrate and the woman would be already dead so these are some of the incidences that we witnessed happening in front of us."*

Similarly sharing a witness account, another participant shared the following:

> *"Because those people at times they would kill people in front of the crowd or they would order other people to kill a certain somebody that they would've identified to kill. Sometimes they would force people to say a woman and a man must sleep together and have intercourse in front of everybody. They do not care whether it is a mother-in-law or it's a son-in-law but they would just order those people to do that act and everybody else would be in full view of so all these things they happened some of them yes you would eventually learn about them after they've already happened but there are some issues that I personally witnessed."*

Expressing the trauma of her experiences as a survivor of Gukurahundi, a participant with first-hand victim experience, and who lives with mental health challenges as a result, articulated her trauma:

> *"Some days I don't sleep. It's so real like it's happening all over again. I see the fire, burning all of our huts while we watched. I can even wake up sweating from the heat. The counsellor said I have depression and must take medicine, but me I know, medicine can't fix what's in my heart and in my head. You can't understand it if you are not the one that went through it."*

Other issues contributing to mental health related challenges cited by participants include surviving rape, near-death experiences, loss of loved ones and destruction of livelihoods. It was

interesting to note, however, that upon probing most participants who reported having mental health challenges had not received therapeutic interventions and did not have a formal diagnosis of any mental health illness from medical practitioners. This is not a peculiar finding as Zimbabwe has a dearth of mental health practitioners. In 2019, the Zimbabwe Association of Doctors for Human Rights (ZADHR) reported that Zimbabwe had fewer than 20 psychiatric doctors for a population of about 15 million citizens (Newsday, 2019). One can postulate that this figure was even lower during and in the years right after Gukurahundi when mental health support was critical for survivors and their family members. ZADHR further reported that an estimated 20% of Zimbabweans suffer from mental illnesses with about 600 000 people suffering from debilitating mental illnesses (Newsday, 2019). Further documenting the shortage of mental health care professionals, Doctors without Borders (2017) reported that Zimbabwe had only 20 registered clinical psychologists and nine public mental health institutions, thereby making mental health support physically and financially inaccessible for sufferers. The Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers Association (ZINATHA) reportedly plays a significant role in the management of psychosomatic and anxiety disorders as many mental health service users resort to traditional medicine when faced with mental health challenges (Mangezi & Chibanda, 2010). Faith-based institutions have also been identified as favoured by many mental health service users as the government has allocated only 0.42% of its total health budget to mental health (WHO, 2017). Given this grim picture, it can be concluded that those suffering from Gukurahundi-related mental health challenges have reduced access to services available for providing the necessary medical and therapeutic care and support in relation to mental health.

8.2.4.3 Sexual reproductive health challenges

According to Ayele (2011), mass rape is often used as a systematic weapon of war against civilian women and children during atrocities. Concurring with this finding, Robben and Suarez-Orozco (2000) add that sexual violence during atrocities provokes maximum terror by damaging and destroying multiple aspects of human life, namely social bonds, cultural practices, bodies, and psyches. During Gukurahundi, sexual violence was perpetrated against both men and women. Narratives were shared of the complications some individuals currently experience in their sexual and reproductive health emanating from Gukurahundi related tortures. Of interest, though, was that none of the men interviewed mentioned experiencing, or knowing of a male who experienced, sexual or reproductive health challenges despite recorded accounts of how some men's reproductive organs were tortured during Gukurahundi. Women,

on the contrary, shared harrowing stories of the rape, coercion and sexual assault they experienced. Again, such open sharing deviates from the silence around sexual abuse during Gukurahundi. The CCJP (1997) report recorded that, despite evidence of multiple sexual abuse cases, the silencing of women - even by their own families - prevailed during their investigations and research. The open sharing of women during the research for this thesis could be indicative of a shift in the disclosure environment, or maybe a desire finally to be heard after prolonged enforced silence. Illustrating the challenges experienced after forced sexual encounters, two women shared the following:

> *"I was raped at 15 and since then, I have problems with my bladder. As grown as I am, do you know that I still urinate in bed sometimes? The doctor said something was damaged there, I don't know the medical terms."*

In the same vein, another woman shared:

> *"It wasn't me, but my close friend. She was raped by a group of soldiers and they gave her STI's - the ones that can't be cured."*

Several studies on sexual violence have attributed gastrointestinal and gynaecological challenges for women as a common effect on women's health (Slegh, 2011). Women who have been raped generally report long-term symptoms, such as nausea, vomiting, abdominal pain, diarrhoea and bloatedness when compared with non-assaulted women (Slegh, 2011). Serious gynaecological complications also include genital irritation, fibroids, chronic pelvic pain, pre-menstrual syndrome and urinary tract infections, painful menstruation, painful intercourse and lack of sexual pleasure (Santhya, 2011). These unfortunate health outcomes are consistent with some narratives of survivors and their family members who were sexually violated during Gukurahundi. Killander and Nyathi (2015) also record that Gukurahundi sexual violence included brutalising women as some had sharp and burning objects forced into their vaginas, resulting in permanent injuries and disabilities including wide-legged gaits. Although no male testimonies were shared of sexual violence, Killander and Nyathi (2015) report that men's genitalia were often subjected to beatings and in some instances men's testicles were bound with rubber strips and then beaten with truncheons which resulted in some men complaining of permanent problems with erection and urinating.

8.2.4.4 Impact on intimate relationships

Sexual assaults usually occur in private; however, their consequences sometimes spill into public spaces. Women who were abused in private reported a continued impact on their intimate-partner relationships due to the trauma they still carry.

Openly sharing a personal account, one woman disclosed the following:

> *"My virginity went to a rapist. To save yourself up only to be raped is the most painful. I am moved on now but sex does not excite me at all. I just do it now for my husband but for me, all my life, I don't know nice sex."*

Experiencing sexual abuse can have an overwhelmingly negative impact on one's mental health, self-esteem and physical health.

Another woman shared how her marriage ended due to her inability to get over the Gukurahundi sexual abuse she suffered, as well as her husband's inability to deal with the same. She recounted as follows:

> *"The day we were raped, I went back home and shared with my husband what had happened. He cried, he was so angry but guess what, the next time we tried to have sex he was so violent with me and I asked him what is going on. He couldn't even answer and just cried. He later told me that he was angry that another man had been with me in a way that he had never been with me. Me I did not understand it, why would he want to be violent with me simply because another man did the same? But it messed up with his head. We ended up divorcing because we never had normal sex after that."*

A study on wartime sexual violence by Albutt, Kelly, Kabanga and Van Rooyen (2017) concluded that, in addition to the negative impact of rape, survivors of sexual violence are commonly ostracised by their communities and family members. Additionally, they struggle with perceived social stigma, strained community relations and, in some instances, self-rejection. Amnesty International (2004) also documented research findings that confirmed that women and girls who have been sexually violated are often deemed unfit for marriage and are abandoned by their partners following rape. They are also accused of collaborating with their rapists so as to survive and in some instances accused of harbouring sexually transmitted

infections, especially HIV. These findings are consistent with the shared experiences of women interviewed during this study.

8.2.4.5 Abortion, infanticide and abandonment as an 'eraser of atrocious experiences'

Raising a child whom the community knew to be a consequence of rape during Gukurahundi was also highlighted as a major challenge affecting the well-being of most women and, in some instances, the child concerned. As a result, some participants disclosed personally experiencing or knowing someone who either had an abortion, committed infanticide or abandoned the child born of rape. Abortions in Zimbabwe are illegal and are punishable with a jail term if one is prosecuted. Termination of pregnancy is only legal under special circumstances under the Termination of Pregnancy Act. These conditions include cases of rape, incest and serious threat to the mother's life; however, only a magistrate can grant this special authorisation (Harrison, Pearson, Vere, Chonzi, Hove and Mabaya, 2017).

While there are no reports or academic documents that explore this phenomenon, it emerged from the interviews that some women, with the support of their families, had abortions facilitated by older community members who knew natural herbs that can induce a miscarriage. Sharing the story of a family member, a participant divulged the following:

> *"We are not proud of it but we are not sorry for it also because it was a difficult decision. My cousin was helped by our aunt to do the abortion. It was better for us than to always see that child and remember what she went through."*

The same participant also revealed that she felt it was better to have an abortion early on in the pregnancy rather than to wait till the child was born:

> *"Our way was better because there was no child yet, it was just the clots that came out. Do you know that some people discovered too late that they are pregnant or hesitated while they still had the chance and would kill the baby during delivery? I'm not saying they were right or wrong. I am just saying everyone had a tough decision to make at that time."*

While some participants divulged opting for abortions or infanticide, other participants revealed that some women were unable to follow through with these processes and gave birth to their children. While some fared well despite the constant reminder of how they had

conceived, others were unable to do so. One participant elaborated on this challenge with the following comment:

> *"I struggled each time I looked at this child. Each time, I was reminded of how he shoved himself inside. I realised how angry at the child I was when I would beat him up or shout at him for silly things. My mother noticed it too and always used to talk to me about it but I couldn't change. So I eventually just left home and left the child with my mother, not visiting or sending money for years. I just stayed away."*

While one could easily condemn the raped women for committing abortions, infanticide or abandoning their offspring, the complex trauma of raising a 'child of rape' needs to be understood. According to Kalonda (2012), multiple causes, including environmental, cultural and social determinants, socioeconomic status, family relationships and beliefs may explain why women may opt or not opt for abortions. The same may also explain why some women seek abortions much later into their pregnancies as they try to navigate these complex and multi-factorial aspects of their lives. The Termination of Pregnancy Act was promulgated only in 2003 in Zimbabwe, thereby leaving raped women with very few chances of having safe and sanctioned abortions during Gukurahundi. Vertamatti, Abreu, Drezett, Valenti and Barbosa (2013) claim that decriminalising abortions gives women choices which save them and reduce the risks of unwanted pregnancies, unsafe abortions and the rejection of children born of rape. What became clear in this study was that the women who survived rape were faced with a very tough decision. The legal system was unable to protect them or provide justice, resulting in risky options that posed detrimental challenges to their physical and mental well-being.

8.2.4.6 The double jeopardy of disclosure

Closely associated with challenges impacting on intimate-partner relationships, as well as performing an abortion or infanticide or choosing abandonment, women found rape disclosure detrimental to their social standing and relationships. While the expectation after disclosure would be to gain empathy and sympathy, the female participants reported experiencing a contrary response. The consequences of disclosure fit the analogy of 'damned if you do, damned if you don't.' Providing a perspective to this view, one woman shared her story:

> *"Have you ever been accused of being loose? So what had happened is that after the night vigil, one of the Gukurahundi called me to say, hey you, come and cook for us. Obvious you knew what was going to happen to you, but*

> *there was nothing that I could do. My boyfriend was later told that I had gone with the boys, he asked why I had not told him when it happened, I told him because I knew how he was. Instead of understanding me, he accused me of enjoying it and being loose and dumped me."*

It appears that the interviewed women constantly had to make a difficult decision on whether or not to reveal the sexual abuse they had gone through for fear of secondary victimisation if they did disclose it. While there was an understanding of the lack of choice in sexual matters when confronted by the 5th Brigade soldiers, the women still had to bear the unfair consequences of being raped which, in some instances, included terminated relationships, being forced into sexual intercourse by their real partners as some form of compensation to their partners for having been with another man, as well as being labelled promiscuous.

In addition to the jeopardy of disclosing rape to an intimate partner, some participants shared the challenges of disclosing the rape to their own families, particularly the children born of rape. Illustrating this dilemma, one CSO representative provided the following information:

> *"We worked the other day with a child who discovered that his mother had been raped. You know, that guy killed himself because he couldn't stand knowing the story behind his birth and sadly, that's not the only case we have encountered."*

It also emerged that mothers struggled to disclose the rape to their children for fear of hurting them, as well as reliving a past they wished to bury. Uncertainty regarding their children's reactions also served as a deterrent to disclosure as some did not want their children to feel that they had been unwanted. The desire to protect their children from such knowledge, unfortunately, backfired for some mothers when their children either demanded to know their fathers or when they discovered through gossip that they had been born of rape. The discovery in some instances led children to bitterness towards their mothers for withholding the truth and resulted in family rifts. While some participants alluded to some mothers disclosing the truth to their children, others reported that each time such mothers had disputes with their children, the children would assume it was because their mothers had not wanted them in the first place. Mothers, therefore, revealed that they found themselves in an untenable position where disclosure had negative consequences, while a lack of disclosure also carried negative consequences of its own.

This theme has expounded on how Gukurahundi had - and continues to have – a negative impact on the physical, mental and emotional well-being of participants. Owing to the gruesome nature of the atrocities, some participants and their family members suffer from life-long complications the management of which has been made challenging by the poor healthcare system in Zimbabwe. Of note are the sexual and reproductive health challenges mainly experienced by women. These complications have had a negative impact on relationships, both intimate and filial, so that women continue to experience the trauma of having been sexually assaulted - decades after the atrocities.

