

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

**NON-VIOLENCE IN PRACTICE: ENHANCING THE CHURCHES'
EFFECTIVENESS IN BUILDING A PEACEFUL ZIMBABWE THROUGH
ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE PROJECT (AVP)**

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DECLARATION

I, **WEBSTER MARTIN ZAMBARA**, declare that:

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Signature.....

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ABSTRACT

Attaining political independence in Zimbabwe since 1980 has not translated to a peaceful country. There has been increased militarization of the state and state institutions resulting in endemic political violence and gross human rights violations at the behest of the state and the political elite while justice is denied to the politically unconnected and those with opposing political views. The militarization of the state is epitomised by the political role of veterans of the liberation struggle and youth militias during periods of elections. Between 2001 and 2007, over 80 000 youth militias graduated from the government established National Youth Service (NYS) programme.

In Zimbabwe, churches are the largest civil society organizations (CSOs), and they have a moral authority as well as the theological basis to speak and act against injustice and gross human rights violations. Church congregations transcend ethnic barriers, geographical locations and political polarities. They can effectively build peaceful communities by promoting non-violent ways of resolving conflicts among youth militias as a way to bring them back to normal community life. The churches can use their social teaching programmes for youths to promote a more non-violent orientation using the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) model, with necessary modifications to suit the Zimbabwean context. From the experiments conducted in this study, there is reasonable ground to conclude that training in AVP has the potential to shift a person's attitude from a violent to a non-violent inclination when in a conflict.

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List of Abbreviations

AFCAST – African Forum for Catholic Social Teachings

AFSC – American Friends Services Committee

AU – African Union

AVP – Alternatives to Violence Project

CCJPZ – Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe

CSO – Civil Society Organisation

EFZ – Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe

ESAP – Economic Structural Adjustment Programme

MDC – Movement for Democratic Change

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

NYS – National Youth Service

SADC – Southern African Development Community

ZANU-PF – Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front

ZCBC – Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference

ZCC – Zimbabwe Council of Churches

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

Part One comprises **Chapter One** which provides an introductory overview of the study and the context. The chapter discusses the context by providing a historical preview of violence and conflict in Zimbabwe particularly during election periods, and the peacebuilding efforts of the churches since independence in 1980. The chapter goes on to provide the overall objective and specific aims of the study as well as the research design and methodology. It ends with an overview of the study.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 An introductory Overview

The political and economic situation in Zimbabwe deteriorated drastically from February 2000 when the government sponsored Draft Constitution was rejected in a constitutional referendum. This was soon followed by the fast-track land reform exercise that was led by veterans of the liberation war who were later joined by youth militias to target white commercial farmers. The official government position was that the purpose of the land reform exercise was to correct the inherited colonial imbalances that had left 70% of fertile land in the hands of minority white who constituted less than 5% of the population. However, the violence and chaotic manner by which it was implemented revealed a broader political agenda that has become the defining framework of Zimbabwe's politics ever since (Masunungure, 2006).

The land reform exercise precipitated a sharp economic meltdown characterized by a large fiscal deficit, low economic performance, high unemployment, price controls, food shortages, very high inflation rate and lack of foreign currency (Bond and Manyanya, 2002). The economic situation was also worsened by the imposition of targeted economic sanctions by the European Union and the United States, and recurrent droughts and floods that crippled the agricultural sector (Chikuhwa, 2004).

Amid the economic crisis, incidents of politically-motivated violence increased at the behest of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) party led by Robert Mugabe in order to force the largely rural population into voting for it. The violence was spearheaded by the war veterans and the militarily trained youth militia, often with direct support of the army. The forms of violence included murder, rape, torture, assault, kidnapping and denial of access to resources, in particular food, to perceived or actual members of the opposition (Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2009; Sachikonye, 2011). It is in this background that Zimbabwean churches intervened, arguing that they had a theological mandate to be "involved

in the transformation of the social, economic and political systems or environment within which God's people live" (ZCBC, EFZ, ZCC, 2006, p8).

The Churches are the largest Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in Zimbabwe, and the vast majority of people in Zimbabwe are church members and attendees. It is estimated that 80% of Zimbabweans are practicing Christians. The Church congregations transcend ethnic barriers, geographical locations and political polarities. With the ever shrinking democratic space in Zimbabwe, the Churches remain the only institutions that can access all corners of the country without much hindrance. Also, the Churches have the moral authority as well as theological basis to speak and act against injustice. They can contribute to build a more peaceful Zimbabwe by effectively promoting and employing non-violent methods. The objective of this study is to assess the impact of training youths in Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) and whether the programme can be utilised by churches in Zimbabwe to enhance their peacebuilding efforts by promoting non-violent ways of resolving conflict.

1.2 The Context

1.2.1 History of Conflict and Violence in Zimbabwe

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009; 2012) posits that violence is one of the major banes of Zimbabwe's contemporary history. He contends that the evolution of Zimbabwe from a colony to a sovereign nation, and from a promising transitional state into unprecedented crises at the beginning of the third millennium is largely a catalogue of violence, its memory and impunity. He goes further to argue that violence has taken the form of a culture rather than being an isolated or episodic phenomenon that he locates in three undemocratic historical processes and cultures.

First was the country's patriarchal and often violent pre-colonial history (pre-1890) where political cultures and practices were permeated by ideologies of heredity and kinship rather than modern day competitive politics. Second was colonialism which ushered an undemocratic

tradition based on white settlerism that was equally violent, patriarchal and authoritarian. The system of governance introduced during this period was racist as it excluded blacks from participating in the country's political and economic processes. Third was the rise of African nationalism, together with armed and violent liberation struggles that culminated in Zimbabwe attaining independence in 1980. The period was dominated by cultures of authoritarianism, commandism, intolerance and violence.

The major challenge confronting the post-independence government of ZANU (PF) was nation-building in a society deeply divided along lines of race, class, ethnicity, gender and geography. The other main challenges included post-war reconstruction, reconstructing the inherited colonial political economy – especially redressing its racialised imbalances – and democratizing the inherited authoritarian colonial state (Muzondidya, 2009:167).

However, the use of violence has been consistently deployed whenever the state faced resistance in policy implementation or opposition during periods of elections. The earliest incident of the post-colonial state's deployment of military style violence was during *Gukurahundi* (1982-1987) in Matabeleland and the Midlands provinces inhabited mainly by the minority ethnic Ndebele people in which it is estimated that more than 20,000 civilians were killed (CCJPZ and LRF, 1997). *Gukurahundi* only ended in December 1987, when mediation efforts between ZAPU and ZANU-PF led to the signing of the Unity Accord. ZAPU was absorbed into ZANU-PF and a new 'government of national unity' was formed. This was soon followed by a blanket amnesty for alleged perpetrators of violence in April 1988 (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012; Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009; Campbell, 2003; Sachikonye, 2011).

In May 2005 the government of Zimbabwe embarked on an operation to 'clean up' Zimbabwe's urban areas. It was officially code named Operation *Murambatsvina*, which when translated means Operation *Drive out Filth*. It was also referred to as 'Operation Restore Order', a phrase that became more frequently used by government mouth-pieces in the face of the widespread condemnation it faced, particularly when the United Nations (UN) appointed a fact-finding mission to investigate the gross human rights violations. Operation *Murambatsvina* was a demolition and eviction campaign that was carried out by the police and the army which

started in the capital Harare and soon spread to all urban centres targeting homes, business premises and vending sites (Tibaijuka, 2005; International Crisis Group, 2005).

In her findings, UN Special Envoy Mrs. Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka estimated that some 700, 000 people in cities across the country lost either their homes, their source of livelihood or both. Indirectly, a further 2.4 million people (nearly a fifth of the population) were affected in varying degrees. In her report, she found that Operation Murambatsvina, while purporting to target illegal dwellings and structures and to clamp down on alleged illegal activities, was carried out in an indiscriminate and unjustified manner, with indifference to human suffering with disregard to several provisions of national and international frameworks. Tibaijuka charged that the crackdown was a disastrous venture that was based on a set of colonial-era laws and policies that were used as a tool of segregation and social exclusion (Tibaijuka, 2005). Tibaijuka held the government of Zimbabwe collectively responsible for what happened, and suggested that it should hold to account those responsible for the injury caused by the operation.

Operation Murambatsvina was carried out amid a deep economic meltdown characterized by a large fiscal deficit, low economic performance, high unemployment, price controls, food shortages and lack of foreign currency. Zimbabwe's economic downturn can be attributed to a combination of factors, among them inheriting a 'colonial economy' whose main aim was to satisfy the needs of the minority white; failure of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund-induced Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in 1991, which became a major turning point leading to massive retrenchment of skilled and unskilled labour, closure of industries, general price increases and deterioration of social services; the 1997 appeasement of war veterans through unbudgeted for cash handouts which sparked an inflationary spiral that the country failed to recover from; Zimbabwe's military intervention in the four-year conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) that worsened budget deficits; and, the 'Fast-Track' land distribution programme of 2000 that negatively affected agricultural production, the mainstay of the country's economy. The economic situation was also worsened by the imposition of targeted sanctions by the European Union, the United States and several Commonwealth countries which aggravated the already polarized political environment and

dealt a blow to the tourism industry. Worse still, Zimbabwe was affected by recurrent droughts and floods that crippled the already strained agricultural efforts to the extent of causing unprecedented food insecurity (Bond and Manyanya, 2002; Raftopoulos and Savage, 2004; Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009; Sachikonye, 2011).

1.2.2 Elections and politically-motivated violence in Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, the period of elections have become synonymous with violence of extreme proportions, the worst being the inconclusive 2008 elections that only stopped when the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union (AU) intervened. Political violence was one of the defining characteristics of, although not exclusive to, the development of nationalism in Zimbabwe (Sachikonye, 2011; CCJP, 2001; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012).

Election-related violence intensified after the ruling ZANU-PF lost to the newly formed opposition political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), in a constitutional referendum of February 2000, and nearly lost in the highly contested and disputed parliamentary elections that followed in June of the same year. Among the most common forms of violence were assault, murder, kidnapping, arson, rape, looting, extortion, torture, bombing, bodily mutilation, destruction of property and illegal possession of fire arms (CCJPZ, 2001; 2009). The heavy electoral losses that ZANU-PF suffered in the plebiscites of 2000 triggered government-supported land invasions targeting the 4000 white commercial farmers who were accused of supporting the newly formed political opposition, dubbed the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme. It was also christened the *Third Chimurenga* to give it status of the unfinished business of the *Second Chimurenga*, Zimbabwe's liberation struggle Sachikonye, 2011; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009; 2012).

The rise of politically-motivated violence coincided with the creation of the Zimbabwean National Youth Service (NYS) programme which is credited to the late Mr. Border Gezi who was appointed Minister of Youth, Gender and Employment Creation after the 2000 parliamentary

election. As such, NYS training centres are often referred to simply as 'Border Gezi Training Centres', and up to 80 000 youths were trained between 2001 and 2007 when the training centres were closed due to lack of funding (*New Zimbabwe*, 24/11/2009).

Since January 2002, the youth militia has been one of the most commonly reported violators of human rights in Zimbabwe, with accusations including murder, torture, rape and destruction of property being labeled against them. They have been blatantly used by ZANU-PF as a campaign tool, being given impunity and implicit powers to mount roadblocks, disrupt rallies of opposition political parties, intimidate voters and setting up bases (which often became torture centres) to conduct political re-orientation classes for known or suspected supporters of opposition political parties. Other activities by the youth militia included politicisation of government food handouts and denying basic services such as access to healthcare on politically partisan grounds. The militia had an ambivalent relationship with law enforcing agencies, including the police and the army, but more often worked under the direction of war veterans (Solidarity Peace Trust, 2003; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009; Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009).

Political violence perpetrated by the youth militia reached unprecedented levels towards the June 2008 presidential run-off election. After a relatively peaceful election in March 2008, a wave of politically-motivated violence erupted in several parts of the country and prompted MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai to withdraw from the June run-off election citing violent ZANU-PF retribution against his supporters. Relative peace only returned to Zimbabwe after the signing of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) mediated Global Political Agreement (GPA) in September 2008 which culminated in the creation of an Inclusive Government including ZANU –PF and the two MDC formations in 2009 (GPA, 2008; Dzinesa and Zambara, 2011).

Chapter 7 of the GPA called for the promotion of equality, national healing, cohesion and unity. This led to the creation of the Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI) to promote peace. However, because of continued political differences that continued throughout the tenure of the unity government, the ONHRI did not achieve its set objectives,

thus, reconciliation in communities was not achieved. It is this gap that motivated this study – to assist churches’ initiatives to build a more peaceful Zimbabwe through non-violent ways as discussed in the overall objective and aims below.