8.2.5 National impact of Gukurahundi

Gukurahundi has caused severe damage to Zimbabwe's social and political fabric at national level, evidenced by the polarities that exist particularly in the Ndebele/Shona discourse. So polarised are the two main ethnic groups that conflict, accusations and justifications are a constant occurrence witnessed particularly in social media debates and discussions on Twitter, Facebook and Instagram. While social media is not generally considered in academic discource, the sensorship of mainstream media with Zimbabwe only having one government-controlled TV station, social media has become an important alternative for views that would not normally be broadcast by the state media broadcaster- hence its consideration in this academic document. Nationally, parliamentary discussions have also been raised about the perceived disenfranchisement of the Ndebele in favour of the Shona. Be that as it may, some Ndebele and Shona people reside, work and relate peaceably with each other and bemoan the conflict that exists. The following theme will highlight the impact of Gukurahundi at national level based on the narratives of the interviewed participants.

8.2.5.1 To be Zimbabwean or not to be? (Statelessness)

Highlighted as one of the most painful aspects of Gukurahundi was that it was perceived as targeting specifically the Ndebele people just for being Ndebele. Although various participants shared different understandings of why Gukurahundi was orchestrated, chief amongst those reasons, and gaining more prominence, is the belief that they were being attacked merely for being Ndebele. This gave rise to - and continues to intensify - the ire of the Ndebele and has resulted in their questioning whether they are Zimbabwean or not, whether they want to be Zimbabwean or not, or even whether there is any benefit to their being considered Zimbabwean or not. Illustrating this predicament, are quotes from the following participants:

> *"To be a citizen means you have access to all the benefits of that country. But if you have a situation where only a certain group is allowed the cake of the land then you start to question, do I really belong here?"*

Indicating how Zimbabwean citizenship was of little benefit to him in comparison to 'borrowed' South African citizenship, another participant disclosed:

> *"Life improved when I moved to SA. At least here my language and culture is recognised, I can fit in and even the government acknowledges me. I feel more South African than Zimbabwean. That's why some of us pretend to be from here.*

The challenges that came with Gukurahundi also led some participants to feel that they did not belong to Zimbabwe. This was verbalised by the following comment:

> *"So this has made us to conclude that the issue was not against ZAPU and its followers but it was against Ndebele as a nation. Hence it also started somewhere around Midlands and this is where the genocide of 1982 started."*

The experiences and feelings of not belonging to Zimbabwe have given rise to what Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2008) terms Ndebele particularism which is driven by a fear that, if the Ndebele do not have their own Ndebele state, they have no guarantee that atrocities such as Gukurahundi will not be repeated. Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2008) further acknowledges that the Ndebele have come to the realisation that states are used as vehicles to suppress unwanted communities; hence, if they belong to their own state divorced from Mashonaland, they will be safer and able to cater for their own national interests.

Further compounding the agony of whether they are Zimbabwean or not was the issue of documentation. Access to national documentation in the form of birth certificates and national identity documents was highlighted as a major challenge that caused some participants to feel that they are excluded from Zimbabwean citizenship. This was illustrated by both survivors and their family members, as well as CSO representatives. Shedding light on this issue were the following statements:

> *"The biggest challenge to the survivors has been on the part of documentation. Many have even failed to proceed with education because when you proceed to secondary level they want birth certificates in order to*

write O' level. So most of the people from the areas that were highly affected
have just ended at Grade 7."

"We see this a lot in Tsholotsho because they do not have documentation. Not
only that, some of these people that were killed were breadwinners so they will
be having no one to take care of them no wonder why most of our people after
completing Grade 7 they just run away to South Africa."

So entrenched are the challenges of not having documentation that some people have been forced to leave Zimbabwe for South Africa. The irony, however, is that most fled to South Africa without documentation to live an undocumented life in South Africa as well, thereby rendering them stateless. However, one could argue that, with processes such as the Zimbabwe Dispensation Project conducted by the SA Government which enabled undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants to regularise and legalise their stay, leaving Zimbabwe paid off eventually for those who accessed the opportunity. Crush and Tevera (2010) also report that, due to the ability of the Zimbabwean Ndebele to assimilate easily into South African system as a result of similarities in language and culture, most have managed to assimilate and 'become South Africans' whether through clandestine or legal means. According to Kaveri (2017), citizenship is an imperative basic human right which entails security, a sense of belonging and identity, is empowering and facilitates development. One could argue, therefore, that denying documents to the Ndebele attracts the opposite results, i.e., insecurity, lack of identity, disempowerment, and impeding development. Systemic challenges have, therefore, been noted in this study as creating both visible and invisible barriers for undocumented Gukurahundi survivors and their family members and which have limited their ability to access full citizenship rights in Zimbabwe. Manby (2011) makes a case for stateless individuals by citing the disastrous impact it has on individuals' lives. Possession of national documentation and official recognition of that nationality is seen as a precursor to full participation in society and access to the enjoyment of human rights.

8.2.5.2 Perceptions of relegation and 2nd class citizenry

The perception of not being permitted full access to the benefits of being a Zimbabwean has resulted in deep-seated feelings of relegation to second class citizenry. By virtue of

Gukurahundi being seen as an onslaught on the Ndebele and the continued feeling of being excluded and marginalised, the following participant illustrated how he felt:

> *"To the extent that a person or people from this side of the country are regarded or treated as second class citizens. People from Mashonaland will be treated as first class citizens. So what will help our people to heal is a situation whereby this issue is spoken about in a free environment without people being intimidated or being frustrated and this can only be done by ensuring that whoever is to administer over this issue does not take sides but will call a spade a spade and say this happened but it should be corrected."*

Highlighting areas in which the Ndebele participants felt they were relegated and not given sufficient opportunities to flourish were the education and economic sectors. Participants related how the Shona appear to be tipped to access opportunities country-wide and, more frustratingly, in Matabeleland ahead of a Ndebele person on account of being Shona and not because of merit. This was described by the following participant:

> *"So we would expect a scenario whereby in areas such as education and Civil Service the ones who are in the offices or teaching need to understand the norms and the cultures of the people in that area. But in our situation you'll find that including the police stations you'll find that everyone in the police station is speaking in Shona."*

Raising a similar objection, another participant related:

> *"We have got issues pertaining to education whereby most of the schools here in Matabeleland, the teachers from ECD are Shona speaking people coming directly from Harare and they are deployed into the rural areas and these people are not conversant with local languages and culture and you get them now teaching these Primary going school children but it is known that at primary levels school going child will understand better a person who understands his or her native mother language because there are also issues to do with culture."*

The deployment of Shona people ahead of Ndebele, particularly in government institutions, is perceived as a deliberate act designed to economically deprive the Ndebele of income-earning opportunities, thereby impeding their growth as human beings. In addition, one participant

stated that the employment of non-Ndebele-speaking civil servants in medical hospitals is paramount to a human rights violation in relation to access to healthcare as users are unable to communicate with medical officers. This was voiced as follows:

> *"To the point that an elderly person who is not conversant in Shona will not be in a position to relate whatever issues that is affecting them at that point because they are not conversant in Shona. If you go to hospital this is the same scenario where some people who cannot even speak in English or Shona are now being treated by a Dr who is not conversant in their Ndebele so then there tends to be a language barrier so all those things if you put them on the table you'll then discover that no this was well-planned to ensure that the people from Matabeleland are deprived of their rights."*

Participants in this study openly expressed their belief that jobs, education and healthcare services in Matabeleland and Midlands ought to be reserved for locals before considering non-Ndebele people from other provinces. The government's failure to do so is viewed as a deliberate act designed to keep them in poverty and without a sound education. It appears to be the general view and experience that the Ndebele play second fiddle to the Shona. Participants found this very upsetting and disclosed their belief that they were as good as the Shona - or even better - in certain areas in which, they believe, they have been relegated.

8.2.5.3 Perception of the government

Generally, the government of Zimbabwe is not viewed positively by most participants interviewed in this study. The sincerity of the government in adequately addressing Gukurahundi was questioned throughout this study. Prominent is the view that the government, as the perpetrators of Gukurahundi, lack the political will to address it because they do not regret their actions, neither do they intend to implicate themselves legally should Gukurahundi be investigated in earnest.

One CSO participant who claims to have conducted in-depth studies on Gukurahundi revealed that, according to his findings, Gukurahundi was a deliberate plan which involved the cooperation of Western powers:

> *"I do not know whether through your studies you have come across a document called the 1987 grand plan? Yes that document, look before we got*

hold of that document we never understood why the things were happening the way they were happening because we thought maybe these people are just dominating over us or pressing us because they have political power but we never knew that in 1979 some people sat down and came up with the documents that they were going to use in the years to come to oppress people from that side."

Another participant's view was that the government was deliberately utilising Matabeleland's resources to develop outside these provinces while purposefully depriving Matabeleland of its growth opportunities:

"So as a result of that we have since realised that the reason why our people were killed during Gukurahundi and the reason why our people were marginalized up to this stage it is because the government of the day would not come out in the open and tell the world that the reason why we are abusing these people is because these are two separate States but on the other hand we are benefiting much from them because the resources that are sustaining this country are mainly from Matabeleland. We have got mines we have got borders we have got resource centres we've got tourism attractions all of those are mainly from here but check on the side of development you are from Harare if you check the development from Bulawayo you cannot say Bulawayo is the second capital city to Harare. But the development that is taking place in Harare the resources of it are from this side so I would say we are motivated by the fact that the reason why we find ourselves at this level of underdevelopment and marginalization and oppression it is because the government of the day knows it pretty well that these are two separate States and in order for them to continue their supremacy over us they should ensure that our people are not getting the fair share of the cake because if this cake was shared accordingly we would not be having problems of saying so and so is superior over the other." [sic]

Not only did participants disclose their lack of trust in the government, most participants even voiced their conclusion that Gukurahundi was orchestrated by the government under the false pretence of solving the 'dissident' problem as there were no dissidents at all. 'Dissidents' were, therefore, believed to be a creation of the government, stage-managed to justify Gukurahundi.

So deep is the lack of faith and trust in the government that efforts such as the current National Peace and Reconciliation Commission tasked to address issues such as Gukurahundi, are also considered a ruse. Shedding light on this view, a participant commented:

> *"Well, let's wait and see if this NPRC will come up with a road map…But my own theory is that little will happen unless they get pressure from somewhere. This is a political appointee. So obviously they are also defending whoever appointed them and even if they had the will, I mean if they have the will they would've done something by now. So they're just there to push time while getting allowances."*

Despite the verbalised desire by most participants for an earnest governmental response to Gukurahundi, most have reasoned that the government will never address Gukurahundi, and all efforts are a waste of time. This view was strongly supported by a participant who castigated the government by saying:

> *"For one reason or the other they decided not to publish this part because obviously the report implicated them. So, it's not like they don't know what happened. They know what happened. They have the facts, they had intelligence. The intelligence was sending them reports every day. They know exactly what happened and they are not willing to solve this issue because if they did, they would all have to confess to their sins and face justice. So, they are just buying time."*

The relationship between the government of Zimbabwe and the Ndebele, therefore, appears significantly fractured with participants maintaining that it can never be restored unless Gukurahundi is resolved in earnest. Cheema, MacNally and Popovski (2011) define the trust which the citizenry have in their government as multifaceted, driven by a basic consensus among members of that society regarding collective values, priorities, differences and the implicit acceptance of the society in which they live. In addition, trust in the government hinges on citizens' expectations of the type of government they should have and how government ought to operate and interact with other societal and economic institutions. From this study, it can be concluded that Gukurahundi severely fractured the relationship and trust between the Ndebele and the predominantly Shona-led government. Interventions will need to be instituted at national level and with the relevant expertise to try to bring the two to a place of mediation and unanimously accepted decision on the way forward.

8.2.5.4 Perceptions of Shona people

Separating the perceptions of the government from that of the Shona people was a challenge in this study as some participants view them as one and the same thing. The fact that Gukurahundi was instituted by a Shona-led government and a Shona-led 5th Brigade has, for most participants, led to the understanding that the Shona, in general, supported Gukurahundi. While some participants acknowledged that the government representatives and the 5th Brigade do not represent the Shona in their totality, what was clear was that Gukurahundi caused significant damage to Ndebele/Shona relations. Some participants in the study believed that the Shona began to side with the White settlers during colonisation, and this created a rift between the two ethnic groups which also contributed to the negative perception of the Shona. One participant described the role of the Shona during colonisation as follows:

> *"Long back I think whether you know or you don't know when the whites came to present-day Zimbabwe it was difficult for them to destabilise Matabeleland because Matabeleland was already an established state on its own. What they did was then to try to go via Mashonaland and they did that in the company of around 650 Shona based men who were assisting them. These men would come and spy and give information on the Ndebele and there is a battle, the recorded battle I do not know if you have heard about it, it was only because of the Shona that that thing happened."*

The above allegations play into the narratives of the pre-colonisation tensions between the Shona and the Ndebele, and some consider Gukurahundi to have been an act of revenge by the Shona for the brutality they underwent when the Ndebele moved into present-day Zimbabwe during the reign of Shaka Zulu.

Speaking to the alleged role of the Shona during the actual Gukurahundi, one participant raised her concerns as follows:

> *"Fine, let's say that the Shona people insist that they never supported this Gukurahundi, how come when it was happening they never tried to stop it? You know for me, my cousin on the day her family was victimised, their maid who was a Shona told them upfront that I am not related to you and I will*

not suffer for you and she left them to be beaten up while she was saved because she was Shona. So how can you say someone cares like that?"

The expectation that the Shona should want to be involved in some form of restitution and healing process regarding the victims of Gukurahundi was apparent throughout the study with some participants even questioning why presently, few Shona people are advocating the address of Gukurahundi. Disappointment over the perceived denial of Gukurahundi was also shared:

"Just look at social media, on twitter, when someone tries to speak about Gukurahundi, you have the Shona praise and worship singers defending their government left, right, centre. Victims are questioned and their narratives disputed even by people that were not even born yet when this thing happened. So if they are defending their government, it means that they support it fully and are enjoying the benefits of being the government's favourite children."

In many instances during the study, the researcher was also questioned about her choice of topic as a Shona person. Some would-be participants declined to take part in the study upon realising her ethnic background and expressed fear and mistrust regarding why a Shona person wanted to pursue a study that had nothing to do with them - unless she was secretly on a mission. In other instances, participants praised her for exploring the topic with one participant being quoted as saying:

"We wish to see more Shona people tackling this issue of Gukurahundi because a lot of people don't engage peacefully once this subject is raised. Maybe you can go back to your people after this and give them the right information."

Providing a different perspective on the Ndebele-Shona relations, Ngwenya (2016) notes that the Ndebele's hatred for the Shona is a complex issue: most Ndebele have very cordial relations with the Shona on a personal level; yet the same Ndebele, on another level, harbour intense hatred for the Shona. Perhaps applying the pentangle of justice in the Ndebele-Shona relations, as well as understanding bystander mentality and motivations, is essential to assuage the animosity that sometimes flares up between the two ethnic groups. It is not uncommon for survivors of an injustice to feel let down by observers of the injustice, hence the need for post-conflict dialogue and peace-building initiatives to rebuild broken trust and relations.

The competition for resources seems to be at the apex of the Shona-Ndebele crisis, particularly when a Ndebele person feels that a less deserving Shona person has accessed an opportunity by virtue of their ethnicity. This then creates a wedge which affects relations. The Shona have also raised concerns over being painted with the same brush as the government and the expectation that they should compensate for a government atrocity over which they had no control. Probably an area that Zimbabweans need to explore further is the issue of privilege and how it may be addressed, particularly when one is not a perpetrator but is inadvertently benefitting from the actions of a perpetrator.

8.2.5.5 The vengeance or let-go dilemma

Equally causing a rift in families, communities and the nation at large is the question of whether or not to seek vengeance over Gukurahundi or to let go and move on. Family members divulged how this predicament has played itself out within families, as some family members are still very bitter over the death of their loved ones or their own experiences and wish to pursue legal and confrontational approaches to forcing the government to account for Gukurahundi. In the same instance, some have forgiven their perpetrators or at least have decided to let the Gukurahundi issue go as they feel that it will never be resolved and is holding their lives back. As this dilemma spills into communities and the nation, various groups, societies and organisations who call for the address of Gukurahundi have very varied opinions regarding how best Gukurahundi can be addressed, thereby making unity and consensus difficult to attain. Depicting how those who wish to let go of Gukurahundi feel, two participants stated the following:

> *"I used to be a very angry person, I was the most bitter of them all. But with time, you realise that you are only dying inside. So my voice became silent and silent within my organisation and comrades accused me of selling out. But I can't fight forever we have been through so much and you get to a point where you just want to heal."*

Another stated:

> *"How issues are approached differs. I prefer the unity route. We are one Zimbabwe. Yes, what happened happened and we will never forget but for future generations, we have the responsibility to fix this and speak the unity of Joshua Nkomo. That is what he wanted, a united Zimbabwe."*

However, for some participants the pre-conditions for forgiveness and unity have not been met; hence they disagree that the nation is ready for nation-building or peace-talks. Illustrating this view, one quoted participant stated:

> *"Like I said that we still feel that the genocide is continuing but in this time through economic imbalances. I am like saying our people are failing to heal because of the irregularities that are taking place due to economic imbalances and political imbalances. So we can't even talk about peace until these issues are resolved."*

Calling for cessation due to the view that Gukurahundi can never be resolved, a participant said:

> *"What is so difficult about admitting that we failed these people, we hate them and have done everything to destroy them? It is clear that they hate us so why not allow us to have our own nation as we had before? Yes the trauma is a big thing because like I said some people even up to this day they do not want to talk about what happened but if you ask them, they will tell you, give us our nation back. We are fully capable of ruling ourselves with our own systems, not this dysfunctional and oppressive regime we are under."*

Due to the varied opinions on whether to seek vengeance, justice, retribution or opt for letting go and moving on without processes in place, movements that have sought to resolve Gukurahundi appear to be lacking consensus. Accusations that some are now embracing the perpetrators have caused rifts with some of them feeling that those who advocate cessation are opting for a drastic measure that the former do not favour. The lack of unity over how to address Gukurahundi may be considered beneficial by the current government as it aids the continued delay in fully and earnestly addressing this matter effectively. Ngwenya (2016) cautions that in some instances, the older generation that was directly affected by Gukurahundi has transferred its trauma onto the next generation by speaking openly about their pain and citing the need for vengeance. The younger generation has observed the lingering impact of Gukurahundi and, as he argues, creates a desire within the children for vengeance as a way to redeem their parents' honour.

The lack of consensus has also been observed to play itself out as was manifested by the recent collapse of the Matabeleland collective which was a network of organisations advocating the address of Gukurahundi. Following the government's initiative to conduct exhumations and

reburials in 2020, some partners felt that other partners had become too amenable to the government. Accusations of bribery in order to collude with the government to whitewash Gukurahundi also led to the split of this network, thereby delaying national consensus and action on resolving this tumultuous part of Zimbabwe's history (Centre for Innovation and Technology, 2021).

This theme has explored the impact of Gukurahundi at national level by analysing how citizenship and access to basic services and rights have been challenging, particularly for undocumented Gukurahundi survivors and their family members. In addition, the theme has also explored relations between the Ndebele and the Shona, as well as the Ndebele and the government, by highlighting how lack of trust and ever present animosity have been a drawback to peace-building initiatives. The theme has also explored the lack of consensus by civil society organisations which has hampered collective advocacy that is strong enough to lobby for the address of Gukurahundi at national or international level.

8.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided insight into the analysed narratives of the participants, thus revealing their individual and collective stories and experiences. The emerging themes have been contextualised by comparing them to existing literature to support or negate the findings. Having understood who the Gukurahundi survivors and their family members are and having gained insight into their Gukurahundi-related experiences, the next chapter, which is the last part of the data analysis process, seeks to provide insight into what the participants indicated as being an appropriate response to Gukurahundi.

CHAPTER 9: PART 3: WHAT MUST HAPPEN?

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This study was guided by a set of questions that intended to provide an academic perspective on who the Gukurahundi survivors and their family members are, an exploration of their experiences in relation to Gukurahundi and an understanding of their aspirations regarding resolving Gukurahundi. The previous two chapters presented the emerging themes and sub-themes by providing a demographic analysis of who the research participants were, as well as depicting their experiences in relation to Gukurahundi. While the chapters focused on the experiences during and after Gukurahundi, the current chapter will address the ever-pressing question of 'What must happen going forward?' through the lenses of the affected. This chapter will also propose, by means of a framework, the role that social workers can play in response to survivors' and family members' aspirations regarding Gukurahundi. This chapter is, therefore, the heart of this thesis as it endeavours to align the aspirations of those affected by Gukurahundi with professional social work practice in order to create solutions to atrocities, such as Gukurahundi

Social work practice emphasises the importance of starting from where the client is at. Hence the suggested framework in this chapter will be based on an analysis of all the data and the desired way forward as verbalised during the interviews. The unique value-add of this framework will, therefore, be that it has been designed based on participant feedback as opposed to merely providing the researcher's academic opinion. This is essential as suggested resolutions to the Gukurahundi issue have often faced criticism for taking a top-down approach in which experts, politicians and academics have been portrayed as dictating what needs to happen without consulting the affected people regarding their expectations and aspirations.

By so doing, this chapter will attempt to fulfil the following set objectives:

  i.   to determine the role that social workers can play in response to Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe and similar atrocities elsewhere,

  ii.   to differentiate the role of social workers from the role of state actors in response to Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe,

  iii.   to develop a framework for social workers to guide their response to atrocities.

9.2 FRAMEWORK PRESENTATION

Chapter 4 Section 7 provided a perspective on the lack of agency by the social work profession and its silence in fully operating at a macro level and leading interventions at national level in Zimbabwe. To provide a solution to this challenge, the researcher has designed an intervention framework that can be utilised by social workers when providing services to communities affected by atrocities, such as Gukurahundi. Figure 11 below will present avenues in which the social work profession can take agency and an explanation will follow on how these potential avenues can be rolled out in Zimbabwe.

Figure 11: Avenues of social work professional intervention

9.2.1 Awareness avenue

The interviews revealed an overwhelming sense of miseducation, misinformation and, in some instances, concealment of Gukurahundi information. As a result, survivors and their family members, as well as CSOs advocating an address of Gukurahundi, have struggled to obtain the necessary empathy and support from fellow citizens and, in some instances, regional and international bodies instituted to offer support in atrocities such as Gukurahundi. Articulating the need for accurate Gukurahundi information, a CSO representative put his desire across in the following manner:

> *"There has been a lot of misinformation, a lot of propaganda. So, people need to understand that this was what happened so that even the young ones would actually have this history recorded properly because you're talking about something that is not taught in schools. You're not talking about something that you can watch on TV because we cannot understand the future if you don't understand the past."*

In fulfilling the awareness mandate, social workers in Zimbabwe can take a lead in the dissemination of non-partisan country-wide Gukurahundi awareness and education initiatives designed to promulgate the 'real Gukurahundi stories' to the masses. One of the major barriers to unified endeavours to address Gukurahundi evidenced in this study has been the lack of documented factual information readily available for dissemination to the entire population. As a result, bitterness has fermented in those directly affected by Gukurahundi, thereby impeding national healing, peace and reconciliation. The role of social workers in facilitating the awareness of the 'real' Gukurahundi narrative is not to tell the story on behalf of the survivors and their family members, but rather to create conducive 'story-sharing' platforms during which those with first-hand experience, knowledge and insight can inform and educate those who are ignorant. The researcher suggests a 3-tier awareness process:

Table 17: Awareness avenue intervention

LEVEL:	POSSIBLE INTERVENTION METHODOLOGY
MICRO	o Social workers working with individuals and their families can facilitate the story-sharing process by equipping, for instance, parents to openly share their Gukurahundi narratives with their children and nuclear family members. Via this platform, pertinent

	Gukurahundi awareness and the impact of issues, such as gender-based violence and mental health, can be disseminated.
MEZZO	o Social workers working with communities can facilitate collective remembering by creating platforms for both Ndebele and Shona Gukurahundi narratives to be shared, as well as to dispel myths and misconceptions.
	o Social workers can mobilise communities to act out role-plays, dramas and such artistic works as will facilitate a visual recollection of what happened during Gukurahundi, as well as the effects thereafter, based on the lived experiences and accounts of survivors and their family members.
	o Social workers can also facilitate the provision of information on mental health and gender-based violence which this research has found to be critical in adequately responding to Gukurahundi.
	o Social workers can facilitate community mapping exercises to educate community members on support services available within their localities to address Gukurahundi challenges they may be experiencing.
	o Social workers can initiate community-of-practice workshops in collaboration with multi-disciplinary professions, such as medical practitioners, historians and legal practitioners familiar with Gukurahundi. During these workshops, each profession can describe their encounters with survivors and their family members while co-creating intervention action plans at communal level. In addition, actors and writers can take a lead in ensuring accurate documentation of Gukurahundi stories to be disseminated across communities. The inclusion of braille documentation is also crucial at this stage to ensure inclusivity of the visually impaired communities while non-scripted documentation facilitated through performing arts would also cater for the non-literate community. It is essential for social workers to ensure - through these processes - inclusivity and consideration of key population groups normally marginalised in such initiatives.

MACRO	o Social workers who have worked at grassroots level with Gukurahundi survivors can scale up awareness initiatives at national level by educating legislators, parliamentarians and key political players regarding their community findings on the impact of Gukurahundi.
	o This can take the form of workshops and information sessions which will be critical in promoting understanding that can influence legislation and policies around Gukurahundi, as well as inform budget discussions when fiscal matters are deliberated on.
	o Social workers can also become instrumental in hosting workshops and conferences. They may well want to write academic papers that assess, inform and educate on different aspects related to Gukurahundi and how social justice can be employed to respond to Gukurahundi.