1.2.3 Peacebuilding efforts by churches in Zimbabwe since 1980

The composition of mainstream churches in Zimbabwe comprises: the Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC), comprising more than 20 Protestant Churches and about 11 associate members; the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ), consisting of about 60 member denominations of the evangelical persuasion; and the Roman Catholic Church led by the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops’ Conference (ZCBC), (Muchena, 2004: 260). An interdenominational committee of churches called the Heads of Denominations in Zimbabwe forms a further dimension by providing a platform for church leadership in Zimbabwe. There are also activist church organizations such as the Zimbabwe National Pastors’ Conference (ZNPC), the Ecumenical Support Services (ESS), the Student Christian Movement of Zimbabwe (SCMZ) and the National Movement of Catholic Students (NMCS). These draw their members from the various churches, and, along with CCJP, work at the civic level and take an activist approach to economic, social and political issues. They also work directly with the broader civil society movements to promote peace, tolerance, human rights and governance. While the church-state relationships in Zimbabwe could be described as largely collaborative, a more radical group called the Christian Alliance emerged in 2007 to promote non-violent direct action (Muchena, 2004).

As the economy declined and political violence increased, discordant voices among workers, students and peasants became more pronounced. Churches assumed the coordinating role for these otherwise disorganized groups by not only providing space and platforms for debate and getting civil society organized, but in some cases providing the leadership. Notable during this period was the Roman Catholic Church and the protestant churches under the banner of Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC) that became focal centres for civil disobedience, much to

the chagrin of the state. Their activities culminated in the formation of the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) in 1997 which not only became a platform to criticise and challenge the government on matters of policy and governance, but also offered democratic alternatives and pushed for a new constitution that would guarantee people's freedoms (Chitando, 2002; Raftopoulos, 2009).

As the political and economic situation continued to deteriorate in Zimbabwe, church leaders argued that the Zimbabwean crisis was indicative of a deeper malaise – the absence of a national vision and agenda. They contended that the sharp polarization in society had emerged because of the failure to develop a shared vision for the country's future. In this respect they spearheaded a country-wide outreach campaign which culminated in a document entitled ***The Zimbabwe We Want: Towards a National Vision for Zimbabwe*** aimed at restoring confidence, dignity and hope (ZCBC, EFZ and ZCC, 2006; Chitando, 2002). The document was a comprehensive assessment of the achievements and failures of independent Zimbabwe, including a fair reflection of the shortcomings of the church.

This study attempts to build on this vision by the churches. As the largest CSOs in Zimbabwe, they have a moral authority as well as the theological basis to speak and act against injustice. They can work for change most effectively by employing non-violent methods, and this research aims at building their confidence and effectiveness in the philosophy and practice of non-violence. The Churches can use their social teaching programmes for youths to promote a shift in attitude to a more nonviolent orientation, using the AVP model, with necessary modifications to suit the Zimbabwean context.

1.3 Overall objective and specific aims

The overall objective of this study is to evaluate the impact of training youths in Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) with the view to assess its potential for future use by the churches in Zimbabwe to enhance their peacebuilding efforts. To achieve this, this study has the following specific aims:

- i) To explore the role of churches in promoting peace through non-violent means in post-independence Zimbabwe.
- ii) To explore the strategy of training youths in Alternative to Violence Project as a strategy the churches could use to enhance their effectiveness in promoting peace and non-violence in Zimbabwe.
- iii) To design a training curriculum in Alternatives to Violence relevant to Zimbabwe that can be used by Churches to train youths, the leaders of Churches and for use by Church-related institutions to promote non-violent ways of transforming conflict.

1.4 Research Questions

The main research questions that this study attempted to answer are:

- 1) Can Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) workshops produce a significant shift in attitudes to a more nonviolent orientation?
- 2) Can training in non-violence influence behaviour change to a person who would otherwise react to a conflict in a violent way?
- 3) Can the churches build peaceful communities in Zimbabwe by training youths in alternatives to violence?

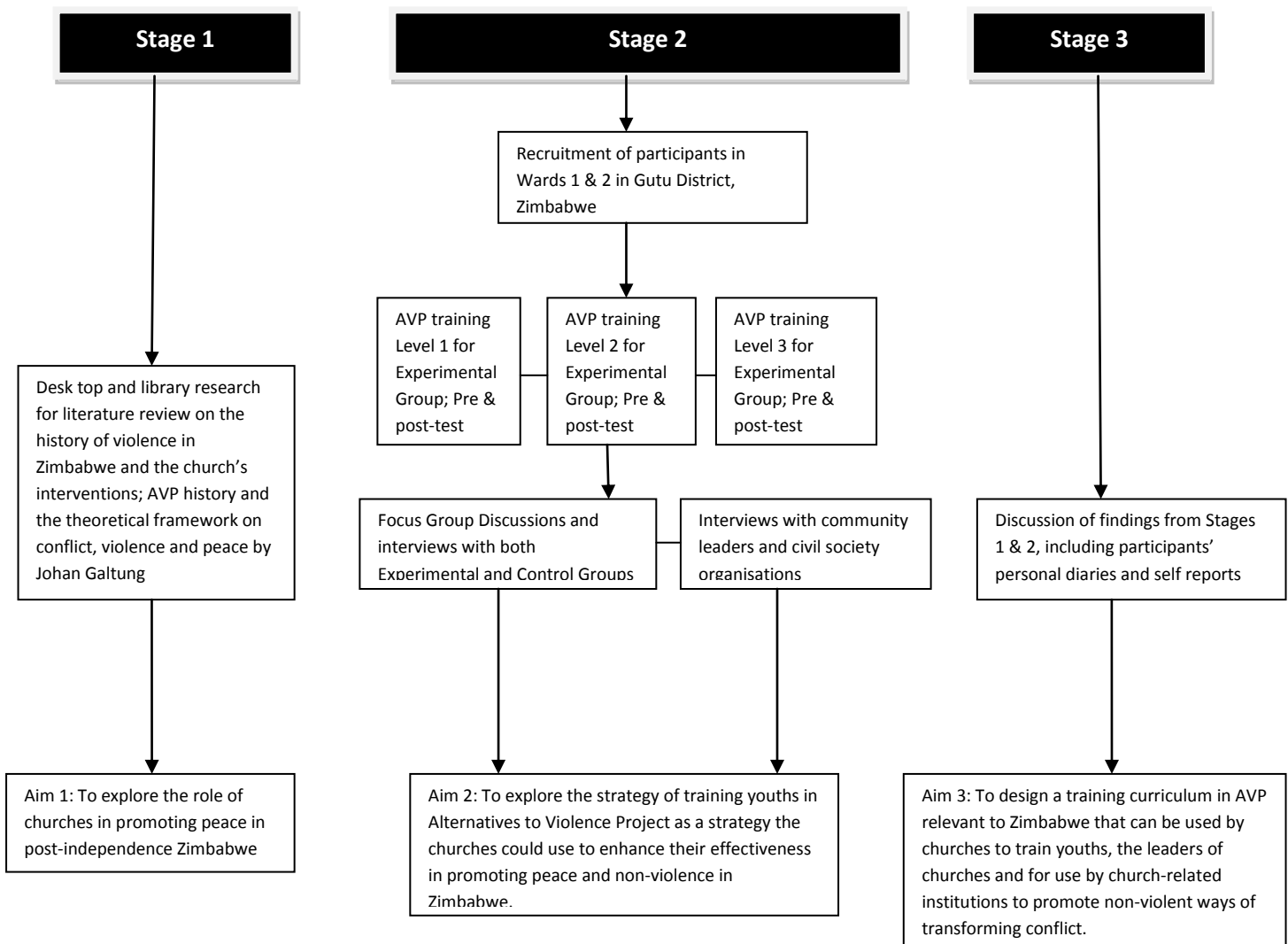
1.5 Research design and methodology

This evaluation study employs a qualitative multiple-approach that is participatory, prescriptive and transformative to meet the overall objective and specific aims above. It borrows from the mixed methods approach as espoused by Creswell (2003; 2007) and Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009) as discussed in Section 5.5 and Section 6.1 of this thesis. This study employs the following data collection methods:

- Pre-test and post-test experiment with experimental and control groups, discussed in Section 5.4. Youths in the experimental group were subjected to a pre and post-test experiment where they responded to a conflict quiz before and after each of the three AVP training sessions. For comparative purposes, youths in the control group who were not trained in AVP answered the same set of questions. The findings of this experiment are discussed in Section 10.3.
- Focus group discussions were conducted with both experimental and control groups as discussed in Section 6.3. The process of how focus group discussions were conducted is discussed in Section 9.2, while the findings are analysed in Section in Section 9.3.
- A survey questionnaire, discussed in Section 6.4, was used to collect data from leaders of church-related civil society organisations to establish their approaches to conflict resolution and peacebuilding. The questionnaire was followed-up with interviews, and the findings are discussed in Section 10.4.3.
- Interviews were conducted to gather qualitative data from the youths, leaders of civil society organizations as well as from community leaders. The importance of using interviews is discussed in Section 6.5. The process of conducting interviews is discussed and analysed in Section 10.4, and selected excerpts are provided.
- Observation was utilised during AVP training sessions as well as during the focus group discussions when I recorded notes throughout the proceedings, as discussed in Section 6.6. The observations I made during these sessions were the basis for the in-depth interviews with participants and with community leaders that are discussed in Section 10.4
- Personal documents in the form of conflict diaries were submitted by participants in both experimental and control groups to share their experiences of conflict and how they reacted, as discussed in Section 6.7. A comparison of the diary entries is discussed in Section 9.3.2, and selected excerpts are provided.
- Participant self-reports were sought from youths in the experimental group to seek deeper insights from their own narratives as of how AVP had impacted on their

attitudes towards conflict before and after participating in the workshops. These are discussed in Section 10.3.4, and selected excerpts are provided.

Figure1.5: Flow chart showing research design and methodology of the study



1.6 Overview of the study

Part One of this thesis comprises of Chapter One which provides an introductory overview of the study. It describes the context in which this study takes place. It also gives the overall objective and specific aims of the study as well as the design and methodology employed.

Part Two is the literature review, which comprises Chapters Two, Three and Four. Chapter Two reviews literature on non-violence, the history of violence in Zimbabwe and the peacebuilding efforts by the churches since 1980. The chapter begins by tracing the philosophy and principles of non-violence before discussing Zimbabwe's post-independence epochs of violence. It concludes by discussing the role of the church. Chapter Three reviews literature on AVP history, approach and evaluation. It traces the AVP philosophy and principles of non-violence, and provides selected case studies of AVP evaluations that have been carried out in different countries. Chapter Four reviews literature on violence, conflict and peace by locating them in the Zimbabwean context. The chapter uses Johan Galtung's (1996) theory of direct and indirect violence to explain the structural and cultural contradictions that have led to direct violence in Zimbabwe.

Part Three focuses on research design, data collection methods and data analysis, and comprises Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Chapter Five discusses the research design. The chapter discusses the mixed methods research paradigm that is employed in this study, and explains that this study leans more to the qualitative approaches. Chapter Six discusses a range of data collection methods that are employed in this study. It begins by focusing on sampling before exploring a range of qualitative and quantitative data collection methods that this study employs. Chapter Seven discusses data analysis and techniques of coding that are utilized in this study.

Part Four, comprising Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten focuses on data collection process and discussion of findings. Chapter Eight gives full detail of how AVP training sessions were conducted, starting with the profile of the community and providing workshop highlights that are relevant to the overall study. Chapter Nine discusses and analyses data collected from focus

groups and participant diaries, while Chapter Ten discusses and analyses data collected from pre and post-test experiments from the experimental and control groups, as well as the in-depth interviews that followed.

Part Five comprises of Chapter Eleven which is provides a summary of the study, limitations and implications for the future.

PART TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Part Two comprises Chapters Two, Three and Four that discuss the review of literature.

Chapter Two provides a conceptual and contextual background by reviewing literature on non-violence, the history of violence in Zimbabwe and the peacebuilding efforts by the churches since 1980. The chapter begins by tracing the philosophy and principles of non-violence before discussing Zimbabwe's post-independence epochs of violence. It concludes by discussing the role played by the church since 1980.

Chapter Three reviews literature on AVP history, approach and evaluation. It traces the AVP philosophy and links it to the principles of non-violence. It goes on to provide selected case studies of AVP evaluations that have been carried out in different countries.