9.2.2 Therapeutic avenue

It was very pronounced during this study that participants have largely not healed and still struggle with their Gukurahundi experiences and consequences. Illustrating the inability to heal, one participant said:

> *"I don't know if it is even possible to heal from everything. All of us we are just wounded people. Maybe if we got counselling back then, it would have helped, now, I don't know…"*

Prolonged trauma has been identified as having a negative impact on the quality of life of any survivors of atrocities and their family members. According to Dominelli (2010), the role of social workers in therapeutic interventions is to aid the client to improve agency and gain mastery over his or her feelings and actions. As such, social workers involved with Gukurahundi survivors and their family members can fulfil this role by providing individual therapy, family group therapeutic conferences as well as therapy with couples. In addition, social workers can also facilitate targeted therapeutic support groups for individuals identifying with similar Gukurahundi-related challenges, e.g. support groups for survivors of rape, for people with Gukurahundi-related disabilities, or grief support groups for people struggling to deal with the loss of a loved one. In some instances, specialised social work interventions by

medical social workers might be required in instances of clients with advanced therapeutic needs. Social workers may need to refer clients presenting with advanced challenges to psychologists, psychiatrists or other allied professionals; hence the need to work as part of multi-disciplinary teams in these targeted interventions. In a bid to contribute towards a unified Zimbabwe, social workers may also consider conducting therapeutic services with perpetrators of Gukurahundi. This view was supported by a participant who said:

> *"A normal person cannot go around killing people the way they did. I'm sure even they have their own traumas caused by the things they did and also need some kind of interventions to help them address their past evil."*

Social workers are non-partisan and do not take sides in the course of their practice. Hence the researcher suggests that, in providing holistic national therapeutic interventions to all affected by Gukurahundi, there may be a need to provide therapeutic support to perpetrators and their family members who may identify themselves as requiring support. Interventions for all may also explore and enhance the capacity to access coping mechanisms and self-healing techniques designed to aid the healing process in the absence of justice.

9.2.3 Mediation avenue

One of the major criticisms levelled at the Zimbabwean government for its failure to address Gukurahundi has been its perceived complicity in the massacres. It has been argued that current efforts by the sitting President are futile and a façade as he is considered one of the chief architects of the atrocities. As a result, he cannot be seen as being judge and jury in a matter that implicates him (Bulawayo 24, 2021). It is therefore imperative for neutral players to lead Gukurahundi mediation talks so as to work towards persuading the survivors and perpetrators to reach a consensus on the best way forward - to encourage national healing and possibly nation-building. Social workers are professionally trained to be neutral facilitators of conflict resolution processes. Gavrila (2014) defines mediation as a voluntary, multi-faceted and confidential conflict resolution process led by an impartial mediator whose goal is to assist conflicting parties to reach a compromise that may resolve conflict and preserve vital relationships. In response to Gukurahundi, social workers can utilise their mediation skills at micro, mezzo and macro levels in the following manner:

Table 18: Mediation avenue intervention

LEVEL:	POSSIBLE INTERVENTION METHODOLOGY
MICRO	o Mediation between family members who no longer see eye to eye, e.g., where some family members carry unresolved Gukurahundi conflict issues related to abandonment, suspicions of selling out, or anger over the absence of support or protection during the atrocities.
MEZZO	o Working with traditional and community leaders to identify unresolved community conflict, e.g., where there are Ndebele and Shona rifts within communities. o Mediating where there are Gukurahundi disclosures, e.g., community members who may know how a community member died or where he or she was buried clandestinely but have been unable to divulge the information to concerned parties for fear of retribution. o Perpetrators who may want to ask for forgiveness for atrocities committed during the massacres.
MACRO	o Social workers can be instrumental in mediating between CSOs in conflict over whether to allow Gukurahundi survivors and family members to contemplate vengeance or to let go - and then possibly to unpack what 'letting go' or 'holding on' means for them and how it will serve towards their desired outcomes. As professionals, social workers' knowledge and skills may enable CSOs to find points of unity and compromise which can assist them in collectively moving ahead and possibly succeeding in their advocacy work regarding Gukurahundi matters. o At a national level, social workers can, as neutral mediators, work with government in its Matabeleland re-engagement efforts, thereby addressing the current impasse in which the government is trying to mediate in an issue in which it is considered complicit. o Mediation at national level may also include sessions with parliamentarians and government officials to assist them in finding common ground over how Gukurahundi can best be addressed at

	national level in a manner that facilitates the building of mutually advantageous solutions.

Given the complexity of Gukurahundi and the lack of consensus on whether or not a judicial route is most desired by those affected, it is prudent to state that the mediation route might not be acceptable to all those affected by Gukurahundi. It is, therefore, imperative for social workers undertaking this role to emphasise the voluntary-participatory nature of mediation processes, as well as to highlight that it is a non-legally binding process so that all parties are well informed. It is the researcher's academic and professional view that mediation might be considered more acceptable by the perpetrators as it enables some form of address without legally implicating them and attracting punitive measures against them. This route may struggle to find acceptance among survivors or family members who may well prefer the punitive route as the mediation route could be perceived as a further affront in which perpetrators are offered an easy way out thereby impeding justice. Hence social workers undertaking this role ought to act cautiously and ensure that parties involved in mediation have been fully consulted prior, during and after such processes while ensuring that the value of self-determination is always upheld.

9.2.4 Advocacy avenue

The need for someone to speak on behalf of the survivors and their family members was raised by several participants. A feeling that the victims were left to fight for themselves was voiced by the following participant:

> *"What makes this thing hard is that everyone is expecting that we come up with our own solutions. But as victims we are still suffering from what happened and is still happening to us and need someone to say no man, these guys need help, let us stand up for them."*

The role of social workers as advocates has faced criticism in Zimbabwe as depicted in Chapter 4. The silence of the profession on national matters and its perceived failure to lead in human rights advocacy has been depicted as a cause for concern. To redeem the profession as being advocates for social justice, social workers in Zimbabwe can engage in advocacy work in their response to challenges experienced by Zimbabweans following Gukurahundi. Table 19 below builds on the framework and offers guidance regarding the role of social workers in advocacy.

Table 19: Advocacy avenue intervention

LEVEL:	POSSIBLE INTERVENTION METHODOLOGY
MICRO	o Social workers can work with individuals struggling to acquire national documentation, such as birth certificates and national IDs. Advocacy will involve accompanying them to relevant government offices or writing letters of support in documentation applications for the attention of relevant officials. o Social workers can also compile family profiles and write letters of support in relation to access to deceased estate benefits. This will apply particularly to children whose parents died during Gukurahundi and who have since struggled to access their government pension funds or other inheritance due to the absence of death certificates or birth certificates. This may require social workers to be engaged on a statutory basis and work with legal professionals.
MACRO	o Social workers can also play a critical role in bringing the Gukurahundi issue onto the national agenda by advocating the rights of survivors and their family members in national dialogues on the matter. o Social workers can also advocate for equal access to social and other services, as well as basic human rights, for disenfranchised groups by lobbying on behalf of their clients at national level.

9.2.5 Economic strengthening avenue

An analysis of verbal and non-verbal data led to the conclusion that a significant portion of Gukurahundi survivors and their family members are struggling financially. Most participants shared their belief that Gukurahundi is still continuing through structural violence mechanisms that deprive the people of Matabeleland and the Midlands provinces of income generating opportunities. This is confirmed by a participant who said:

> *"So we are like saying we need a solution that will be initiated and should I*
> *say be well represented by our own people because we are the ones that were*
> *affected and it's still continuing but it is now in economic form we call it*

economic genocide because our people are still deprived on economic grounds and need emancipation in other areas so we are trying to enlighten our people and remove that fear that was instilled by the government of the day."

While social workers are not financial or economic experts, they are equipped with knowledge and skills to tap into human potential and support the process of growth. A potential avenue of intervention regarding social workers' clients who either never recovered from the Gukurahundi financial losses or were not offered sufficient opportunities to become educated – and thus increase their employability opportunities after Gukurahundi - would be to institute economic strengthening initiatives that enable their clients to have better access to national resources. Mutungwe (2016) conducted a study in Zimbabwe which concluded that, although there is a dedicated Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises and Cooperatives Development, the regulatory framework impedes the success of most deserving individuals and businesses in accessing government guaranteed loans. Mutungwe (2016) further pointed out that most small businesses struggle to become registered due to underfunding and inaccessibility of the Ministry. This, therefore, presents a niche for social workers in Gukurahundi ravaged communities to encourage and provide start-up support, particularly for community development projects thereby creating enablements that can facilitate access to resources. Many organisations that employ social workers have access to grants, funding and scholarship opportunities designed to uplift and empower communities economically. It is, therefore, suggested that social workers within these organisations purposely work towards bidding for such funds in order to introduce economic strengthening projects and programmes in Matabeleland and Midlands. By so doing, they would be responding to the principle of social development as they work towards creating an enabling environment for survivors and their family members to access resources that can improve their quality of life. This very much ties in with Nussbaum's (2011) concept of social justice. An example of a household economic strengthening model that could be utilised by Zimbabwean social workers is the USAID PEPFAR (USAID, 2010) model which provides for:

i.   **Provision:** Offering vulnerable homes food, cash and other essential basic needs.
ii. **Protection:** Offering household income managing skills designed to reduce risks and build protective assets.
iii. **Promotion:** Offering household skills to increase household income by improving their capacity to identify, seize and create employment and self-employment opportunities.

9.2.6 Research, policy and planning avenue

Throughout this study, the researcher did not encounter a Gukurahundi study, report or article that identifies itself as specifically written or conducted by a social worker. While the literature search was intensive, it may not have been exhaustive and there may exist a study of this nature conducted by a social worker. However, the fact that not one such study was found reveals a gap in relation to Gukurahundi documentation which social workers may want to fill. They can take on active roles in conducting relevant research into Gukurahundi and producing documentation that is professional and factual and which can be utilised to influence national dialogue, policy decisions and planning of how best to respond to Gukurahundi. Illustrating how, despite three decades having passed since the Gukurahundi occurrence, research into Gukurahundi has not yet been exhausted, a CSO representative stated:

> *"A lot of information is still coming because we are also trying to research what really caused Gukurahundi but we can safely say that we now have got 75% or 80% of the information that points out to say there was no justification of the genocide. So non-state actors like yourself should actually be putting pressure to the government to say here is an issue that has not yet been solved."*

Over and above conducting research into Gukurahundi, social workers should also consider taking a lead role in policy formulation on human rights issues, social welfare and social development aspects critical in assisting Gukurahundi survivors and their family members to respond constructively to their challenges. This role calls for the profession to emerge from the backseat that it seems to have comfortably settled in and intentionally add its voice to strategic deliberations. It goes without saying that this may not be easy as it requires relevant governmental institutions to create room for the voice of social workers. However, it also reveals the need for a radical approach by the National Council for Social Workers and universities training social workers in Zimbabwe to lobby for the acknowledgement and inclusion of social workers in these strategic spaces. Hence, where space has not been offered, social workers should become the radical pioneers who create these spaces to facilitate inclusion.

9.3 DIFFERENTIATING SOCIAL WORKERS FROM OTHER STATE ACTORS

While this study focused on the role of social workers in response to Gukurahundi, participants also raised other issues of concern which do not necessarily fall within the ambit of the social

work scope of practice. Be that as it may, capturing the data was necessary in assisting to distinguish the role of social workers from that of state actors or other role players. Social work has always favoured a multi-disciplinary approach to interventions, hence understanding these issues also provides a basis for referrals and systems linkages so that the Gukurahundi response is holistically applied across all levels of intervention. The following section will highlight some areas requiring intervention; however, these interventions may not necessarily be performed by social workers despite their being equally important.

The desire for prosecution and legal proceedings in response to Gukurahundi was voiced by almost all the interviewed participants, thereby highlighting it as a priority for the participants. Quoting one participant:

> *"Everything else that anyone will do is useless. We want to make sure that the perpetrators are brought to book, nothing else."*

In addition to the call for punitive measures against alleged perpetrators, some participants also spoke about the expectation that a Truth Commission be instituted to deal with Gukurahundi. The following participant castigated the existing National Peace and Reconciliation Commission as inadequate in meeting the requirements of scrutiny:

> *"That is why we are saying the government has been unscrupulous in calling it the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission. We are like saying no it should be called Truth and Reconciliation Commission because first things first, truth has to be told, only then can there be reconciliation. And it has to be a panel of international consultants, not these local political appointees who are scared to call a spade a spade."*

The setting up of such a commission is the mandate of the government. While social workers may play a role in the actual commission, the capacity to determine its terms of reference rests with the government.

The demand for legal processes to address Gukurahundi cannot be silenced. Pressure and advocacy groups have been conducting marches, demonstrations and presentations to court asking for the nation to respond to Gukurahundi, and these calls will most likely prevail. It is, therefore, imperative that legal players purposefully work towards a legal solution to the political problem which resulted in crimes being committed against the people of Matabeleland

and the Midlands. This is an area in which the social work profession is limited in its scope of practice and will require intervention by relevant legal personnel.

9.4 LOCATING INTERVENTION AVENUES IN SOCIAL JUSTICE FRAMEWORK

Social justice is premised on principles of fairness, equality, access, welfare and opportunities for all. It is the researcher's considered view that, in undertaking to provide awareness and education around Gukurahundi, advocating for those affected, conducting therapeutic work, providing developmental and economic strengthening initiatives and conducting high level professional research into Gukurahundi, social workers would contribute significantly towards the realisation of social justice in Zimbabwe. Due to the professional training of social workers, they are best placed to provide interventions that ensure fair and compassionate distribution of resources. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights emphasises equality of rights, equality of opportunities and equality of living conditions (United Nations, 2005). The UN declaration mirrors Rawls' (1971) conceptualisation of social justice as premised by his two principles of equal access to basic liberties and equal accumulation of social and economic benefits by those most disadvantaged in society. Based on the proposed framework, the researcher argues that social workers, employing the avenues of intervention indicated in the developed framework, will enable their clients to obtain much needed relief in areas identified throughout this thesis. A key argument by Rawls has been, in essence, that individuals should be able to access basic liberties without being expected to exert any personal effort themselves. The researcher, therefore, maintains that mandating social workers to step in as advocates on behalf of Gukurahundi survivors and their family members in the realisation of social justice removes the burden of responsibility from them. This, therefore, would ensure that they personally need not exert effort to access resources (liberties) naturally available and accessible to ordinary Zimbabwean citizens.

In addition, the proposed framework emphasises holistic social work interventions at micro, mezzo and macro levels. This aligns with Prilleltensky (2012) who stresses the importance of promoting social justice at four different levels, i.e., the personal, interpersonal, organisational and community levels. Additionally, by undertaking the roles of educators, advocates, therapists, mediators, economic strengthening facilitators and researchers as recommended by the developed framework, agency with regard to Fraser's (2008) conceptualisation of

participatory parity is revived. If implemented, the developed framework would enable social workers to ensure:

- Redistribution of resources – particularly through the avenue of advocacy, as well as economic strengthening. This would entrench participatory parity in relation to the social and economic dimension.

- Recognition of status – As social workers undertake the awareness, research, policy and planning avenue, they would be building a national awareness, understanding and insight of the 'real' Gukurahundi story. This would enable social arrangements that improve the recognition of the Ndebele and invite them to participate across all sectors on an equal footing.

- Representation – The main thrust of introducing these avenues of interventions is premised on the finding that the social work profession has not been effectively instrumental in justice conversations in Zimbabwe. Hence, taking on advocacy as well as directly informing legislation and policy decisions, would ensure the realisation of Fraser's political dimension, thereby contributing towards participatory parity. This would have a natural 'domino effect' in enhancing the cultural dimension as well, thereby conforming to Fraser's slogan of "no redistribution or recognition without representation" (Fraser, 2008:282).

A conclusion derived throughout this study in relation to Fraser's conceptualisation of social justice is the reality that for most Gukurahundi survivors and their family members participatory parity remains a pipe dream. The Zimbabwean environment calls for social workers to utilise the avenues of intervention developed in this study to bring survivors and their family members closer to the enablements required to ensure optimum functioning across all spectrums of life.

Similar to the above conclusion that Fraser's dimensions are currently not realised by Gukurahundi survivors and their family members, Nussbaum's (2011) ten capabilities were found wanting when juxtaposed with the lived realities of the study participants. The researcher concludes that the Zimbabwean government has not successfully and democratically debated and translated these capabilities into constitutional guarantees. In addition, their precise location and threshold has either not been explicated or meaningfully implemented for realisation by all citizens - in particular, Gukurahundi survivors and their family members. While the constitution of Zimbabwe may provide for, for instance, the right to life and bodily

integrity, in practice these freedoms have not been attainable at a higher level for Gukurahundi survivors and their family members based on their accounts discussed throughout this thesis. In essence, these capabilities have been nationally stated as blanket endorsements; yet, through what is perceived as structural violence ploys, the human dignity of people from Matabeleland and the Midlands has been reportedly compromised.

Be that as it may, the suggested framework would provide scaffolding for social workers, positioning them as change agents to ensure that they advocate and secure the minimum threshold of access to these human capabilities. The researcher is convinced that, when diligently applied, the avenues of intervention may assist the move from attainment of merely lower-level capabilities to higher level capabilities - especially if social workers engage more often in the political and socio-economic arenas.

The study results presented a glaring gap in the delivery of social justice in Zimbabwe, as Gukurahundi survivors and their family members have been denied access to resources, enablements and entitlements required for optimum functioning. It is hoped that, through the utilisation of the framework submitted in this thesis, social workers will be able to facilitate a better realisation of social justice. While it is acknowledged that the proposed framework is not exhaustive, it provides a carefully thought through starting platform for a profession that has been less vocal with respect to the issues of Gukurahundi.

It must however be noted that pursuing this framework, while non-political, may place social workers in Zimbabwe in a very precarious situation given the harsh manner in which the government of Zimbabwe has dealt with those seen to highlight atrocities by the state. It is therefore essential that the Social work Council re-groups and strengthens as an organ to stand for its members who may be persecuted in the call of duty. It is also essential for the multi-disciplinary team to include lawyers who will be able to provide legal assistance should social workers find themselves facing legal challenges while carrying out their duties.

9.5 CONCLUSION

Following an analysis of all data, this chapter sought to provide avenues of intervention that can be undertaken by social workers in their response to Gukurahundi. The proposed avenues of intervention are intended to act as a basic first line of interventions during which professionals will expand their knowledge, skills and methodology as they seek to amplify the voices of survivors and their family members at micro, mezzo and macro levels.

In the next chapter, the researcher will summarise the entire study while providing recommendations for different stakeholders. The chapter will conclude with recommendations for future academic studies on Gukurahundi.

CHAPTER 10: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

"First they came for the communists, and I did not speak out-
because I was not a communist;
Then they came for the socialists, and I did not speak out-
because I was not a socialist;
Then they came for the trade unionists, and I did not speak out-
because I was not a trade unionist;
Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out-
because I was not a Jew;
Then they came for me-
and there was no one left to speak out for me."
(Martin Niemöller,n.d)

10.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis sought to provide an understanding of the role that social workers can play in response to Gukurahundi atrocities in Zimbabwe. Chapters 1-6 have laid out the academic literature pertaining to the study topic, as well as the methodology employed in a bid to answer the research question. Chapters 7-9 reported on the emerging data by bringing themes and sub-themes to the fore which provided a frame of reference for developing a framework usable by social workers in addressing Gukurahundi. This final chapter provides a summary of the entire study, offers an opinion on whether or not the study aims and objectives have been fulfilled, and documents recommendations for various stakeholders in the Gukurahundi matter going forward. The chapter will conclude by discussing study limitations which may have impacted on the study and its results.

10.2 REVISITING STUDY AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

In determining whether the study has been successful, the researcher will recap, for the reader's recollection, the study's main aims and objectives.

The main aim of the study was:

- to determine the role that social workers can play in response to atrocities such as Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe.

To fulfil the above aim, the accompanying objectives of the study were:

i. **To explore the narratives of the Gukurahundi survivors and their families** – This objective was fully accomplished as study participants shared their experiences through the semi-structured interviews conducted by the researcher. The interviews with CSO representatives were used to triangulate data gathered from the survivors and their family members, thereby further strengthening the trustworthiness element of the whole study.

ii. **To explore coping mechanisms employed by survivors and their families in dealing with their trauma** – To a large extent, this objective was accomplished as some participants shared mechanisms they have utilised to cope. However, it was noted that a fair number of participants could not identify with coping strategies as they felt that they were merely existing. It was also noted that some participants associated 'coping' with being content with their challenges. Hence, they could not identify with 'coping' as they felt it would imply that they were happy with the status quo. Consequently, they could not articulate coping strategies.

iii. **To determine the role that social workers can play in response to atrocities, such as Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe** – This objective was fulfilled to a large extent. Through asking participants what their expectations of the profession were, as well as identifying gaps in current Gukurahundi responses based on an analysis of literature, the role was clearly circumscribed and detailed in the study. In addition, the role played by CSOs in this study enabled the analysis of gaps in social work services which social workers can fill in response to Gukurahundi.

iv. **To differentiate the role of social workers from the role of state actors in response to Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe** – This objective was accomplished particularly through an exploration and analysis of the CSO interviews. Analysing what state actors can do to address the researched atrocities revealed gaps in their engagement with Gukurahundi and enabled the development of a framework for use by social workers based on their scope of practice.

v. **To develop a framework for social workers to guide their response to atrocities such as Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe** – This study objective was accomplished and a framework has been developed and presented in this thesis.

Based on the above, it is the researcher's conclusion that this study has largely fulfilled the initially set out objectives.

10.3 SUMMARY OF MAIN THEMES

As discussed in Chapter 7, the data emerged in three parts with the first part depicting who the Gukurahundi survivors and their families are, the second part detailing their Gukurahundi experiences and narratives, while the third part determined their aspirations regarding a Gukurahundi resolution. The following sections will summarise the main themes that emerged in these three parts.

10.3.1 Theme 1: Helplessness, resentment and guilt within families

Gukurahundi continues to have a profound emotional impact on families from which survivors and their family members have not yet healed. Parents feel guilty at their inability to have protected their children during the massacres themselves, as well as from the ensuing aftermath, inclusive of loss of income and the inability to provide for their families. Furthermore, Gukurahundi presented a dichotomy in responses as family members felt resentful towards those who seemingly 'had it easy' by escaping or dying during or after Gukurahundi; yet there was also an understanding of why those who could escape, or die did so. Survivor's and bystander's guilt are also prevalent as survivors revealed struggling to comprehend their helplessness which has, for some participants, resulted in mental self-torture over their inability to act. This theme revealed the need for and importance of practitioners' intervention on an individual and community level to encourage dialogue and mediation between family and community members, as well as facilitate an all-round knowledge sharing process so that affected parties are able to hear themselves and hear others as they process the residue of the atrocities which they endured.

10.3.2 Theme 2: Experiences of loss

The devastating impact of Gukurahundi is seen in the various losses that survivors and their family members experienced. Gukurahundi losses were both material and non-material, quantifiable and unquantifiable. Participants revealed losing numerable resources, e.g., in instances where participants could enumerate the number of cattle they lost to acts of arson. However, some losses were not measurable, e.g., when participants lost job opportunities, lost relationships or lost a sense of worth and dignity. Ruminations regarding what might have been have impeded healing for some participants and have been compounded by the Zimbabwean government's inability to constructively and restoratively address Gukurahundi. Various coping strategies, ranging from rationalising their loss to engaging in Gukurahundi advocacy, were highlighted by a few participants. However, for most participants, their loss can only

make sense or heal when justice with respect to Gukurahundi has been obtained in the form of the prosecution of alleged perpetrators, as well as an acknowledgment, apology and reparations of the atrocities. The current economic conditions in Zimbabwe have also made it challenging for some participants to bounce back from their losses - in addition to feelings of continued marginalisation which compound the sense of loss. This theme elucidated the need for Gukurahundi to be addressed at a micro, mezzo and macro level. As the highlighted losses relate to personal, community and, in some instances national level, the need for multi-level social justice processes to address, and in some instances restore these losses was identified. Social workers working with survivors need to be cognizant of the reality that some participants are open to processes that attend to individual loss and trauma in the absence of officially concluded legal intervention, while others will always feel that justice has not been served, unless retributive and reparative processes have been initiated and concluded to address their losses.

10.3.3 Theme 3: Cultural complications faced by families

That Gukurahundi is viewed and experienced as having occurred along ethnic lines amplified the narrative of its cultural impact. Owing to cultural beliefs, participants narrated how Gukurahundi is affecting both the dead and the living. The dead are allegedly aggrieved due to their atrocious deaths and indiscriminate burials which restricted the following of traditional rites of passage from life to death. The living reported experiencing the wrath of the dead manifesting itself through illness, misfortune and, in some instances, cultural experiences in which the dead demand, through dreams, decent burials. The lack of consensus over methods to address these cultural issues has also caused further divisions within families, with some members favouring exhumation and reburial processes in the absence of justice, while others believe these cultural processes must be delayed until justice has been served to avoid contaminating evidence that may be used to prosecute Gukurahundi perpetrators through forensic processes. In addition, families reported complications associated with raising children born of Gukurahundi rape and the inability to connect with their ancestors and observe certain cultural practices. All these cultural challenges emphasised the need for decolonised social work interventions that seek to meet clients in their present 'space' in a manner that respects cultural diversity. Additionally, this theme also underscores the need for a multi-disciplinary approach to therapeutic interventions which may necessitate the involvement of traditional healers as it was revealed that most participants seek traditional assistance to resolve mental health issues that have developed as a result of Gukurahundi. It is, therefore imperative for the

social work profession to be both cognizant and respectful of these cultural interventions as they have been a critical part of the coping strategies of some participants. Additionally, the need for national cognizance of the reality that Gukurahundi has had cultural implications is essential for government's understanding that intervention processes need to be seen as respecting the cultural dimension; hence involvement of traditional leaders and community leaders in finding lasting solutions cannot be emphasised enough.

10.3.4 Theme 4: Health complications arising from atrocities

By its nature, Gukurahundi focused on physical and emotional trauma to the human body. As a result, survivors and their family members sustained physical injuries, as well as damage to their psychological well-being, which continues to produce negative health outcomes for them. Owing to beatings and torture, some participants live with physical disabilities and chronic health complications that significantly reduce their quality of life. These disabilities and health complications have been exacerbated by the prevailing economic conditions in Zimbabwe which have compromised the country's entire health care system. As a result, some participants reported struggling to access medication to manage their health conditions. The nexus between health and economy was also elucidated as poor health has hindered some participants from joining the active population and earning a living. As a result, participants reported a double jeopardy of ill-health and unfavourable earning capacity both resultant from their Gukurahundi experiences. The mental health of survivors and their family members was also depicted as suffering due to the inability to access therapy, counselling or other social service support during and after Gukurahundi. Furthermore, the dearth of organisations that primarily focus on Gukurahundi support has heightened the prolonged mental health challenges of some participants as, to date, some have never received counselling despite going through or witnessing sexual abuse, death, mutilations, acts of arson and other equally disturbing atrocities during Gukurahundi. The dwindling availability of organisations that primarily deal with Gukurahundi amidst politically induced fear of discussing Gukurahundi has left participants with undiagnosed mental health issues. Women spoke at length of how their physical health was compromised due to rape and other forms of sexual abuse, as well as the subsequent emotional trauma in relation to their intimate-partner relationships and their disclosure of rape. In responding to health complications emanating from Gukurahundi, the need for social workers to intervene and advocate reliable and accessible healthcare for their clients was also apparent. This calls for social workers to be involved at community and national level to

influence how a government plans and budgets for healthcare. While this is a space that social workers in Zimbabwe have not occupied, the profession will need to begin working towards aligning itself in this respect. This would give them the credibility of being experts who have the right to speak out against ignoring individual and community health issues which have the ability to impact negatively the economic development of the country.