Chapter Four reviews literature on violence, conflict and peace by locating them in the Zimbabwean context. The chapter uses Johan Galtung's (1996) theory of direct and indirect violence as the theoretical framework on which this study rests to explain the structural and cultural contradictions that have led to direct violence in Zimbabwe

CHAPTER 2: NON-VIOLENCE, THE HISTORY OF VIOLENCE AND THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN ZIMBABWE SINCE 1980

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is in three parts. The first part discusses the philosophy and principles of non-violence as espoused and practiced by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr. and Gene Sharp. It provides an overview of the concept of non-violence and how it could be applied to the situation prevailing in Zimbabwe as well as its relevance to this study as a whole.

The second presents a historical overview of the experiences of violence in Zimbabwe since independence in 1980. Examples of episodes of violence are discussed, including *Gukurahundi*, Operation *Murambatsvina* and the history of electoral violence that have plagued the country since independence. The focus on these and other examples helps to expose the reality on the ground which not only gives credence for a non-violent struggle, but also explains why the churches have reacted in the way they have done. This leads to part three of the research which traces the role of the church in Zimbabwe since 1980.

The role of the church in Zimbabwe discussed in this chapter is linked to the major transitions in the Zimbabwean democratic process that shaped the relations between the church and the state since independence in 1980. It picks up from the seminal work done by Ronald Kraybill (1995) which traced the role of the church during the liberation struggle that led to the Lancaster House Conference of 1979 which ended the war and ushered in independence. In his work, Kraybill particularly acknowledges the role and influence of the Quakers and the Roman Catholic Church, among other religious establishments, that led to Zimbabwe's independence after a protracted liberation war.

The chapter concludes that the situation prevailing in Zimbabwe is ripe for a non-violent approach as espoused by Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr. and Gene Sharp. The church, which has historically been at the centre of political developments in Zimbabwe, could play a leading role

in promoting non-violence, and training of youths in AVP could be one of the building blocks on which a new behavior can be influenced by religious institutions.

2.2 The philosophy of non-violence

Traditions and practices of non-violence can be traced as far back as humanity has existed, having been embraced in many religious traditions including Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity. Although the degree to which non-violence has been used differs widely among historical examples, there is an ample tradition of non-violence to social evil in many societies (Gregg, 1938; Nagler, 1999; Jeong, 2000; Sharp, 2005, Duval and Ackerman, 2000).

Jeong (2000, p321) ascribes modern philosophical traditions of non-violence to Leo Tolstoy who opposed the organized violence of the state expressed in war, and economic oppression associated with a few owning large amounts of land and major industrial enterprises that the majority of workers and peasants depend on. According to Jeong, Tolstoy argued that if the exploited peoples refused to cooperate with their political and economic masters' tyranny, colonialism and other government hierarchies would collapse while mass refusal to serve in the armed forces would prevent further wars. Jeong posits that non-violence as a strategy for change was fully developed by Gandhi's campaigns in South Africa and India (explained further below in this chapter) from whom it gained urgency and persuasiveness. Nagler goes further to suggest that Tolstoy was maybe the first to coin the phrase non-violence when he spoke of 'nonviolent resistance to evil', before Mahatma Gandhi popularized it.

Understanding non-violence

Non-violence is not easy to define, and the academic field still has some divisions in orientation among those who have approached the concept from a spiritual or religious perspective while others focus on it as a political strategy that, arguably, can be entirely secular in its orientation (Nagler, 1999; Jeong, 2000; Gan, 2008). According to Jeong (2000, p319), the term non-violence popularly appeared in the 20th century, and was often equated with 'non-resistance' and

‘passive resistance’ between the 17th and mid-19th centuries. Compared with non-resistance, the term non-violence means more than the refusal to commit or sanction violence to include devotion to eradicating social and economic inequalities and other causes of violence. He describes non-violence in terms of “insistence on freedom of conscience and the struggle to find a correct relationship with established authority.” That way, Jeong argues, non-violence can be understood as a basis for social organization. It is based on the understanding that all forms of inequality breed more violence. A non-violent society would prevent social hierarchies and discrimination as well as political and economic oppression. Non-violence confronts repressive social institutions and practices that inflict physical harm or damage but also cause a psychological wound. In this study, this would speak to the institutionalisation of violence through institutions as the youth militia that would operate at community level. This is explained further below in this chapter.

In line with Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr. and Gene Sharp’s ideas, Jeong posits that non-violent action translates courage, dignity and assertiveness into an effective form of struggle. Non-violent struggle is non-military, decentralist and participatory but revolutionary in its comprehensiveness of the changes sought. Its commitment is to consistent respect for and defense of the autonomy and integrity of persons. To Richard Gregg (1938, p50), non-violence is a form of moral jiu-jitsu that causes the evil doer to lose his moral balance. He posits that the aim of the non-violent resister is not to injure or to crush and humiliate his opponent, or to “break his will” as in a violent fight. The aim, he says, is to convert the opponent, to change his understanding and his sense of values so that he will join wholeheartedly with the resister in seeking a settlement truly amicable and truly satisfying to both sides.

2.2.1 The Gandhian philosophy of non-violence

As alluded to above, the philosophy and practice of non-violence as we know it today was developed by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, in separate struggles in South Africa and in India. Gandhi’s philosophy centred on three pillars, *ahimsa* (non-violence), *satya* (truth) and *tapasya*

(self sacrifice and voluntary suffering). From these three pillars, Gandhi coined the term satyagraha (truth-force) during the Indian people's resistance movement against discriminatory laws in South Africa in early 1900s, and later in the struggle for India's independence from British colonialism, achieved in 1947.

It is important to briefly explore the meanings of the three pillars. According to Jayaraman (1987), the notion of truth is the first pillar in Gandhian path to peace. To Gandhi, God is the absolute truth, and no one person or community has monopoly over truth. For that reason, no one person or community has the right to employ violent means to reach truth. Gandhi argued that perpetrators of violence set themselves up as judges of who is to live and who is to die, something they are not fit to pass because they are subjective.

The second pillar is non-violence (or non-injury), which is predicated upon the belief in the sacredness of life, resting on the notion of 'do no harm'. As quoted in Jayaraman (1987, p62), Gandhi wrote, "*Ahimsa* is not the goal. Truth is the goal. But we have no means of realizing truth in human relationships except through the practice of *ahimsa*." To this end, Gandhi adds that non-violence is never the path of the cowardly. It is not a passive state, but is actively action oriented. It does not avoid conflict, but seeks to face and resolve them. The philosophy of non-violence stresses that it is not only violent actions that are themselves unjust and therefore must be avoided, but sometimes inaction contributes to injustice. And as King (1999, p14) points out, Gandhi declared that "non-violent resistance is an active, not a passive force." Linked to this is Gandhi's resolve that non-violence is not the end, but a means to the end of search for truth. This approach assumes that means and ends are interconnected, and that unjust means cannot bring about just ends (Jayaraman, 1987; King, 1999).

The third pillar is self sacrifice and voluntary suffering to demonstrate one's seriousness of purpose in any conflict situation. To Gandhi, these are synonymous with refusal to submission to injustice. Thus, one's ability and readiness to suffer allows one to resist injustice. However, this should not go to the extent of humiliation – one must preserve the dignity of his or her individuality. Gandhi epitomized this through several incidents when he resorted to fasting while at the same time leaving room to be persuaded and move positions. His method,

therefore, advocated a resolution that would satisfy the needs of both parties to the conflict. One who practices *satyagraha* is not against the adversary in conflict, but is against adversary's unjust acts.

Nagler (1999, p449) narrows down Gandhi's *satyagraha* to three general principles:

- a) *Respect for persons*. The non-violent actor constantly distinguishes the opponent's person from the deed or attitude deemed objectionable, for example, by offering the person constructive alternatives consistent with his or her dignity even while firmly refusing to cooperate with indignities toward oneself.
- b) *Persuasion rather than coercion*. This is practiced wherever possible, that is, in all but the most extreme emergencies. The attempt is always to educate the opponent (or co-educate him or her along with oneself: in this respect the enterprise really has no opponent), to draw rather than push. To compel another's action without educating his or her will is at best an emergency measure, never part of a truly non-violent strategy.
- c) *Means and ends*. The non-violent actor cannot use means incongruent with the desired non-violent ends.

According to Jayaraman, in the final analysis the Gandhian *satyagraha* is not merely a philosophy of non-violence; it is also a technique for the constructive resolution of human conflict. It does not aim at elimination of conflict from social relationships. Conflict is admitted as a built-in element of the human situation. Yet in Gandhi's philosophy and principles it can be directed into creative, non-violent channels provided there is a proper understanding of the means necessary for this purpose. Gandhi believed that human social conflicts cannot be eliminated altogether, but their resolution can be achieved through non-violent means. Justice, equality and freedom are important goals or ends, but, if violent means are used to achieve them, then the means adopted would be self defeating. These are the core values that inspired Martin Luther King Jr. to embrace non-violence during the civil rights movement in the United States which he and others participated in, as described below. Gandhi's ideas espoused here also influenced the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP, 2013, p5), on which the training of youths in Gutu District of Zimbabwe will be based.

Along the line of Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence, Galtung (1996, p118) postulates three basic concerns of non-violent action when two parties are in a conflict, which he refers to as the 'Self' and the 'Other'. According to Galtung, when in a conflict, firstly action is to be directed against the *bad relation* between Self and Other, not against Other as such. Secondly, that action should build love rather than hatred, and respectful rather than violent behavior. Thirdly, that Other is at all times invited to share enriching experiences, including assurances that there is space for him or her in future society. That way, he argues, the parties should emerge from the conflict not only with better social relations, but also as better persons than they were before, better equipped to take on new conflicts non-violently. Galtung becomes so optimistic as to envisage those inclined to violence yesterday and today becoming mediators of tomorrow. In the same vein, the training of youths in AVP in Gutu district as this study will do, particularly the militia, may transform them to become proponents of peace and non-violence in their communities.

Richard Gregg (1938, p62-3), an ardent admirer of Gandhi, emphasised the importance of training in non-violence. He argues that general environment and hard pressure are powerful influences upon everyone as they mould people into the prevailing pattern of behavior. It therefore takes specific measure and special efforts to do otherwise. He posits that human beings are creatures of habit, and have to learn some habits that will produce particular kinds of habitual action. Because non-violence resistance is different from the usual course of conduct from primitive reactions, he argues, it can only become a habit after some prolonged process of habit formation such as training in an effective way of solving conflicts. The changes induced by training have the potential to alter the source of the responses and the responses themselves. In this study, it is anticipated that training youths in AVP principles and practices will alter their responses to conflicts.

2.2.2 Martin Luther King Jr. and Non-violence

One of the most prominent figures of the American civil rights movement, Martin Luther King Jr. (1928-1968) was a very strong proponent of Gandhi's philosophy and principle of non-

violence as a method protest against racial segregation and the eventual transformation of American society to its present form. King adopted Gandhi's non-violence along with the Christian values of love and forgiveness to lead the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's struggle for human rights in the United States (King, 1999; Jeong, 2000).

According to Mary King (1999, p260), King's strategies were underpinned by 'love' as a central conviction of Christianity. From his perspective, love was inseparable from justice, and in favouring the Greek word *agape* he meant to emphasise 'love' in its sense of goodwill towards humanity. As with Gandhi, love was not a weak and insipid sentimentality, but a source of power and energy. Following in Gandhi's footsteps, Martin Luther King Jr. embraced the non-violent affirmation that ends and means must cohere. He made it clear to protesters that their wish was not to triumph over the white community, but for an inter-racial society based on freedom for all to emerge from the struggle.

King (1999) notes that from the teachings of Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr. advocated five pointers that justified non-violent resistance that would bring about better racial conditions. First, non-violence is not a method for cowards; it *does* resist. The non-violent resister is just as strongly opposed to the evil against which he protests as is the person who uses violence. His method is passive or non-aggressive in the sense that he is not physically aggressive against his opponent. But his mind and emotions are always active, constantly seeking to persuade the opponent that he is mistaken. This method is passive physically, but strongly active spiritually; it is non-aggressive physically but dynamically aggressive spiritually.

A second point is that non-violent resistance does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship and understanding. The non-violent resister must often express his protest through non-cooperation or boycotts, but he realizes that they are not ends in themselves; they are merely means to awaken a sense of moral shame in the opponent. The end is redemption and reconciliation. The aftermath of non-violence is the creation of the beloved community, while the aftermath of violence is tragic bitterness.

A third characteristic of the non-violent method is that the attack is directed against forces of evil rather than against persons who are caught in those forces. It is evil that should be defeated, not the persons victimized by evil.