10.3.5 Theme 5: National impact of Gukurahundi

The devastation of Gukurahundi has had an undeniable national impact on the people of Zimbabwe. Through participant narratives, widening polarities were evidenced between the two dominant ethnic groups, i.e., the Ndebele and the Shona, resulting in an inability to nation-build as a resolution to the Gukurahundi issue is considered pending. Most participants shared feelings of marginalisation and exclusion from Zimbabwe, facilitated by policies and processes which make them feel that they are second class citizens of Zimbabwe. The inability fully to access basic human rights due to the lack of documentation, as well as the deployment of non-Ndebele civil servants in government offices, is considered by some a strategic ploy and a form of structural violence and continuing genocide. This has further complicated the relationship between the Ndebele and the Shona as there have been negative perceptions on both sides emanating from Gukurahundi, and these continue to strain healthy community and national relations between the two ethnicities. The government of the day is perceived as abusive and unwilling to resolve Gukurahundi due to its alleged complicity in the atrocities. Most participants shared their mistrust of the government's political will to address the Gukurahundi matter truthfully. They, therefore, called for an involvement of regional or international bodies mandated to respond to matters of this nature. Their argument is that the government cannot be judge and jury in a matter that implicates it. This theme emphasised the need for social workers to take agency in working towards nation-building by facilitating processes that encourage dialogue and mediation, as well as nationwide awareness and communication across all levels. Again, the need for the profession to engage at national level became evident as social workers have access to Zimbabweans within homes, communities, organisations and the nation. The necessity to amplify their voices and participate in the national dialogue, as well as influence and facilitate these processes, has also been highlighted in the framework designed for this study.

10.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Exposure to the narratives of survivors of Gukurahundi and their family members enabled the researcher to gain an insight which informed the formulated recommendations for different stakeholders in Zimbabwe. These recommendations will be presented below for social workers, for Zimbabwean institutions, as well as for academic researchers.

10.4.1 Recommendations for social work practice

- Professional social work bodies and universities that train social workers in Zimbabwe need to work collaboratively to amplify the voice of social workers in Zimbabwe. These bodies and institutions also need to ensure that social workers are appropriately trained to address a wide spectrum of issues. This may include assessing whether current modules taught within universities and colleges are indeed aligned to address the real and felt needs of Zimbabweans. This will ensure that social workers are well-equipped to address the real issues in the field after graduation.

- The silence of the profession in issues of national importance compromises the population's access to social justice. Professional social work bodies which work with social workers need to create capacity-building opportunities for professionals to become more assertive and equipped to address complex issues. The profession must be supported through initiatives that enhance its value in society and this may require lobbying by the relevant bodies for government's recognition of the profession. A radical approach to taking up space in environments that have not previously accommodated the profession is essential.

- Social workers in Zimbabwe may benefit from intentional engagements with other allied professionals in a bid to form networks that facilitate access into spaces not normally accessible by the profession. In addition, social workers may also benefit from affiliation to international bodies that will further build their capacity through exposure and opportunities that enable them to identify and implement best practices.

- Social workers need to adopt culture-sensitive interventions that seek to understand cultural nuances of Gukurahundi survivors and their family members in order to provide a relevant and non-judgmental intervention that promotes the upholding of Ndebele traditions and cultures.

10.4.2 Recommendations for Zimbabwean institutions

The Gukurahundi issue cannot be ignored as its impact continues to be felt within homes, communities and the nation. The following recommendations are designed to provide suggestions for both state and non-state institutions in Zimbabwe.

- There is a need to build national consensus regarding Gukurahundi. It is imperative to acknowledge openly this important part of Zimbabwe's history and collectively find restorative solutions. This calls for intentional collaboration by state and non-state actors which acknowledges the political nature of the matter but is not dictated by it and allows for convergence of the social and the political in finding lasting collaborative solutions.

- State and non-state actors need to work collaboratively in conducting needs analyses of the affected communities and jointly propose solutions following consultations with relevant stakeholders. This calls for non-partisan engagements focused on democratic initiatives that improve human capabilities.

- A combination of legal and non-legal processes in addressing Gukurahundi may be necessary in assuaging the concerns of all those involved, particularly the survivors and their family members. The complexity of Gukurahundi requires multi-layered processes as current unilateral interventions have not yielded results.

- A holistic multi-level intervention to Gukurahundi requires inclusion of both survivors and perpetrators. In the same vein, such intervention would benefit from harnessing all professional skills required to fully address Gukurahundi. National healing will require dialogue, mediation and intervention with the conflicting parties at individual, community and national level. In addition, the acknowledgement that Gukurahundi is as political as it is social and economic will inform the inclusion of various experts at various levels.

- The sensitive nature of Gukurahundi needs to be taken into consideration in all interventions, and representation in institutions that intend to address Gukurahundi needs to be intentional. Such equity processes must depict political will to ensure representation and truly meaningful engagement in order to reach a communal resolve.

- Collaborative fundraising efforts by government and civil society may be necessary to address the challenges experienced by survivors and their family members, as well as to deal with the impact of Gukurahundi at national level. While the government has the mandate to ensure access to all human rights - hence ensure fiscal enablement - civil

society can also fundraise in areas where government is lacking so that processes are not delayed further and national cohesion in relation to Gukurahundi is addressed.

- To ensure credibility of the process, it may be helpful to consider the inclusion of independent commissions of inquiry, or similar bodies, to assist with formulating a strategy around Gukurahundi. While it is accepted that the Zimbabwean people know what they want in response to Gukurahundi, learning from regional and international systems on how similar situations have been resolved elsewhere might assist in the process, as well as in avoiding the personalisation of this very personal matter through the provision of third parties who have no vested interest in pre-determined outcomes.

10.4.3 Recommendations for future researchers

- Future researchers are encouraged to amplify the voice of social workers by conducting studies that elaborate on the role that they played, are playing or can play in the Gukurahundi response.

- There is limited literature on social work as a profession in Zimbabwe, and future researchers would do well to generate academic content on the social work profession in general.

- This research revealed the need to conduct further studies on the impact of Gukurahundi on intimate-partner relations with a key focus on sexual and reproductive health. While this thesis was able to generate some information, future researchers should build on this body of knowledge.

- In addition to the lack of academic literature on social workers, there is also a lack of academic literature on contemporary African civil society, particularly in East and sub-Saharan Africa (O'Driscoll, 2018). Future research would do well to expand on CSOs as they are crucial in addressing issues, such as Gukurahundi.

10.5 STUDY LIMITATIONS

Any study, regardless of the rigour employed, has limitations. As such, this section will highlight some of the limitations identified throughout this study:

1. The ethnic background of the researcher posed an initial challenge in the study. Being Shona and largely perceived as belonging to the perpetrator's group that had committed Gukurahundi atrocities against the ethnic group being interviewed proved challenging. This affected the overall number of participants to whom the researcher had access, as

well as the power dynamics in the research process. While the use of gatekeepers in gaining and maintaining access proved useful, the researcher underestimated the overall impact of her ethnic background at the beginning of the study.

2. The political climate of Zimbabwe resulted in a prolonged data collection timespan as fear of discussing Gukurahundi dictated that the study was dealing with a hard-to-reach population. While there were no threats to the researcher's personal life and well-being throughout this study, participants emphasised the dangers involved in conducting a Gukurahundi study in Zimbabwe. As a result, the final sample size diverted from the initially intended sample size as fewer participants were forthcoming.

3. Limited academic research on social workers in Zimbabwe also resulted in challenges in accessing information that could assist with providing thicker descriptions and indicated a dearth in literature on Zimbabwean-based social work practice.

4. The impact of Covid 19 resulted in a diversion from the initially set on-site data verification process as this had to be managed virtually due to Covid restrictions and fear of gatherings. The final findings could not be presented to all participants as some could not be accessed: hence only a few participants were consulted during the member checking process.

Although these limitations were pronounced, their impact was managed throughout the study and the study objectives were met in spite of them.

10.6 CONCLUSION

This study has sought to provide a framework usable by social workers in Zimbabwe in response to Gukurahundi atrocities. Through a thorough methodology process, the researcher was able to provide data relevant to understanding who the survivors and their families are, their Gukurahundi experiences, as well as their aspirations in relation to resolving Gukurahundi. The data resulted in five main themes and sub-themes documented in this study. These were analysed and informed the development of a framework usable by social workers in Zimbabwe. Limitations have also been duly acknowledged in relation to their impact on the overall study. It is the researcher's opinion that the study met its main aim and objectives and has contributed to the understanding of Gukurahundi and the role of social workers in Zimbabwe in addressing it.

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APPENDIX A1: CONSENT FORM (English)

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CONSENT FORM FOR GUKURAHUNDI SURVIVORS & THEIR FAMILY

MEMBERS

Title of Research Project: **The role of Social workers in response to**

atrocities: The case of Gukurahundi in

Zimbabwe

The study has been described to me in language that I understand. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand what my participation will involve and I agree to participate of my own choice and free will. I understand that my identity will not be disclosed to anyone. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and without fear of negative consequences or loss of benefits. I give consent for this interview to be audio-recorded for this purposes of this study.

Participant's name……………………………………………...

Participant's signature………………………………………….

Date……………………………………………………………………

APPENDIX A2: CONSENT FORM (Shona)

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FOMU REBVUMIRANO REVAKASANGANA NEGUKURAHUNDI

Musoro wetsvagurudzo: **Basa remaSocial Workers munhau**

dzekuuraiwa nekushungurudzwa kwevanhu:

Nyaya yeGukurahundi mu Zimbabwe

Tsvagurudzo nezvidzidzo izvi zvatsanangurwa kwandiri nemutauro wandinonzwisisa. Mibvunzo yangu pazvidzidzo izvi yapindurwa zvizere. Ndinonzwisisa zviri kutarisirwa kubva kwandiri uye ndapa mvumo yangu kupindura mibvunzo yakatarwa zvisina kumanikidzwa. Ndinonzwisisa kuti hakuna achataurirwa zita rangu. Ndinonzwisisa kuti ndinokwanisa kuzvibvisa patsvagurudzo iyo ndisingape chikonzero kana ndikanzwa ndisichade kuenderera mberi zvikasazondidzokera kana kukonzeresa kuti ndirasikirwe nechinhu. Ndinobvuma kuti zvatichataura zvirekodhiwe kuitira mutsvagurudzi agokwanisa kuzvishandisa muzvidzidzo zvake.

Zita rangu…………………………………………...

Siginecha yangu……………………………………

Zuva…………………………………………………………

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ULWAZO OLWABANTU ABASALA ENKINGENI EYEGUKURAHUNDI KANYE LEMULI ZABO

Isihloko sendaba: **Umsebenzi wabantu abasiza umphakathi ekubulaweni abantu Ukuhlaziya kweGukurahundi eZimbabwe**

Udaba lolu lubhalwe ngesihlobo engisizwisisayo, imibuzo yami ngodaba lolu iphenduliwe. Ngiyazwisisa ukuthi kufanele ngenzeni njalo ngiyavuma ukuhlanganela edabeni lolu ngentando yami. Ngiyazwisisa ukuthi konke okuphathelane lami akusoze kutshelwe omunye umuntu. Ngiyazwisisa ukuthi ngiyakwanelisa ukutshiya nginganikanga isizatho njalo ngingesabi ukukwehlelwa ngokubi kumbe ukulahlekelwa yinzuzo yami.Ngiyavuma kusebenziswe irecorder kulemibuzo.

Lowu ophendulayo………………………………………….

Uphawu yalowu ophendulayo…………………………….

Ilanga…..

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CONSENT FORM FOR CIVIL SOCIETYV ORGANISATIONS

Title of Research Project:　　　**The role of Social workers in response to atrocities: The case of Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe**

The study has been described to me in language that I understand. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand what my participation will involve and I agree to participate of my own choice and free will. I understand that my identity will not be disclosed to anyone. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and without fear of negative consequences or loss of benefits. I give consent to have the interview audio recorded for this research.

Participant's name…………………………………………...

Participant's signature……………………………………….

Date…………………………………………………………

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Set of semi-structured interview questions with participants in Matebeleland:

1. Can you tell me what you and your family went through during Gukurahundi?
2. How has Gukurahundi affected your life and that of your family?
3. What if any, challenges have you experienced since the massacres?
4. How have you attempted to cope and address the challenges you experienced since Gukurahundi?
5. What support if any have you received from either NGO's or religious structures?
6. What would you have preferred to be put in place to help your healing process?
7. What role do you think Social workers can play in facilitating healing for you and your family?

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Mibvunzo ichabunzwa vachange vachipa humboo mutsvagurudzo ino vanogara kuMatebeleland:

1. Munganditaurirawo here zvakaitika kwamuri nemhuri yenyu panguva yegukurahundi?
2. Gukurahundi yakanganganisa hupenyu hwenyu nehwemhuri yenyu zvakadii?
3. Ndeapi matambudziko amuri kusangana nawo nechikonzero cheGukurahundi?
4. Ndezvipi zvamakaita kana zvamuchiri kuita kuti muzame kupodza maronda eGukurahundi uye matambudziko amunosangana nawo?
5. Pane rubatsiro here rwamakawana kubva kumaNGO kana makereke?
6. Zvii zvamungada kuti zviitwe kukubatsirai kuti mupodzwe maronda enyu?
7. Zvii zvamungada kuto maSocial workers aite kukubatsirai imi nemhuri yenyu kuti mupodzwe maronda enyu?

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Imibuzo ehleliweyo ezamphendulwa ngulowo obuzwayo kubahlali beMatebelaland

1. Ungangitshela elandlula kikho wena lemuliyakho ngesikhathi seGukurahundi?
2. Into ezenzakalayo ngesikhathi seGukurahundi zatshintsha njani impilo yakho le yemuli yakho?
3. Nxa zikhona, yiziphi inkinga ohlangana lazo kumbe owahlangana lazo ngemva kwesikhathi sokubulawana?
4. Yikwiyini osukwenzile ukuthi umelane lezinkinga owahlangana lazo ngesikhathi seGukurahundi?
5. Yiluphi usizo olutholayo kuma NGO's kumbe ebantwini benkolo?
6. Ngokubona kwakho, yikwiyini ofisa ukuthi kwenziwe ukuthi kuncedise ukuthobeka kwamanxeba?
7. Abantu abasebenza lomphakathi bengenzani ukuncedisa wena lemuliyakho ukuthi lithobeke?

APPENDIX C1: QUESTIONS FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS (English)

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Set of question for civil society organizations' personnel

- Can you explain the scope of work covered by the organization or religious structure you work with/for?
- Can you share your understanding of what happened during Gukurahundi?
- What role did you as an individual or as part of an organization or religious structure play during Gukurahundi?
- What challenges do you think survivors and their families experience as a result of Gukurahundi?
- Do you believe that the interventions rendered to survivors and their families were sufficient to address the trauma and facilitate healing?
- May you please give justification for your response above on whether or not interventions were sufficient to address trauma and facilitate healing.
- What role do you think social workers can play to facilitate healing processes for survivors and their families going forward?
- What impediments to you think social workers may encounter in addressing the Gukurahundi trauma?
- How do you think the above challenges can be lessened?

APPENDIX C2: QUESTIONS FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS (Shona)

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Mibvunzo ichabvunzwa vanoshandira civil society

1. Mungatsanangurawo basa rinoitwa nekambani kana kereke yamakamiririra here?

2. Mungagoverana neni kunzwisisa kwenyu kwezvakaitika mazuva eGukurahundi?

3. Imi sedungamunhu kana makamiririra bazi ramunoshandira makaira basa sei panguva yeGukurahundi?

4. Kufunga kwenyu, mhuri dzevanhu uye vanhu vakashungurudzwa panguva yeGukurahundi vakasangana nematambudziko akaita sei kuburikidza neGukurahundi?

5. Kufunga kwenyu, munofunga here kuti vanhu ava vakabatsirikana zvakakwana here kuti vasvike pakupodzwa marwadzo avo?

6. Ndinokumbirawo kuti mutsanangudze mafungiro enyu pamhindiro yamabva kupa?

7. Kuona kwenyu, maSocial workers angaite basa rei kuti vabetsere vanhu vakakanganisirwa neGukurahundi kuti vasvike pakupodzwa marwadzo avo?

8. Kuona kwenyu, zvimhingamupinyi zvipi zvingasanganikwa nemaSocial workers pakubatsira vanhu ava?

9. Matambudziko amatsanangudza ayo angarerutswa sei?

APPENDIX C3:QUESTIONS FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS (Ndebele)

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Imibuzo yama NGO's , ezenzolo lezisebenzi zemphakathini

1. Chasisa indima engadlalwa lugatsha lwenu kumbe abantu bezenkolo?
2. Yikwini okuzwisisayo ngezinto ezayenzakala ngesikhathi seGukurahundi?
3. Wadlala ndima bani ngesekhathi seGukurahundi, kumbe ugatsha lwezenkolo loba olokusiza umphakathi oyingxenye layo ladlala ndima bani ngaleso sikhathi?
4. Ngokubona kwakhoa bantu abasindayo lemuli zabo bahlangana layiphi inkinga eyabangelwa yiGukurahundi?
5. Uyathemba ukuthi uncedo olwanikwa abantu abasindayo lemuli zabo lwenela na ukuthoba amanxheba lokuthoba inhliziyo zabo?
6. Nika incazelo yempendulo yakho mayelana ngoncedo olwanikwa abantu abasindayo lemuli zabo, ukuthi lwenela ukuthoba amanxheba lokuthoba inhliziyo zabo?
7. Abantu abasebenza lomphakathi bengenzani ukuncedisa ukuthoba amanxeba abantu abasindayo lemuli zabo phambilini?
8. Ucabanga ukuthi yikwini okungabisela emuva imizamo yabantu abasebenza lomphakathi ukuthi thotshwe ubuhlungu be Gukurahundi?
9. Ucanga ukuthi inkinga oziqambe phezulu zingehliswa njani?

APPENDIX D1: QUESTIONS FOR PARTICIPANTS IN THE DIASPORA (English)

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Set of semi-structured interview questions with participants in the diaspora:

1. Can you tell me what you and your family went through during Gukurahundi?
2. How has Gukurahundi affected your life and that of your family?
3. What if any, challenges have you experienced since the massacres?
4. How have you attempted to cope and address the challenges you experienced since Gukurahundi?
5. How has moving out of Zimbabwe impacted on your healing process?
6. What support if any have you received from either NGO's or religious structures?
7. What would you have preferred to be put in place to help your healing process?
8. What role do you think Social workers can play in facilitating healing for you and your family?

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Mibvunzo ichabunzwa vachange vachipa humboo mutsvagurudzo vava kugara kune dzimwe nyika:

1. Munganditaurirawo here zvakaitika kwamuri nemhuri yenyu panguva yegukurahundi?
2. Gukurahundi yakanganganisa hupenyu hwenyu nehwemhuri yenyu zvakadii?
3. Ndeapi matambudziko amuri kusangana nawo nechikonzero cheGukurahundi?
4. Ndezvipi zvamakaita kana zvamuchiri kuita kuti muzame kupodza maronda eGukurahundi uye matambudziko amunosangana nawo?
5. Kutama kubuda muZimbabwe kwakakubatsirai here kupodza marwadzo enyu?
6. Pane rubatsiro here rwamakawana kubva kumaNGO kana makereke?
7. Zvii zvamungada kuti zviitwe kukubatsirai kuti mupodzwe maronda enyu?
8. Zvii zvamungada kuto maSocial workers aite kukubatsirai imi nemhuri yenyu kuti mupodzwe maronda enyu?

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Imibuzo ehleliweyo ezamphendulwa ngulowo obuzwayo.

1. Ungangitshela elandlula kikho wena lemuliyakho ngesikhathi seGukurahundi?

2. Into ezenzakalayo ngesikhathi seGukurahundi zatshintsha njani impilo yakho le yemuli yakho?

3. Nxa zikhona, yiziphi inkinga ohlangana lazo kumbe owahlangana lazo ngemva kwesikhathi sokubulawana?

4. Yikwiyini osukwenzile ukuthi umelane lezinkinga owahlangana lazo ngesikhathi seGukurahundi?

5. Ukucinga kwako, kukona mehluko kulenkinga yakho ukuhlala kwakho enyi ndawo?

6. Yiluphi usizo olutholayo kuma NGO's kumbe ebantwini benkolo?

7. Ngokubona kwakho, yikwiyini ofisa ukuthi kwenziwe ukuthi kuncedise ukuthobeka kwamanxeba?

8. Abantu abasebenza lomphakathi bengenzani ukuncedisa wena lemuliyakho ukuthi lithobeke?

Project Title: The role of Social workers in response to atrocities: The case of Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe.

What is this study about?

This is a research project being conducted by Nyasha Manjengenja at the University of the Western Cape. We are inviting you to be part of in this research project because you and/or your family members were direct victims/survivors of the Gukurahundi massacres in Zimbabwe. This research is being done so that the researcher can understand the role that social workers can play in the event of painful atrocities.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

You will be asked to participate in a one on one interview lasting between 30minutes to an hour. All interviews will be conducted in a space that both you and the researcher agree on preferably in Cape Town or Matebeleland. All sessions will be recorded through use of an audio recording device so that the researcher can capture the whole conversation. The interview questions will be on finding out your personal or witnessed experiences of the Gukurahundi massacres in Zimbabwe during the 1980's.

You will be asked the following questions: Can you tell me what you and your family went through during Gukurahundi? How has Gukurahundi affected your life and that of your family? What if any, challenges have you experienced since the massacres? How have you attempted to cope and address the challenges you experienced since Gukurahundi? What support if any have you received from either NGO's or religious structures? What would you have preferred to be put in place to help your healing process? What role do you think Social workers can play in facilitating healing for you and your family?

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

The researchers will make every effort to protect your identity and the information you give during this research. To ensure your anonymity, (1) your name will not be included on collected data; (2) the researcher will use a code on the collected data instead of your real name; (3) by using this code, only the researcher will be able to link your interview to your identity; and (4) only the researcher will have access to the code that can identify you.

To ensure your confidentiality, the researcher will keep all interviews on a password protected computer file. All printed transcripts will be kept in a locked file cabinet in the researcher's office. If the researcher writes a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected.

What are the risks of this research?

The researcher will make every effort to reduce all possible risks to you. However, there may be some unpredictable risks from participating in this study. These risks may include emotional pain due to opening up on issues regarding the Gukurahundi massacres. This emotional pain may come from the fact that the study will explore

your personal experiences which resulted in trauma for you and your family members. In the event that you are traumatised in any way by participating in this study, we will act promptly to assist you by organising counselling for you in an area closest to your area of residence. The researcher does not anticipate that any other risks outside of the above-mentioned will occur.

What are the benefits of this research?
While this research is not designed to help you personally, the results may help the researcher learn more about your experiences and thereby inform social workers working with individuals who have gone through Gukurahundi trauma and pain to be better placed to support them.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?
Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify.

What if I have questions?
This research is being conducted by Nyasha Manjengenja from the Social work department at the University of the Western Cape. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Nyasha Manjengenja at: University of the Western Cape, Box X 17, Bellville, Cape Town, 0638622128, shadeh05@gmail.com.

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Prof Catherina Schenck
Head of Department: Social Work
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17
Bellville 7535
cschenck@uwc.ac.za

Prof R. Swartz
Dean of the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17
Bellville 7535
chs-deansoffice@uwc.ac.za
This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape.

INDABA SURVIVORS & THEIR FAMILIES (NDEBELE)

Indikimba eyendaba: Umsebenzi wabantu abasiza umphakathi ngemuva kwokubulawa   kwabantu: Ukuhlaziya kweGukurahundi eZimbabwe.

Okuhlolisiswa yindaba leyi?

Ufundo lwendaba leyi lufundwa nguNyasha Manjengenja owaseUniversity yaseWestern Cape (iYunivesiti yaseNtshona Koloni). Siyakunxusa ukuthi ungene endabeni lasemibuzweni leyi ngoba wena kumbe imuli yakini ihlangane lomubonakalo oweGukurahundi eZimbabwe. Injongo eyendaba leyi yikubonisisa umusebenzi owabantu abasiza umphakathi ngemuva kokubulawa kwabantu.

Yikuyini engingakucelwa ukuthi ngikuyenze ukuba ngingavuma ukungena endabeni lemibuzo leyi?

Uyacelwa ukuthi usize ngempendulo yakho kumibuzo engadluli 30minutes kusiya kuholwa elilodwa. Imibuzo yonke izabuzelwa endaweni ezavunyelwana yibonke abazangena emibuzweni leyi; umbuzi lomphenduli, kakhulu eCape Town. Kuzasetshenziswa imitshina eyekuthatha amazwi (recording devices) ukuyenzela ukuthi ofundayo akwanise ukuthola impendulo zonke. Imibuzo yonke izabe iqondane lakonke owahlangana lakho kumbe owakubona kuyenzakala kuGukurahundi eZimbabwe kuminyaka eka1980s .

Uzabuzwa imibuzo elandelayo: Ungangitshela eladlula kikho wena lemuliyakho ngesikhathi seGukurahundi? Into ezenzakalayo ngesikhathi seGukurahundi zatshintsha njani impilo yakho le yemuli yakho? Nxa zikhona, yiziphi inkinga ohlangana lazo kumbe owahlangana lazo ngemva kwesikhathi sokubulawana? Yikwiyini osukwenzile ukuthi umelane lezinkinga owahlangana lazo ngesikhathi seGukurahundi? Yiluphi usizo olutholayo kuma NGO's kumbe ebantwini benkolo? Ngokubona kwakho, yikwiyini ofisa ukuthi kwenziwe ukuthi kuncedise ukuthobeka kwamanxeba? Abantu abasebenza lomphakathi bengenzani ukuncedisa wena lemuliyakho ukuthi lithobeke?