A fourth point is that non-violence avoids not only external physical violence but also internal violence of spirit. At the centre of non-violence stands the principle of love. In struggling for human dignity the oppressed people of the world must not allow themselves to become bitter and indulge in hate campaigns. To retaliate with hate and bitterness would do nothing but intensify the hate in the world. Along the way of life, someone must have sense and morality enough to cut off the chain of hate.

Finally, the method of non-violence is based on the conviction that the universe is on the side of justice. It is in this deep faith in the future that causes the non-violent resister to accept suffering without retaliation. This belief that God is on the side of truth and justice comes from tradition of Christian faith.

King's ideas are well pronounced in his Letter from Birmingham Jail (1964) that he addressed to fellow clergymen who differed with him in his approach to fight racial segregation and seek justice. In his letter, he pronounced that injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere, arguing that whatever affects one directly also affects all indirectly. This revealed King as a proponent of solidarity, based on his Christian beliefs. He goes further to posit that a non-violent campaign goes through four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self-purification; and, direct action. From this, one gets an impression that 'direct action' is the last resort in a long process that also gives chance to other processes. He explains this by arguing that non-violent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. He further clarifies that while he is opposed to 'violent tension', there is a type of constructive tension which is necessary for growth because the oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever.

In the same letter, Martin Luther King Jr. argues that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor – it must be demanded by the oppressed, and that justice too long delayed is justice

denied. In the same vein, he argued that it was a moral duty to disobey unjust laws. The other important aspect that he brings out in the letter is the Christian concept of suffering and sacrifice for what one believed. He argued that traditionally the church was not merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion – it was a thermostat that transformed the mores of society. In challenging the church to play its prophetic role, Martin Luther King Jr. charges that if today's church does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authenticity, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. This challenge is as relevant to present day Zimbabwe as it was in the United States then, as will be shown later in this chapter.

2.2.3 The Non-violent Action according to Gene Sharp

In advancing the knowledge and understanding of the technique of non-violent struggle and its potential, Gene Sharp has pushed the frontiers of non-violence to new levels by carefully studying and being influenced by Gandhi's ideas on power and strategy. Although he admits that the ways non-violent struggles operate are complex and variable to the effect that no two cases of this technique are identical, his work offers new insights that deliberately refines the way the strategy works (Sharp, 1973; 2002; 2005).

While acknowledging the crucial roles played by Gandhi and King to popularize the strategy through the movements that they led or were involved in, Sharp warns people not to limit themselves to the work of the two as those movements are by no means representative of all non-violent action. He postulates that non-violent struggles are not new historically as "they have occurred in widely differing cultures, periods of history and political conditions" although historians have generally neglected this type of struggle (Sharp, 2005, p15).

Sharp (2005) postulates that a multitude of specific methods of non-violent action or non-violent weapons exist, with more than two hundred having been identified, while more will certainly emerge in future conflicts. They include protest marches, flying forbidden flags,

massive rallies, vigils, leaflets, picketing, social boycotts, economic boycotts, labour strikes, rejection of legitimacy, civil disobedience, boycott of government positions, boycott of rigged elections, strikes by civil servants, non-cooperation by police, establishment of alternative institutions and creation of parallel governments. These methods may be used symbolically, to put an end to cooperation, or to disrupt the operation of the established system. Sharp concedes that individuals and groups may hold differing opinions about the general political usefulness and the ethical acceptability of the methods of non-violent struggle. Yet everyone can benefit from more knowledge and understanding of their use and careful examination of their examination and their potential relevance and effectiveness. In that regard, it is important to mention here that all these methods mentioned here were used in Zimbabwe, mainly by civil society organizations and opposition political parties, though with very limited success.

Sharp's conformity to Gandhi's influence on power and strategy is in his much publicised guidelines on waging successful non-violent struggles against dictatorships, which he refers to as 'a conceptual framework for liberation' (Sharp, 2002). In that framework which rests on strategic skill, organization and planning, Sharp conceptualizes that: prevention of tyranny might be possible; successful struggles against dictatorships could be waged without mass mutual slaughters; dictatorships could be destroyed; and, new ones can be prevented from rising out of the ashes. Though conceding that fighting dictators would not be easy, Sharp's guidelines try to spur resistance leaders to consider strategies that may increase their effective power while reducing the relative level of casualties. He warns against complacency and being hoodwinked by dictators. As if he had Zimbabwe in mind, as events reveal later in this chapter, he reminds resisters that elections are not available under dictatorships as an instrument of significant change. He argues that "dictators are not in the habit of allowing elections that could remove them from their thrones" Sharp (2002, p6).

Sharp (2005) identifies three broad classes of non-violent methods: *non-violent protest and persuasion*; *non-cooperation*; and, *non-violent intervention*. In that regard, he defines non-violent action as a generic term covering dozens of specific methods of protest, non-cooperation and intervention. Symbolic protests, though in most situations quite mild, he says,

can help make it clear that some of the population is opposed to the present regime and can help to undermine its legitimacy. Social, economic and political non-cooperation, when practiced strongly and long enough, can weaken the opponent's control, wealth, domination, and power, and potentially produce paralysis. The strategies of non-violent intervention which disrupt the established order by psychological, social, economic, physical or political methods can dramatically threaten the opponent's control. Sharp (1973, p31) admits getting these ideas from Gandhi, who experimented widely with the political potentialities of disobedience, emphasised the importance of a change of will as a pre-requisite for a change in patterns of obedience and co-operation. There was, Gandhi argued, a need for: i) a psychological change away from passive submission to self-respect and courage; ii) recognition by the subject that his assistance makes the regime possible; and, iii) the building of a determination to withdraw co-operation and obedience.

In the context of Zimbabwe, particularly in Gutu District where this study will take place, it is anticipated that the training of youths in AVP will create new individuals who can create new ways of relating at community level that has potential to disrupt established order where violence is influenced from outside by the powers that be in the political formations that they are affiliated to. As Sharp postulates, in larger political struggles, strategists of non-violent struggle would be wise to attempt to weaken and remove as many sources of power as possible, in a sequence of priorities. This requires that the weapons of non-violent struggle be applied against crucial targets, primarily the 'pillars of support' that sustain a violent system. All systems depend upon the cooperation and assistance of their subjects, of the groups and organizations of society. "When these bodies do not sufficiently supply the several needed sources of power, or when they carry out the regime's wishes and orders slowly or inefficiently – or even flatly refuse to assist and obey – the power of the regime is weakened" (Sharp, 2005, p481). This is relevant to Zimbabwe where youths are sources of political power through acts of violence and vigilantism (as explained later in this chapter). Training them in AVP could be one of the 'priorities' to weaken a 'pillar of support'.

2.2.4 Justification of non-violent methods

Although the effectiveness of non-violent resistance is sometimes queried and considered not feasible in cases of extreme political repression, or that it takes too long to wage, Sharp (2002, p4) aptly defends the method. He argues that whatever the merits of the violent option, one point is clear: “By placing confidence in violent means, one has chosen the very type of struggle with which the oppressors nearly always have superiority.” He points out that dictators are equipped to apply violence overwhelmingly, and almost always have superiority in military hardware, ammunition, transportation, and the size of military forces. Thus, the need for non-violence is justified by the costs involved in the destruction and suffering caused by resorting to violence, both in terms of life and property. This argument conforms with Jeong (2000), who posits that means that generate hatred and intolerance will corrupt the goals of social justice. He argues that the protection of civilized values is incompatible with inhumane means of destruction. Jeong and Sharp both postulate that if a struggle for freedom is waged by a military organization requiring strict hierarchy and unconditional obedience, those principles may be carried over into the organization of a new political rule. As will be explained later in this chapter, Zimbabwe has gone through this route, where its liberators from colonialism have become the new yoke of oppression from which the citizens seek a second liberation. This is the reality that convinces people like Gene Sharp that a non-violent struggle is the way to go because it contributes to democratizing the political society in several ways.

According to Sharp (2002, p37), a non-violent struggle provides the population with means of resistance that can be used to achieve and defend their liberties against existing or would-be dictators. Positive democratizing effects may include:

- Experience in applying non-violent struggle may result in the population being more self-confident in challenging the regime’s threats and capacity for violent repression.
- Non-violent struggle provides the means of non-cooperation and defiance by which the population can resist undemocratic controls over then by any dictatorial group.

- Non-violent struggle can be used to assert the practice of democratic freedoms such as free speech, free press, independent organizations, and free assembly, in the face of repressive controls.
- Non-violent struggle contributes strongly to the survival, re-birth, and strengthening of the independent groups and institutions of the society. These are important for democracy because of their capacity to mobilize the power capacity of the population to impose limits on the effective power of any would-be dictators.
- Non-violent struggle provides means by which the population can wield power against repressive police and military action by a dictatorial government.
- Non-violent struggle provides methods by which the population and the independent institutions can, in the interests of democracy, restrict or sever the sources of power of the ruling elite, thereby threatening its capacity to continue its domination.

All these positive attributes above would be very important to a country like Zimbabwe which is currently experiencing a democratic deficit. It is therefore important to closely analyse Zimbabwe's historiography since independence, particularly its path of violence as given below.

2.3 History of violence in post-independence Zimbabwe

The history of violence in Zimbabwe can be traced to as far back as humanity existed, and many historians and scholars have narrated the main epochs of the country's historiography. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009, p190) sums it up by positing that it is not surprising that one of the common problems running through the continuum of Zimbabwean history across the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial epochs is that of violence, its memory, and impunity. He argues that violence has not only shaped national history and national memory, but has been embodied in colonial and nationalist monuments as part of the celebration of heroism and sacrifices on behalf of often violent colonial and nationalist state-building projects. While acknowledging the importance of this background, this study will concentrate on the history of violence since independence. Only for purposes of clarification and examples will reference be made to the

period before independence, when necessary. Be that as it may, experiences of violence in Zimbabwe, both before and after independence, can be categorized into Galtung's theory of direct, structural and cultural forms (Galtung, 1996). This theory is discussed in detail in Section 4.3.1 of this thesis.

Zimbabwe achieved independence after a protracted liberation war that culminated into the Lancaster House conference in 1979. The outcome of the conference was a compromise constitutional arrangement for elections and state governance that was in use from April 1980 when the country achieved independence to 2013 when a new constitution was accepted in a referendum. As James Muzondidya aptly puts it, the major challenge confronting the post-independence government of ZANU (PF) was nation-building in a society deeply divided along lines of race, class, ethnicity, gender and geography. The other main challenges included post-war reconstruction, reconstructing the inherited colonial political economy – especially redressing its racialised imbalances – and democratizing the inherited authoritarian colonial state and its institutions (Muzondidya, 2009, p167).

The new government of independent Zimbabwe preached the gospel of 'national unity' and adopted a policy of reconciliation. A government of national unity that represented interests of all racial groups and political formations was formed. The language of reconciliation which set the tone was contained in Prime Minister (now President) Robert Mugabe's widely publicized speech on the eve of independence, in which he declared:

Henceforth you and I must strive to adapt ourselves, intellectually and spiritually to the reality of our political change and relate to each other as brothers bound one to the other by the bond of comradeship. If yesterday I fought you as an enemy, today you have become a friend and ally with the same national interests, loyalty, rights and duties as myself. If yesterday you hated me, today you cannot avoid the love that binds you to me and me to you. Is it not folly, therefore, that in these circumstances anybody should seek to revive the wounds of the past? The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten (Mugabe, 1980).

While at independence the ZANU-PF government committed itself to establishing a cohesive nation-state based on democracy, reconciliation, social justice and equality, and tried to transform and democratize the structure of governance in both urban and rural areas through decentralization of power and resources to local authorities, these ideals have largely not been achieved. Muzondidya attributes this failure to the government's reliance on the coercive tactics to elicit civilian compliance which were developed during the liberation struggle. The culture of intolerance of dissent inherited from the liberation days affected ZANU-PF's practice of the democratic ideals it espoused, he says (Muzondidya, 2009, p167). This assertion is also supported by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009, p190), who postulates that what has been termed 'patriotic' history in Zimbabwe is preoccupied with the issue of 'liberation war heroes' and 'liberation war credentials', not only as legitimating concepts of the rule of those who participated in the liberation struggle, but also part of the glorification of past and present violence as integral aspect of national history. This was clearly shown by the government's response to suspected dissidents in the Ndebele-dominated southern regions of Matabeleland and Midlands provinces in 1982, which was known as *Gukurahundi*, which when translated refers to *the rain that washes away the chaff before the spring rains*.

2.3.1 The Gukurahundi era

The partial failure of the integration of ex-combatants from the Zimbabwe African Liberation Army (ZANLA), the armed wing of ZANU-PF and the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), the armed wing of Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) into the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) is often cited as the major contributing factor in the outbreak of disturbances in the 1980s (Dzinesa, 2008). Major outbreaks were reported in Bulawayo 1981 and 1982, which led to the defection of many hundreds of ex-ZIPRA members back to the bush, and the general atmosphere of instability and suspicion led to the concealing of arms from both sides. The antagonism between the two former liberation armies morphed into hostilities between their respective political parties as ZANU-PF became convinced that ZAPU was

supporting a new dissident war in order to improve its standing in the country. ZAPU, in turn, expressed belief that ZANU-PF used the pretext of the disturbances as a long awaited opportunity to crash ZAPU to fulfil its one-party state agenda (CCJP and LRF, 1997).

In 1982, arms caches were discovered in ZAPU controlled areas and these were claimed to be evidence of a long-standing plot on the part of ZAPU's leadership to instigate a military coup. ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo was expelled from government, along with other ministers and senior officials from his party as the government of national unity collapsed. From 1982 to 1987, the Matabeleland and Midlands regions of western Zimbabwe resembled a war zone and led to deaths, arrests and imposition of curfews. Many parties contributed to this scourge of violence, including 400 or so ex-ZIPRA combatants who became a loose association of dissidents responsible for crimes including murder, assault, extortion and destruction of property (CCJP and LRF, 1997; Nkomo, 2001).

However, the greatest burden of atrocities committed during the *Gukurahundi* lie with the government forces, particularly the Five Brigade. Five Brigade was deployed in January 1983, and within weeks of deployment its soldiers had massacred thousands of civilians, tortured and displaced thousand more. As they murdered and destroyed, the army told victims that they were being punished because they were Ndebele – that all Ndebeles supported ZAPU, and that all ZAPU supporters were dissidents. Massacres, mass beatings and destruction of property occurred in the village settings in front of thousand of witnesses, and few families were left untouched by this scourge. Disappearances were common during *Gukurahundi*. Many people, mostly men, were removed from buses, trains and their homes, never to be seen again. Such people were often taken because their names were on a list showing them to be either ex-ZIPRA or some kind of ZAPU official (CCJP and LRF, 1997; Eppel, 2004). This was a reincarnation of the methods used during the liberation war. According to Preston (2004), on entering a region, ZANLA guerillas would come with a list names suspected or already known to be sympathizers of the 'enemy'. Having established a foothold in the community, they would hold *pungwes*, night time rallies of the villagers at which party slogans and songs were chanted and sung. These methods of elimination and torture, including the use of lists of targeted people

were to be repeated during the peak of electoral violence witnessed in Zimbabwe in 2008, this time targeting actual or suspected members of MDC.

Gukurahundi only ended in December 1987, when mediation efforts between ZAPU and ZANU-PF led to the signing of the Unity Accord. ZAPU was absorbed into ZANU-PF and a new 'government of national unity' was formed. This was soon followed by a blanket amnesty in April 1988 which was portrayed in the state media as benefitting mainly dissidents when, in fact, the 3 500 members of Five Brigade benefitted most, pardoned for the murders of thousands of civilians, the rape and torture of tens of thousands more, and property and livelihood destruction in most of Matabeleland and parts of the Midlands. The true number of the dead will probably never be known, and some estimates put it as high as 20 000 (Eppel, 2004).

None of the recommendations made in the highly publicised and accepted CCJP and LRF (1997) report, as well as the recommendations by Eppel (2004:56) who suggests the need to impart skills of non-violence in order to improve inter-personal and ultimately communal relations, have been implemented. Conversely, the government has never admitted to the need for post-conflict peacebuilding processes in the affected regions. The results of two government-appointed commissions that were set up to investigate the alleged human rights atrocities were never made public. Reparations as espoused by CCJP and LRF, and also by Eppel, are very important. However, limiting solutions to reparations and legislative processes only does not guarantee sustainable peace. This study, by contrast, attempts to equip people with ways of dealing with conflicts creatively, non-violently and constructively which has the potential to build peaceful communities.

2.3.2 Operation *Murambatsvina*

In May 2005, with little or no warning, the government of Zimbabwe embarked on an operation to 'clean up' Zimbabwe's urban areas. It was officially code named Operation *Murambatsvina*, which when translated means Operation *Drive-Out Filth*. It was also referred to as Operation

Restore Order, which became more frequently used by government mouth-pieces in the face of the widespread condemnation it faced, particularly when the United Nations (UN) appointed a fact-finding mission to investigate the gross human rights violations perpetrated during the operation. Operation *Murambatsvina* was a demolition and eviction campaign that was carried out by the police and the army which started in the capital Harare and soon spread to all urban centres targeting homes, business premises and vending sites (Tibaijuka, 2005; International Crisis Group, 2005).

In her findings, UN Special Envoy Mrs. Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka estimated that some 700, 000 people in cities across the country lost either their homes, their source of livelihood or both. Indirectly, a further 2.4 million people (nearly a fifth of the population) were affected in varying degrees. In her report, she found that Operation *Murambatsvina*, while purporting to target illegal dwellings and structures and to clamp down on alleged illegal activities, was carried out in an indiscriminate and unjustified manner, with indifference to human suffering with disregard to several provisions of national and international frameworks. Tibaijuka charged that the crackdown was a disastrous venture that was based on a set of colonial-era laws and policies that were used as a tool of segregation and social exclusion (Tibaijuka, 2005, p15).

Tibaijuka held the government of Zimbabwe collectively responsible for what happened, and suggested that it should hold to account those responsible for the injury caused by the operation. More poignantly, she noted that although a case for crime against humanity under Article 7 of the Rome Statute might be difficult to sustain, the government of Zimbabwe clearly caused large sections of its population serious suffering that need to be redressed with the assistance of the UN and international community. She encouraged the international community to prosecute all those who orchestrated the catastrophe and those that might have caused criminal negligence leading to deaths (Tibaijuka, 2005).

Operation *Murambatsvina* was carried out amid a deep economic meltdown characterized by a large fiscal deficit, low economic performance, high unemployment, price controls, food shortages, high inflation and lack of foreign currency. Zimbabwe's economic downturn can be attributed to a combination of factors, among them inheriting a 'colonial economy' whose main

aim was to satisfy the needs of the minority white; failure of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund-induced Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in 1991, which became a major turning point leading to massive retrenchment of skilled and unskilled labour, closure of industries, general price increases and deterioration of social services; the 1997 appeasement of war veterans through unbudgeted for cash handouts which sparked an inflationary spiral that the country failed to recover from; Zimbabwe's military intervention in the four-year conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) that worsened budget deficits; and, the 'Fast-Track' land distribution programme of 2000 that negatively affected agricultural production, the mainstay of the country's economy. The economic situation was also worsened by the imposition of targeted sanctions by the European Union, the United States and several Commonwealth countries which worsened the already polarised political environment and dealt a blow to the tourism industry. Worse still, Zimbabwe was affected by recurrent droughts and floods that crippled the already strained agricultural efforts to the extent causing unprecedented food insecurity (Bond and Manyanya, 2002; Raftopoulos and Savage, 2004; Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009; Sachikonye, 2011).

2.3.3 Elections and politically motivated violence

In Zimbabwe, the period of elections have become synonymous with violence of extreme proportions, the worst being the inconclusive 2008 elections that only stopped when the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union (AU) intervened. Political violence was one of the defining characteristics of, although not exclusive to, the development of nationalism in Zimbabwe (Sachikonye, 2011; CCJP, 2000). Politically-motivated violence refers to any form of violence that seeks to achieve certain desired political objectives by enhancing the political fortunes of the perpetrator and for negating those of the opponent. The history of election-related violence in independent Zimbabwe can be traced to the first general election held in 1985 that was accompanied by widespread intimidation of the opposition candidates and their supporters. The violence included mob beatings, arson and

murders. As alluded to in the CCJP and LRF report (1997), this violence had less to do with the pursuit of dissidents than it had to do with crushing of ZAPU as an opposition party.

According to the CCJP and LRF report (1997, p62), much of the election-related violence and intimidation was at the hands of the ZANU-PF youth brigades. These were a party-organised mob of young men who would bully or destroy with virtual impunity. The ZANU-PF youth were modeled along the Chinese Red Guard and were supposed to promote national 'development'. In practice this meant primarily coercing people into buying ZANU-PF cards, forcing thousands of people to attend ZANU-PF rallies, and beating anyone who stood in their way. The ZANU-PF youth were identifiable by their uniforms of khaki trousers and bright red and green shirts. Little effort was ever made by the police or army to prevent or intervene in ZANU-PF youth activities who seemed to have the tacit approval of the national government for their actions (CCJP and LRF, 1997). This *modus operandi* was also captured in another report by CCJP (2001), when violence intensified after the ruling ZANU-PF lost to the newly formed opposition MDC in a constitutional referendum of February 2000, and nearly lost in the highly contested and disputed parliamentary elections that followed in June of the same year. Among the most common forms of violence were assault, murder, kidnapping, arson, rape, looting, extortion, torture, bombing, bodily mutilation, destruction of property and illegal possession of fire arms (CCJP, 2001). The heavy electoral losses that ZANU-PF suffered in the plebiscites of 2000 triggered government-supported land invasions targeting the 4000 white commercial farmers who were accused of supporting the newly formed political opposition, dubbed the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme. It was also christened the *Third Chimurenga* to give it status of the unfinished business of the *Second Chimurenga*, Zimbabwe's liberation struggle.

After the plebiscites of 2000, political violence increased both cumulatively and exponentially with the mounting challenges to governmental authority by the opposition. Much of the political violence during this period, particularly that related to land invasions, was perpetrated by war veterans acting either on their own or in common purpose with other ZANU-PF supporters, and certainly with the connivance of the army and the police. In fact, during this period, war veterans as a group rose to prominence in national politics to the point of being

above the law (CCJP, 2001). Their role in spearheading violence was supplemented by the youth militia graduating from the National Youth Service (NYS) training centres dotted around the country.

The creation of the Zimbabwean National Youth Service programme is credited to the late Mr. Border Gezi who was appointed Minister of Youth, Gender and Employment Creation after the 2000 parliamentary elections. As such, NYS training centres are often referred to as 'Border Gezi Training Centres'. Early government pronouncements on the conceptualization of the compulsory NYS argued for a need to train the nation's youth, referred to as those aged between 10 and 30 years of age. The government promised that graduates would come out with a sense of national pride and history, as well as skills suitable for employment. The intention was described as to instill a 'sense of nationalism and patriotism', to make youths 'proud of their culture, history and country'. The training would include 'skills training, survival skills and military training'. Contrary to these ideals and claims that the training of the youth militia would be politically non-partisan, there was overwhelming evidence that the youth militia camps were aimed at forcing a ZANU-PF view of Zimbabwean history and the present on all school leavers. All training materials in the camps consisted exclusively of ZANU-PF campaign materials and political speeches. The material was crudely racist, and vilified the major opposition party the MDC (Solidarity Peace Trust, 2003, p20; Ndlovu, 2012, p271).

Furthermore, in contradiction of claims that the training would not aim at imparting military skills, military drills including training in the use of weapons were major elements of youths training since the first intakes in August 2001. In July 2003, the government acknowledged its hitherto denied policy of weapons training for all trainees in the compulsory service, with the national army declaring itself as a concerned party in the training. The then Minister of Defence, Sidney Sekeramai, defended training in weapons use, arguing that all youth trainees would form a reserve force to defend their nation when the need arose, falling under his command. This also linked with government rhetoric that pronounced that the youth militia must defend the country against imperialists and neo-colonialists. Combined with ZANU-PF's political pronouncements that Zimbabwe has enemies within, including the perceived neo-

colonialist opposition party MDC, it was not surprising when those believed to be MDC supporters were the most common targets of youth militia attacks (Solidarity Peace Trust, 2003).

Since January 2002, the youth militia has been one of the most commonly reported violators of human rights in Zimbabwe, with accusations including murder, torture, rape and destruction of property being leveled against them. They have been blatantly used by ZANU-PF as a campaign tool, being given impunity and implicit powers to mount roadblocks, disrupt MDC rallies, intimidate voters and setting up bases (which often became torture centres) to conduct political re-orientation classes for known or suspected supporters of opposition political parties (Solidarity Peace Trust, 2003; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009; Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009).