Ukuvuma kwami ukuphendula imibuzo leyi kuzoba imfihlakalo na?

UResearcher uzimisele ukugcina igama lakho kanye lemphendulo zakho ziyimfihlakalo. Ukugcwalisisa lokhu, (1) igama lakho alisoze libhalwe phansi, (2) i*code* izafakwa kulonke ipepa lemibuzo, (3) besebenzisa inombolo leyi, ababuzi bazakwanisa ukulinganisa imibuzo lomuntu ophenduleyo imibuzo yakhona, (4) umuntu ozabuza nguye yedwa ozabe ekwanisa ukubuka impendulo zakho.

Ukuyenzela imfihlakalo egcweleyo, umbuzi uzagcina zonke impendulo kwi*computer* ele *password*. Wonke amapepa awempendulo zenyu azagcinwa endaweni ekhiyiweyo njalo ehofisini. Ukubana umbuzi engabhala i*report* phezulu kwendaba leyi, igama lakho lizobe lifihlakele.

Yikwiyini okungaba ludaba kuleyi indaba?

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Umfundi uzimisele ukukipha ingozi ezingaphuma kuleyi indaba, kodwa kungaba lezinye ingozi ezingavikelekiyo kumuntu ongaphendula imibuzo ebuzwayo lapha. Okunye okungavikeliyo kuhlanganisela ubuhlungu enhliziyeni kubangwa yikubulawa kwabantu kuGukurahundi. Sizakusiza masinyane ukubana uphambanisiwe yimibuzo esizakubuza yona. Asikhangeleli ukuthi kungaba lezinye inhlupheko ezingabangwa yileyi imibuzo.

Yikwiyini ongakuthola kuleyi indaba?

Kungaba kungela okutholayo ngemuva kwokuphendula imibizo leyi, kodwa obuzayo uzathola uziso olwokuzwisisa inkinga owahlangana lazo njalo esize abantu abasebenza lomphakathi owahlukumezwa ngesikhathi seGukurahundi ukuthi bebasize ngcono.

Ngifanele ukuphendula imibuzo leyi na, njalo ngingakwanisa ukuyekela endleleni na?

Awumiselwa ukuphendula leyi imibuzo, likhetho lakho. Uyazikhethela ukuphendula kumbe ukuyekela. Ungakhetha ukuphendula uyakwanisa ukuma ngesikhathi osifunayo. Ukuba ungafuni kumbe ungayeka endleleni, awuyaliswa njalo awulahlekelwa yilutho.

Nxa ngilemibuzo ngiyenza njani?

Indaba leyi iyimfundo zika Nyasha Manjengenja owase Social Work department eye University yase Western Cape. Nxa ulemibuzo ngendaba leyi ungabhala kumbe ukutshaya ucingo kuNyasha Manjengenja: eUniversity of the Western Cape, Box X17, Bellville, Cape Town, 0638622128, shadeh05@gmail.com.

Ukuba ulemibuzo ngendaba leyi kumbe ilungelo lakho njengomuntu opendule imibuzo ebuziweyo lapha kumbe ufuna ukuthi indlela obuzwe ngayo ihlolisiswe, ungathinta olandelayo:

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Leyi indaba lesifundo lesi kuvunyelwe yiUniversity of the Western Cape

FOMU RETSANANGUDZO REVAKASANGANA NEGUKURAHUNDI (SHONA)

Musoro wetsvagurudzo: Basa remaSocial Workers munhau

dzekuuraiwa nekushungurudzwa kwevanhu: **Nyaya yeGukurahundi mu**

Zimbabwe

Zvidzidzo izvi zvimbori zvei?

Tsvagurudzo ino iri kutungamirirwa naNyasha Manjengenja anodzidza pa University ye Western Cape. Tiri kukukokai kutsvagurudzo ino nechikonzero chekuti imi mbune kana mumwe wepedyo mumhuri menyu akasangana nenyakanyaka yeGukurahundi muZimbabwe. Chinangwa chetsvagurudzo ino ndechekuongorora basa ringaitwe nemaSocial workers mushure mekunge vanhu vauraiwa kana kushungurudzwa zvisina kururama.

Ndichakumbirwa kuti ndiitei kana ndatenda kubatsira mutsvagurudzo ino?

Uchakumbirwa kuti ubvunzwe mibvunzo maererana neGukurahundi kwenguva ingaite chikamu chimwechete. Bvunzo dzose chichaitirwa kunzvimbo yakanakira imi nemutsvagurudzi kunyanyanyanya kuMatebeleland kana kuCape Town. Tsvagurudzo dzose dzichachengetedzwa pamuchina uchazoteererwa mushure mekunge bvunzo yenyu yapera kuitika kuti mutsvagurudzi agare aine mashoko enyu zvakanaka. Mibvunzo yose ichange ichida kunzwisisa zvakaitika kwamuri kana zvamakaona zvichiitika mbune munguva yeGukurahundi mumakore ekuma 1980.

Muchabvunzwa mibvunzo inotevera: Munganditaurirawo here zvakaitika kwamuri nemhuri yenyu panguva yegukurahundi? Gukurahundi yakanganganisa hupenyu hwenyu nehwemhuri yenyu zvakadii? Ndeapi matambudziko amuri kusangana nawo nechikonzero cheGukurahundi? Ndezvipi zvamakaita kana zvamuchiri kuita kuti muzame kupodza maronda eGukurahundi uye matambudziko amunosangana nawo? Pane rubatsiro here rwamakawana kubva kumaNGO kana makereke? Zvii zvamungada kuti zviitwe kukubatsirai kuti mupodzwe maronda enyu? Zvii zvamungada kuto maSocial workers aite kukubatsirai imi nemhuri yenyu kuti mupodzwe maronda enyu?

Kuve mutsvagurudzo iyi kwangu kuchagara kwakavandika here?

Mutsvagurudzi anovimbisa kuvadza zita renyu uye zvamuchamutaurira mutsvagurudzo ino. Kuti musazivikanwa, mutsvagurudzi, (1) Haazoshandisi zita renyu chairo chairo pakuunganidza nyaya iyi; (2) muchashandisirwa zita remadunhurirwa; (3) zita remadunhurirwa iri ndiro richashandiswa kuchengetedza renyu remachokwadi; (4) mutsvagurudzi oga ndiye achaziva zita remadunhurirwa renyu.

Kuti tikuchengetedzei, mutsvagurudzi achachengeta tsvagurudzo dzose pacombuyuta isingagone kuvhurwa nevamwe vanhu. Mapepa ose ane mhinduro

dzenyu achachengetwa muhofisi ichagara yakakiiwa muhofisi yake. Mutsvagurudzi akanyora ripoti, zita renyu richaramba rakavanzwa.

Ndingasangana nenjodzi dzipi mutsvagurudzo iyi?

Mutsvagurudzi achaita zvose zvaanogona kuti pashaye chingakukanganisai imi, kunyangwe zvakadaro, munogona kuzosangana nenjodzi. Njodzi iyi inogona kusanganisira kurwadziwa kwemoyo sezvo muchataura nezvenguva yekurwadziwa kwenyu nemhuri yenyu. Kana zvikadaro tikaona zvakakodzera muchida anokubatsirai tichakasika kukutsvagirai vanoita zvecounselling pedyo nemi. Hatitarisire kuti pane zvimwe zvingaitike kupfuura izvi zvingakukanganisai.

Ndinowanei ndikabatsira mutsvagurudzo iyi?

Tsvagurudzo iyi haina kugadzirirwa kubatsira iwewe pachezvako, asi zvatichawana tichinge tapedza zvinogona kubatsira mutsvagurudzi kuti anzwisise zvakaitika kwauri nemhuri yako uye vamwe vakapindana nenyakanyaka yeGukurahundi. Naizvozvo maSocial workers anogona kuzobatsirika pamberi apo kugona kubatsira vamwewo vari pakurwadziwa kwemhando iyi.

Ndinosungirwa kuzviita izvi here kana kuzoramba kuita bvunzo idzi chero nguva?

Kwete. Hamusungirwe kubatsira mutsvagurudzo idzi. Munongona kuramba kudziita chero nguva. Zvakare, munoita tsvagurudzo idzo nekuda kwemoyo wenyu imi pasina kusungikana. Zvakare kana muchinge mambotanga tsvagurudzo idzi mozorega pamberi apo, hakuna chakaipa chingaitika kwamuri. Uye hamunyimwe chinhu nekuda kwazvo kana paine zvamaizowana.

Ko kana ndiine mibvunzo?

Tsvagurudzo iyi iri kuitwa na Nyasha Manjengenja anobva kubato reSocial work paYunivesiti yeWestern Cape. Kana muine mubvunzo pamusoro petsvagurudzo iyi, mungamubata panhamba dzinoti: Nyasha Manjengenja University of the Western Cape, Box X 17, Bellville, Cape Town, 0638622128, shadeh05@gmail.com.

Kane muine mibvunzo kuburikidza nekodzero dzenyu semunhu ari kubvunzwa mibvunzo kana kuti muchida kumhan'ara dambudziko ramasangana naro kuburikidza netsvagurudzo iyi mungabata vanotevera:

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Prof R. Swartz
Dean of the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17

Project Title: The role of Social workers in response to atrocities: The case of Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe.

What is this study about?

This is a research project being conducted by Nyasha Manjengenja at the University of the Western Cape. We are inviting you to participate in this research project because the organisation or religious sector that you work with/for assisted or continues to support people that experienced the Gukurahundi massacres in Zimbabwe. I am conducting this research project to determine the role of social workers in the event of such atrocities.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

You will be asked to participate in a one on one interview lasting between 30minutes to an hour. All interviews will be conducted in a space that we both agree on preferably in Cape Town or Matebeleland. All sessions will be recorded through use of an audio recording device so that the researcher can capture the whole conversation. Focus of all interview questions will be on exploring the role your organisation played during the Gukurahundi massacres in Zimbabwe during the 1980's or thereafter with survivors and their families.

You will be asked the following questions:

- Can you explain the scope of work covered by the organization or structure you work with/for?
- Can you share your understanding of what happened during Gukurahundi?
- What role did you as an individual or as part of an organization or religious structure play during Gukurahundi?
- What challenges do you think survivors and their families experience as a result of Gukurahundi?
- Do you believe that the interventions rendered to survivors and their families were sufficient to address the trauma and facilitate healing?
- May you please give justification for your response above on whether or not interventions were sufficient to address trauma and facilitate healing.
- What role do you think social workers can play to facilitate healing processes for survivors and their families going forward?
- What impediments do you think social workers may encounter in attempting to address the Gukurahundi trauma?
- How do you think the above challenges can be lessened?

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

The researchers undertake to protect your identity and the nature of your contribution to this research. To ensure your anonymity,
 (1) Your name will not be included on collected data;
(2) A code will be placed on the collected data;
(3) Through the use of an identification key, the researcher will be able to link your survey to your identity; and

(4) Only the researcher will have access to the identification key.

To ensure your confidentiality, the researcher will keep all interviews on a password protected computer file. All printed transcripts will be kept in a locked file cabinet in the researcher's office. If the researcher writes a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected.

What are the risks of this research?

As you are not a direct victim of Gukurahundi yourself, the researcher does not anticipate that you will experience any risks while participating in this study. However in the event that due to unforeseen circumstances you are traumatised and in need of counselling, we will act promptly to assist you by making provision for therapeutic services.

What are the benefits of this research?

While this research is not designed to help you personally, the results may help the researcher learn more about the role of NGO's, civil society or religious organisations in relation to genocides and massacres. Thereby informing social workers working with individuals who have gone through Gukurahundi trauma and pain to be better placed to support them.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify.

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by Ms. Nyasha Manjengenja from the Social work department at the University of the Western Cape. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Nyasha Manjengenja at: University of the Western Cape, Box X 17, Bellville, Cape Town, 0638622128, shadeh05@gmail.com.

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

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University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17
Bellville 7535
cschenck@uwc.ac.za

Monika Rohlwink
Tel. 021-919 3702 / Cell: 027-72 242 1236
Email address: mrohlwink@outlook.com

14 March 2022

To whom it may concern:

This is to state that I, Monika Rohlwink, have been editing journal articles, dissertations and theses for the past nine years. For the past six years I have also been working closely with Professor Doctor T. Thurner at the Institute for Statistical Studies and Economics of Knowledge, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russian Federation. My entire working life of 45 years has been spent teaching English, as well as creating and lecturing academic communication syllabi (14 years): Applied Communication Techniques, Business Communication and Introduction to Scholarship.

I have edited Ms Nyasha Manjengenja's doctoral thesis entitled *The role of social workers in response to atrocities: The case of Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe,* considering language usage, academic style and cohesion.

My qualifications:

University of Cape Town:

B.A. (including English Literature and Language History III)	-	1971
B.A. (Hons) (English Language History)	-	1972
Secondary Teacher's Diploma	-	1973

Cape Peninsula University of Technology:

Master's Degree in Design (Mathematics Education)	-	2016
Certificate in Copy Editing and Proofreading	-	2006

Kind regards

(Mrs) Monika Rohlwink