Other activities by the youth militia included politicization of government food handouts and denying basic services such as access to healthcare on politically partisan grounds. The militia had an ambivalent relationship with law enforcing agencies, including the police and the army, but more often worked under the direction of war veterans. Conspicuous with their green uniforms from which the derogative term 'Green Bombers' emanated, the youths became a menace in many communities, both urban and rural. Apart from committing crimes against political opponents, the youths became notorious even to family and neighbours (Solidarity Peace Trust, 2003). Political violence perpetrated by the youth militia reached unprecedented levels towards the June 2008 presidential run-off election. After a relatively peaceful election in March 2008 in which the MDC defeated ZANU-PF, a five-week delay in announcing the presidential election result fuelled suspicions of manipulation of the outcome. When the results were finally released, Morgan Tsvangirai of the MDC-T won 47.9 percent of the votes, ZANU-PF's Robert Mugabe 43.2 percent, Simba Makoni, who stood as an independent, 8.3 percent, and a fourth candidate, Langton Towungana 0.6 percent (EISA, 2008). This outcome entailed a run-off election between Tsvangirai and Mugabe. A wave of politically-motivated violence erupted in several parts of the country and prompted Tsvangirai to withdraw from the June run-off election citing violent ZANU-PF retribution against his supporters. In the run-off election, President Mugabe polled 2,150,269 votes (85.5 percent), while Tsvangirai got 233,000

votes (9.3 percent) (EISA, 2008b). Election observation teams from SADC and the AU's Pan African Parliament, however, were unanimous in condemning the June 27 run-off election as not free and not fair (SADC, 2008; Pan African Parliament, 2008).

As mentioned above, inter-party violence reached its peak between 2000 and 2008 when ZANU-PF increasingly utilized state agencies, war veterans and youth militia during campaigns. Hundreds of opposition party activists and supporters, mainly from the MDC, were killed in the 2000, 2002, 2005 and 2008 elections while thousands were injured and thousands more were displaced (Sachikonye, 2011b). The intensity and ferocity of the violence resulted in the discrediting of the 2008 presidential run-off election. Gutu district did not escape this violence. Indeed, it became one of the epicenters of the 2008 election violence because four out of the five constituencies in the district were won by the MDC. In Wards 1 and 2, bases were set up by the local youth militia and serious human rights violations were committed. These are the youths that this study targets, and changing their attitudes towards violence was the ultimate objective of training them in non-violent methods of conflict resolution using AVP.

2.4 The role of the church in Zimbabwe since 1980

It is accepted among scholars that few studies into the political role of the churches in the post-colonial period exist for Zimbabwe (Phiri, 2001). Though aware of the liberation theology that flourished in South America and other parts of the world, the scope of this study will be limited to experiences in Zimbabwe.

One way to understand the role religion plays in peace processes as a form of bridging capital is to distinguish the social spaces it occupies in civil society as locations for religious peace work. When churches and para-church organizations enter the political process and engage in the politics of reconciliation and negotiation, they operate in a political space that is capable of both delivering peace settlements and monitoring conformity to them afterwards (Lund, 1996).

Lund (1996) acknowledges that religion can be a positive agent for peace. He sees history as littered with cases where the churches rapidly switched their interpretation of doctrine to challenge inequalities and to assist the overthrow of unjust practices such as slavery, apartheid, patriarchy and sectarianism. He concedes that religion can be an arena for reconciliation, and has a role in peace beyond furnishing the motivation for third party intervention. He cites the example of apartheid South Africa where churches supported the anti-apartheid movement and became involved in the political peace process. The South African Council of Churches and the South African Catholic Bishops, for example, helped to mobilize the grassroots by giving assistance to communities suffering oppression in the townships and by trying to effect negotiations between the government and the African National Congress (ANC) to moderate the violence. Luminaries such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu of the Anglican Church emerged. An early attempt at reconciliation soon after the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994 in the form of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was also led by churches, Desmond Tutu in particular. The church's envisioning of peace not only helped to win the end of violence, but continued to assist in maintaining the peace settlement afterwards as people suffer the emotional after-effects of violence.

Lund concludes that churches have generally involved themselves with human rights and 'truth' recovery processes. Churches have seen it as their role to help their members forgive, to come to terms with the legacy of violence and to build new democratic societies. The churches have tended to see themselves living two Gospel axioms: one from John – that it is the truth that sets people free (John 8:32) and the other from Matthew – that it is in forgiving others that people are themselves forgiven (Matthew 6:14-15).

One way to look at the role of the church in Zimbabwe is through Isaac Phiri's analysis, which is largely influenced by Jean Francois Bayart's seminal work in Cameroon. Bayart identified three models of church-state relations: collaborative, complementary and conflictual. In the collaborative model, church and state interest converge, leading to a visible unity of action. The church and state find that they have non-contradictory objectives in their relations with society. This happens when the state is eager to serve rather than to repress society. In Africa,

collaborative relations were common in the brief period after independence. In that period, the objectives of the young and promising states, often led by young and promising leaders, provided a basis for collaborative relations (Phiri, 2001).

The complementary model is distinct from the collaborative model in that there is no evident 'unity of purpose' between state and ecclesiastical bodies. The churches neither endorse nor confront the state, and there is cold coexistence. The term complementary is preferred because, despite the absence of collaboration and 'unity of purpose', the churches continue to employ their resources to meet the state's shortfall in its service of society. This may occur through provision of education, health and other public services in areas where the poor reside and where state services are non-existent. Churches (and non-governmental organisations NGOs) provide services that the state is obliged to provide, so the state benefits. However, this can become the ground for conflict between church and state in that with time, the church will move away from merely complementing the state to actually questioning its policies, and sometimes, its legitimacy. The complementary model therefore describes a more or less transitional state, leading invariably to conflict (Phiri, 2001).

Bayart's models, according to Phiri (2001), are not mutually exclusive. They may exist simultaneously at different levels, for example, while the churches may be in conflict with the state over the need for democratization, they may collaborate with the state in campaigning against violence as the method to achieve such a goal, and complement the state's limited medical facilities by providing them to victims of clashes between the state and its political opponents. In post-independence Zimbabwe, church-state relations depicted this collaboration-complementary-conflictual model at different stages of the country's history.

With reference to church-state relation in Africa, Phiri (ibid) concurs with the contention that conflict between the churches and the state in many ways reflects the state of the public arena. He postulates that in an attempt to consolidate its monopoly over power, the state swells and engulfs the public arena, thereby stifling associational life. He charges that it becomes state policy to relentlessly pursue and subjugate all associations that have overt or even latent political objectives. Coercion and persuasion are employed simultaneously. Police and military

units are deployed to prevent mass political action. The end result is a political system characterized by a domineering state on the one hand and an intimidated society on the other. Phiri's work involved analyzing Zimbabwe as a case study, among others, so it is not coincidental that his analysis reflects the reality that prevailed in the country. What is however more interesting is that his analysis was completed in 2001, just at the beginning of state repression that was experienced in the third decade of independence.

Phiri further postulates that the churches often survive the state's onslaught and continue to enjoy their legal standing as a civil society group. He advances three explanations for the survival of the churches. First, the churches survive a high level of legitimacy because African societies are extremely religious. Second, since churches are not primarily political organizations, the state does not normally perceive them as a threat to its monopoly of power. Third, in Africa the churches are the one element of civil society that has the institutional and organizational structures, communications resources, leadership capability and transactional contacts necessary to resist or even rival the state. These explanations apply to Zimbabwe.

Renowned historian Terence Ranger (2008, p8) finds it conventional and useful to divide Africa's democratic history into three 'revolutionary' phases that have many semblances with Bayart's referred to by Phiri above. According to Ranger, the 'first democratic revolution' was the anti-colonial struggle that brought independence and 'majority rule'. In most of Africa this effort was completed in the 1960s, but it only came to Zimbabwe in 1980. Ranger argues that while it was democratic in intention, it was not democratic in result. He says from the beginning the new independent states were 'commandist', espousing a theory of 'general will' democracy in which the state was held to represent the interests of the population as a whole. In all too many places, he charges, this authoritarian 'modernising' state gave way to mere autocracy.

The 'second democratic revolution' of the late 1980s was the challenge to one-partyism and to military rule, both of which had arisen in many parts of Africa. Movements originally committed to pluralism themselves became in effect one-party regimes and democratically-elected presidents and their cronies had much to lose from yielding power. In many countries networks of corruption replaced outright military repression, but popular democracy seemed far away.

Hence the attempt at the beginning of the twenty-first century 'third democratic revolution' – the struggle against presidential third-termism, the struggle for incorrupt transparency and the struggle not only to develop electoral institutions but also to achieve a democratic culture and practice. Ranger's assertion concurs with Phiri's postulation (2001, p8), who posits that:

The state, having lost its legitimacy, has failed in its economic policies and, faced with growing discontent, abandons earlier attempts at popular governance and essentially becomes a police state. Police and army troops become the instrument of governance. Political dissenters are jailed and human rights abuses increase. Failed economic policies escalate the gap between the rich and the poor, leading to frequent uprisings by the urban poor. However, these sporadic protests are easily quelled and all other attempts at organised opposition to the state are liquidated.

Zimbabwe passed through all the three phases by Ranger (2008) and Bayart (2001). The churches have played a different role in each of the three stages in the changing social, economic and political environment, and Phiri's argument above reflects the violent situation that prevailed in Zimbabwe in 2008 which motivated this study.

The role of the church in pre-independence Zimbabwe, particularly during the liberation struggle that ushered in independence, has been articulated by different scholars, researchers and the media. Ranger (2008) takes a step back to look at the period just before independence, and reflects that during the anti-colonial revolution, the churches played an ambiguous role. Most of the white missionary clergy in evangelical churches were implicated in one way or another in the colonial order and therefore feared that a successful nationalism would usher in either a revived 'paganism' or communism or both. These fears were outweighed by the ideas of the just war that countered such accusations. Evidence of deep involvement and support for the liberation fighters by the church is abundant. Catholic bishop Patrick Mutume (1991) chronicled how the churches consistently opposed the minority white regime's discriminatory and unjust society and were in control of the youth through their schools. This history perhaps bodes well for this study given that the church has always targeted youths to influence and

change society, thus, it is hoped that training youths in AVP may spur churches to incorporate the programme into their own peace and justice work.

2.4.1 The role of the church in the first decade of independence (1980-1989)

It is important to bring to light the composition of the church in Zimbabwe. Muchena, (2004) identifies three key recognizable groups of churches in Zimbabwe that are politically active. These are the Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC), comprising more than 20 Protestant Churches and about 11 associate members; the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ), consisting of about 60 member denominations of the evangelical persuasion; and the Roman Catholic Church led by the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference (ZCBC) the secular arm of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) – has historically championed the cause of justice and peace since its formation during the liberation struggle in 1972. An inter-denominational committee of churches called the Heads of Denominations in Zimbabwe forms a further dimension by providing a platform for church leadership in Zimbabwe. There are also activist church organizations such as the Zimbabwe National Pastors' Conference (ZNPC), the Ecumenical Supports Services (ESS), the Student Christian Movement of Zimbabwe (SCMZ) and the National Movement of Catholic Students (NMCS). These draw their members from their various churches, and, along with CCJP, work at the civic level and take an activist approach to economic, social and political issues. They also work directly with the broader civil society movement to promote peace, tolerance, human rights and governance. A more radical group called the Christian Alliance emerged in 2007 to promote non-violent direct action. There are also several indigenous African apostolic churches who are however not politically active.

The church's deep involvement with the liberation fighters meant that churches gave full-hearted support to the majority regime at independence. On 17 April 1980, on the eve of independence, the ZCBC issued a statement in which the bishops congratulated "all the citizens of the country and its new constitutionally elected government", and pledged "whole hearted cooperation and support in the difficult but rewarding task of nation building that lay ahead"

(ZCBC, 1980:1). At the independence celebrations, the Catholic archbishop of Harare was invited to start proceedings with a prayer, a tradition that became custom at all national events where a church representative (from different denominations) opens proceedings with a devotion. Church-state relations started on a very collaborative level at independence, to the extent of the church being rewarded with a ceremonial leadership role of President in the person of Reverend Canaan Banana, ostensibly to acknowledge the role the church had played during the liberation struggle (Phiri, 2001; Chitando, 2002; Gundani, 2007; Ranger, 2008; Chimhanda, 2009). As Phiri argues, with the franchise question resolved, individual liberties restored and civil society liberated, the churches had no immediate cause for a confrontation with the state. The result, he continues, was a distinct shift in church-state relations from the confrontational model during the liberation struggle to the more or less collaborative and complementary models. The churches recognized the state's legitimacy and were willing to cooperate with the state in its efforts to rebuild the war-ravaged country.

Be that as it may, Ranger (2008) acknowledges that despite their complicity with the first generation of nationalist leaders, the church leaders still retained enough moral authority to act as arbiters and judges. The 'relatively human and moderate autocracy' of the early post-independence regimes had given way to excesses that it needed no theological sophistication to denounce. In response to *Gukurahundi* violence, Catholic bishops issued a pastoral letter at Easter in 1983 entitled 'Reconciliation Is Still Possible.' The bishops charged that violent reaction against dissident activity had brought about "the maiming and death of hundreds and hundreds of innocent people who [were] neither dissidents nor collaborators" (Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference, 1983). They commissioned and subsequently published a report entitled in 1997 – *Breaking the silence: building true peace* that was jointly compiled by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe (CCJPZ) and the Legal Resources Foundation (LRF), which remains the only published report that gives an in-depth reflection of what transpired during *Gukurahundi*.

The other main area where the church and state clashed was when the churches challenged the state's moves to liquidate political opposition and declare a one-party-state political

system. Besides direct political contestations, another area of conflict between churches and the state in the first decade of independence was corruption in government. Media reports revealing mass corruption by senior government officials led to anti-corruption demonstrations by university students. The state response was heavy-handed to both media personnel and the students, and the University of Zimbabwe was forced to close in October 1988 amid the chaos (Chitando, 2002).

Overall, while in some countries it may have taken longer from the period of church-state collaboration to the period of a conflictual relationship, Zimbabwe went through this full cycle in the first decade of independence (Phiri: 2001). If one is to follow Ranger's periodisation, Zimbabwe also went full cycle in one decade – from the first revolution through to the third revolution (Ranger, 2008).

2.4 .2 The role of the church in the second decade of independence (1990-1999)

The role of the church in the second decade of Zimbabwe was shaped by the radical economic policy shift by government which resulted in unprecedented socio-economic decline that forced the church to confront the country's governance architecture. The introduction of ESAP in 1991 caused the black majority to question the dividends of political liberation. As it dawned on the masses that political independence had not been translated into the economic miracle that many had anticipated, discordant voices among workers, students and peasants became more pronounced (Chitando, 2002). Churches assumed the coordinating role for these otherwise disorganized groups by not only providing space and platforms for debate and getting civil society organized, but in some cases providing the leadership. Notable during this period was the Roman Catholic Church's Justice and Peace Commission and the protestant churches under the banner of Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC) that became focal centres for civil disobedience, much to the chagrin of the state.

Throughout the 1990s, pastoral statements by churches predominantly grappled with social and economic ills brought about by the new economic order which, in their opinion, could not

be divorced from issues of governance. Most churches, in partnership with other civil society groupings, went on to mount a spirited campaign to change the constitution which they claimed gave too much power to the head of state. This culminated in the formation of the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) in 1997 which not only became a platform to criticise and challenge the government on matters of policy and governance, but also offered democratic alternatives and pushed for a new constitution that would guarantee people's freedoms. The leadership of NCA reflected the central involvement of the churches. While the labour movement provided the head in Morgan Tsvangirai, the vice presidency was occupied by CCJP, while the chairperson was from ZCC. To the government, this meant that the church was taking a direct confrontational approach. In pursuance of the theme of governance, and in seeking a democratic alternative, in September 1999 the NCA platform played mid-wife to the birth of a new labour backed political party, the Movement for Democratic Change. These events redefined the church-state relations as is reflected below in the analysis of the third decade of independence.

2.4.3 The role of the church in the third decade of independence (2000-2009)

As Gundani (2007) observes, the third decade of independence in Zimbabwe witnessed the dawn of a new social dispensation where every aspect of life was politicized and where political patronage dominated everyone's life. The decade 2000-2009 witnessed a sharp increase of church involvement in the socioeconomic and political life of Zimbabwe, certainly in line with the rapid economic deterioration of the country. The churches were reacting to the growing institutionalization and culture of violence and the promotion of hatred that had become common in Zimbabwean society at the behest of politicians. Efforts to influence the situation in Zimbabwe took several initiatives of the church's involvement, from individual level to international platforms.

At personal level, Archbishop Pious Ncube of the Catholic diocese of Bulawayo emerged as one of the most vocal critics of government in his church sermons and media interviews. Along the

same lines, Roman Catholic priest Father Nigel Johnson used his position as chaplain of the National Movement of Catholic Students to galvanise students against government's excesses. Bishop Levee Kadenge of the Methodist church was central to the founding of the radicalized Christian Alliance which advocated for non-violent action. Such individuals, among many others, endured harassment and persecution in their quest to open democratic space in Zimbabwe (Chitando, 2011). However, the crisis did not produce such iconic leaders as the South African struggle against apartheid produces luminaries like Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

An example of local-level participation is the Churches in Manicaland platform where church leaders from different denominations in the province grouped as a ministry of the oppressed in the run-up to the parliamentary elections of 2000. Increasing political violence in the province (and country) prompted church leaders discuss the problem of violence and to organise intervention strategies from a pastoral point of view. The Churches in Manicaland used their meetings as platforms to openly challenge and condemn organized violence and threatened to publicly expose and shame those responsible. Their work culminated in a book entitled *The truth shall make you free*, published in 2006. The Churches issued several public statements calling an end to violence and also organizing sanctuaries for victims of violence. In their pastoral statement of March 2001 entitled *Life in Abundance*, the church leaders argued that they had a responsibility not simply to monitor but to be actively involved in shaping the moral climate of society in Zimbabwe to mould the ethos from which the country's systematic values are drawn (Churches in Manicaland, 2006).

In a show of collaboration among religious bodies in June 2005, the Churches in Manicaland agreed to adopt and circulate among all congregations a pastoral letter by the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference (ZCBC) – *The cry of the poor* which had the following *six basic principles of Christian social teaching* that guided the role of the church (ZCBC, 2005; Churches in Manicaland, 2006, p3-5):

- i. The dignity of the human person

Each person has an innate human dignity that comes from God, not from any human quality or accomplishment, not from race or gender, age or economic status, not from

secular authorities. Promoting the dignity of the human person is a transcendent principle, recognized by those who search for the truth. The test of every institution or policy is whether it enhances or threatens human dignity and indeed human life itself. Policies which treat people as disposable objects go totally against the dignity of the human person and are an offence against the Creator.

ii. The basic rights of the human person

Basic human rights are an offshoot of our God-given dignity. Every human being – man, woman and child – has the right to life, shelter, clothing, food education, healthcare, employment etc. No secular authority, no group or individual should be allowed to violate such rights. As Christian leaders, we must continually remind authorities of both their duty to respect and uphold human rights, and of the serious consequences before God of failure to observe such rights. Furthermore, it is our duty as the church to inform and educate Christian people in rights, values and principles – a task that we will continue to perform.

iii. The promotion of the common good

Public authorities should promote the common good of all members of society – not the good of an elite group – by creating an environment in which economic, social, cultural and political life can flourish. In such an environment, all citizens ... can have access to the goods of the earth which are intended by God to be equally shared. The promotion of the common good should be the first priority of public policy, not the promotion of party political aims. In the order of things, people always come first and cannot be made subservient to an economy, a political agenda or an ideology. It is the proper function of authority to arbitrate, in the name of the common good, between various interest groups. It should, however, make accessible to each group what is needed to lead a truly human life: food, clothing, health, work, education and culture, suitable information, the right to establish a family, and so on,

iv. The option of the poor

In the application of the principle of the common good, some people remain poor and marginalised. The church must show particular concern for them. The moral test of a society is how it treats its most vulnerable members. As Christians we must continue to examine public policy decisions – including policies related to housing, healthcare and food security – in terms of how they affect the poor. The option for the poor, most of whom are informal traders, is an essential part of society's effort to achieve the common good of all its members.

v. Subsidiarity

The principle of subsidiarity refers to passing powers downward from the top to the grassroots, or as close to the grassroots as possible. The principle implies a preference for local over central decision-making. Central authority should support local authority efforts and only undertake those tasks which local bodies cannot achieve. It is essentially the task of local authorities – including community and residents associations and church bodies – supported by the police and the courts, to deal with local problems. This should take place in an ordered process over a period of time, and in a way that preserves and promotes human dignity, people's rights and the common good.

vi. Solidarity

As sons and daughters of our loving Father, we are all sisters and brothers who are called by God to build a society where we can live together in solidarity with each other. Solidarity means being ready to see the other person as another 'self' and to regard acts of injustice done to others as done to oneself. Solidarity is not a passing feeling of distress at the suffering of others. Rather, it is a commitment to stand side-by-side with those without shelter and means of livelihood, to do what one can do to rectify situations of grave injustice, and to promote the common good. Solidarity extends beyond our own ethnic group, political party or even affiliation to every individual citizen and community with which we share this country and its wealth. Solidarity

extends to everyone in whom we recognize a fellow human being. The exercise of solidarity within each society is valid when its members recognize each other as persons, and as children of God.

These principles, contained in a pastoral letter published for circulation at the height of Operation *Murambatsvina*, were viewed by the state not only provocative, but a direct attempt by the church to call for a national revolution. As such the document was regarded as subversive, and in many rural areas religious leaders were banned from reading or circulating it to their congregants.

Chitando (2011) observes that as the crisis worsened, church leaders sought to encourage dialogue between the political parties through a number of different initiatives. He cites Andrew Wutaunashe's nationalist 'Faith for the Nation' campaign that began in 2000 where he urged Zimbabweans to take responsibility of the fortunes of their country. For him, it was vital for all Zimbabweans to put aside their political differences and work together for the national good. This initiative to promote dialogue was followed by the three main Christian groupings – the ZCBC, EFZ and ZCC. Bishops Patrick Mutume, Sebastian Bakare and Trevor Manhanga, representing the three church groupings, held meetings with the leaders of the two main political parties to encourage them to shun divisive attitudes and to promote a shared national agenda. The church leaders pleaded with the politicians to consider the welfare of ordinary men, women and children – and they maintained that there was more to unite the opposing political actors than to divide them.

According to Chitando, church leaders also argued that the Zimbabwean crisis was indicative of a deeper malaise – the absence of a national vision and agenda. They contended that the sharp polarization in society had emerged because of the failure to develop a shared vision for the country's future. In this respect they spearheaded a country-wide outreach campaign which culminated in a document entitled ***The Zimbabwe We Want: Towards a National Vision, A discussion Document*** (ZCBC, EFZ and ZCC, 2006). The document was a comprehensive assessment of the achievements and failures of independent Zimbabwe, including a fair reflection of the shortcomings of the church.

An important development linked with the churches during this period was the internationalization of the crisis in Zimbabwe where the church used its global networks to circulate the reality on the ground. In the same vein, foreign churches took remarkable steps to intervene in the crisis in Zimbabwe, either directly or by engaging in non-violent actions to promote change and to assist the vulnerable during periods of heightened state repression. Notable were church leaders in South Africa, among them Anglican archbishop of Cape Town, Njongonkulu Ndungane, who not only visited Zimbabwe to try and mediate between Mugabe and Tsvangirai but also supported the South African Council of Churches' dispatch of aid (Ndungane, (2010). Another notable church figure who contributed directly to the crisis in Zimbabwe is Bishop Paul Verryn of the Central Methodist church in Johannesburg for providing sanctuary to the several thousand Zimbabwean refugees fleeing economic hardship and political repression. Non-violent direct action as espoused by Gene Sharp was epitomized by Anglican Bishop Rubin Phillip of Durban in April 2008 when he campaigned against a Chinese ship carrying weapons to Zimbabwe. He sought a court order to bar the shipment from crossing South Africa to landlocked Zimbabwe, and mobilized for a boycott by workers at the Durban harbor to refuse to offload the ship's cargo.

After the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) in September 2008, people were optimistic that democratic space for engagement would open up, particularly in church-state relations. Kaulemu (2010, p xii) viewed this as "the time for all Zimbabweans to make an effort to participate fully in the reconstruction of national institutions, processes and organizations." However, Chitando (2011) took a cautious optimism. He cited the marginalization of churches in the quest to promote national healing and reconciliation as well as in the drafting of the new constitution, both key goals of the GPA. To him, this was evidence of deep suspicions between church and state, and the continued harassment of church leaders and disruption of church meetings are full proof that the democratic space is still shrunk. The need for non-violent action and peacebuilding still existed even under the inclusive government, and the training of youths in AVP would therefore be a direct contribution towards building peaceful communities.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the philosophy and principles of non-violence as espoused by Gandhi, King and Sharp, and its relevance to the situation in Zimbabwe. This relevance is shown when Zimbabwe's post-independence history of violence is traced. The chapter also traces the church/state relations since independence. There is evidence that churches have followed political events in Zimbabwe keenly and, given their vast influence, they are well positioned to intervene to help bring a transition from a culture of violence to a culture of peace. This is where AVP training could be central. As will be shown in the following chapter, it has the potential to change the attitudes of people towards violence by giving them non-violent options. More importantly, by focusing on the youth, such a programme could ensure more peaceful communities in the future, away from the legacy of violence that has been carried by the country since the colonial times.

CHAPTER THREE: THE ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE PROJECT (AVP): HISTORY, APPROACH AND EVALUATION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter traces the history and development of AVP from its beginning in a New York State prison in 1975 to become a globally accepted programme, particularly its approach, model and philosophy of non-violence. This will be followed by a discussion of the concept of evaluation, followed by a review of selected AVP evaluations that have been carried out in different parts of the world. The chapter will close with an overview of attempts that have been made to introduce AVP in Zimbabwe up to the time of embarking on this study.

3.2 AVP history

The Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) has its origins and philosophy tied to the Religious Society of Friends, also known as Quakers, but it is not a sectarian organisation. The programme began in 1975 in the New York State prison system (AVP 2002; 2013; AVP website: www.avpinternational.org). Its first workshop was held in Greenhaven Prison when an inmate group (also referred to as the Think Tank in AVP circles) felt the need for non-violence training in preparation for their roles as counsellors in an experimental programme for under-age offenders. The Think Tank asked the local Quaker group to provide such training. After the successful training at Greenhaven, the programme spread to other prisons, often, but always organised by local Quaker Meetings.

In 1990, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), a non-profit peace and social justice organisation, followed through the success of AVP by modelling a resembling programme called Help Increase the Peace (HIP) which was specifically designed for juveniles (Morrison et al., 2011). Throughout its history, AFSC has maintained a deeply held belief in the inherent dignity of every human being and sought to address both immediate effects and root causes of

violence, poverty, injustice and war through emergency aid as well as long term development and education programmes. In 1947, the AFSC and British Friends Service Council received the Nobel Peace Prize, on behalf of the Quakers, for humanitarian service and work for reconciliation. Research by Ron Kraybill (1995) revealed that the Quakers were among the most visible religious organisations that assisted victims during Zimbabwe's liberation struggle, and played a pivotal role during the transition to independence. Unfortunately, and perhaps because AVP was still in its infancy, the Quakers did not introduce it as a programme in Zimbabwe at that stage.

For some years, the focus of AVP was on prisons and was two-fold – to help people to reduce the level of violence in the prison environment, and at the same time help individuals to deal with the violence in their own lives. As time passed, it became clearer that the violence in prisons was merely a distilled version of the violence pervading the whole society. People unconnected with prisons began to seek AVP training. The first full-fledged community AVP programme was offered in the small town of Owego, New York, at the instigation of two local probation officers. It was intended to help probationers cope with the problems that had led to their delinquency, but also to create understanding of those problems in the community at large. It therefore welcomed people who were not in trouble with the law as well as people who were, and worked with everyone as a single community. [This scenario is replicated in this study where youth militias and political party youths are mixed with church youths from the same community]

AVP has now spread to 58 countries and was introduced in Zimbabwe in May 2008 at the peak of the politically motivated violence that engulfed the country that year. However, a number of Zimbabweans, including myself (in 2005), were familiar with AVP in their individual capacities much earlier. Some Zimbabweans participated at an AVP International gathering held in South Africa in 2006, but no programme was running in Zimbabwe until 2008.

3.3 The AVP approach

The AVP approach is guided by its mission statement which states that “the Alternatives to Violence Project is a multi-cultural volunteer organisation that is dedicated to reducing interpersonal violence in [our] society” (AVP 2002, pA-4). AVP workshops present conflict management skills that can enable individuals to build successful interpersonal interactions, gain insights into themselves and find new and positive approaches to their lives. The AVP programme offers experiential workshops that empower people to lead non-violent lives through affirmation, respect for all, community building, cooperation and trust. Each workshop lasts 18-20 hours over a two or three-day period.

The fundamental objectives of AVP are:

- To encourage individuals to take responsibility for themselves and the consequences for their behaviour.
- To serve as one another’s community.
- To find non-violent options other than fight or flight when faced by conflict (AVP 2002, p4).

It is important to state that after my own encounter with AVP, its mission and values provided my main motivation to carry out this study because they seemed to contain what the prevailing situation in Zimbabwe seemed to desperately need, particularly to reintegrate youth militias who were involved in politically-motivated violence into normal community life.

3.3.1 The AVP values

The five values that guide AVP are: affirmation; respect; co-operation; trust and community building. AVP teaches that self awareness, self esteem and the ability to *affirm* others are important tools for conflict resolution and community building. AVP also teaches that *cooperation* and *trust* are important attributes in solving conflicts, both one-on-one and in

larger groups. AVP also teaches the values of diversity in order to reduce prejudice and correct misconceptions about other social groups. In that regard, *community building* is enhanced when people not only acknowledge differences but begin to use those differences as a source of strength by *respecting* and caring for each other (AVP, 2002; 2013).

3.3.2 AVP's philosophy of non-violence

AVP begins with two assumptions: firstly, that conflict, while natural to all human interaction, does not have to be destructive, but can be a source of positive change and growth; secondly, that societal injustice lies at the root of a great deal of violent conflict. AVP therefore has a two-pronged approach to nonviolence – changing attitudes towards conflict, and addressing the injustices at the root of the violence. Most children grow up surrounded by violence, and learn to see violence and abuse of power as normal and effective responses to conflict. Violence appears to be the only option for responding to conflict. The main role of AVP facilitators is to raise awareness of the many options people actually have in a conflict. AVP teaches that conflict does not need to be avoided and does not need to be met by violence. It can instead be dealt with directly and constructively. In the ideal, conflicts can be resolved with “win/win” solutions, ones which leaves everyone with their needs met.

Nonviolence is not just a state of mind or an attitude towards conflict. It is a commitment to actively seek to change the forces or situations that degrade or oppress people. It is a commitment to address violence at its roots. AVP teaches that the best way to overcome injustice is to come together as a community and turn to each other as resources for change. This grassroots approach to ending injustice emphasises that change is possible if communities come together and that each person has an important role to play in the process (AVP, 2002:B2). The situation in Zimbabwe was ripe for such an intervention, and the training of youths in AVP, particularly youth militias as this research advocates, it is assumed, can contribute positively to changing their attitudes towards conflict as well as empowering them to non-violently confront the root causes in order to build a more peaceful country.

3.3.3 The AVP model

AVP offers workshops on three levels – Basic, Advanced and Training for Facilitators that are modelled along the following guidelines (AVP, 2002, pA4-A5):

- a. Experiential learning and reflection – the AVP programme teaches through experiential learning with minimum of lecturing. It is structured in such a way that each participant's experience is recognised and becomes the basis of learning. This also ensures that each participant feels valued. While intellectual knowledge is recognised, it is generally not helpful in the midst of conflict, whereas replicating non-violent behaviour that has been previously practiced is helpful. Role plays are a key focus of AVP workshops. They help participants to discover new ways of dealing with conflict non-violently and give them an opportunity to practice and reflect on new behaviour. In this study, this approach has the potential to thaw the tensions among participants from adversarial political persuasions. It would also assist those youths coming from other platforms that are not necessarily political, particularly those from churches.
- b. Volunteerism – a fundamental requirement of AVP is voluntary participation on both at individual and institutional level because when a programme is made a requirement or is imposed by others it may well be ineffective. In this study, not only the participants will be volunteers, but they will have to be seconded by the organisations to which they are affiliated, including political parties.
- c. Training manuals – were organically developed from growing experience in training workshops. The AVP training manuals are in constant state of evolution and updating with creative ideas. In that regard, the manuals themselves do not limit the facilitator's creativity, but allows for innovation to capture the context and dynamics of the participants. As such, the manuals remain useful for this study even though the context will be Gutu District of Zimbabwe, far away from the origins AVP.
- d. Bottom-up approach – the AVP model is one of building from the grass-roots up. It is not about hierarchy but about community, about acknowledging and encouraging the potential for growth and development, and about working together by agreement and

without coercion. In this study, the concept of community building envisaged is vital in that Gutu District, particularly Wards 1 and 2 where this research will take place are essentially polarised by political affiliations. Such polarisation had created hierarchies that eventually became structures of coercion during periods of political contests. The bottom-up approach advocated by AVP has potential to transform the existing infrastructures of violence into infrastructures of peace (Van Tongeren, 2011).

- e. A 'win-win-win' model – the participants win because they get the training they need to cope with violence. The AVP facilitators win because they have an opportunity to improve their leadership and training skills, get new insights about themselves, other people and a non-violent life. Communities also win, and community life is enhanced when their members learn new skills to cope with violence and build community. In this study, it is expected that training youths in Gutu District in AVP will eventually result in a win-win-win situation envisaged above.

Considering that AVP is continuously evolving, the list of principles and processes above is not exhaustive. As new communities embrace its values, variations emerge as the programme adapts to meet the dynamics of different contexts.

As noted by Tomlinson (2007) AVP literature is somewhat resistant to the language of aims or objectives. Instead, terms such as 'themes', 'emphases', 'values', and 'pillars' are used. While language and emphases vary, the focus has been consistent. It is, however, unclear whether these descriptions above are activities in themselves, objectives or expected outcomes of the overall programme. Tomlinson applauds Hackland for coming close to defining the aims, objectives and outcomes of AVP. Hackland (2007, p5) states that AVP "seeks to offer trainees the opportunity to learn about different ways of dealing with violence and conflict" and rests on "five pillars" with associated outcomes as given in Table 3:1 below.

Pillar	Outcome
Affirmation	Increased self-worth
	Increased self-esteem
	Validation of self and others
	Releasing negative attitudes
Co-operation	Capacity for team work/working as a group
	Tolerance for diversity
	Awareness of needs, rights and concerns of others
	Respect for self and other
	Cooperative attitude and avoid competitive conflict
Communication	Enhanced relationship with others
	Development of emotionally-centred assertive communication skills
	Development of inter-personal skills
Community-building and trust	Practice/application of pro-social attitudes within the group environment
	Establishment of a safe place for group members
	Sense of unity/oneness with the group
Transforming power	Ability to transform conflict in a non-violent manner in a way that builds rather than hams the relationship

Table 3.1, The five pillars of AVP Adapted from Hackland (2007:17)

The bedrock upon which AVP rests is the concept of *transforming power* (AVP, 2002, pA6) which is able to transform violent and destructive situations and behaviour into liberating and constructive experiences and cooperative behaviour. This power is always present in human beings, and is able to work through people who are open to it. Using this power, everybody has the potential to change opponents into friends and to bring justice out of injustice.

Transforming power is often introduced in workshops using the '*mandala*', a circular depiction of key skills or traits, which are:

- Expect the best
- Think before reacting
- Look for a non-violent way
- Respect for self
- Caring for others (AVP, 2002, pA4).

By training youths in AVP, this study hopes to show that it has the potential to contribute to transforming power dynamics – from the power to use violence upon each other to the power to build community peace and development.

Given the above, any evaluation of the impact of AVP programmes would be based on how power has been transformed in a particular context. It is therefore important to give consideration to the concept of programme evaluation before highlighting some case studies where AVP has been implemented and evaluated.

3.4 Programme evaluation

A widely accepted definition of programme evaluation is of Rossi et al. (1993, p16), who define it as “the use of social research methods to systematically investigate the effectiveness of social intervention programmes in ways that are adapted to their political and organisational environments and are designed to inform social action to improve social conditions.” They broaden this definition by identifying three themes – application of social research methods; effectiveness of social programmes; and, informing social action – as pillars on which programme evaluation purposively rests.

Rossi et al. (ibid) further posit that by definition, social programmes are activities whose principal reason for existing is to ‘do good’, that is, to ameliorate a social problem or improve

social conditions. In that regard, they argue that the evaluation of a programme generally involves assessing one or more of five domains: (i) the need for the programme; (ii) the programme's design; (iii) its implementation and service delivery; (iv) its impact or outcomes; and, (v) its efficiency.

Patton (1997, p23) broadens this definition of evaluation. He defines programme evaluation as "the systematic collection of information about the activities, characteristics and outcomes of programmes to make judgments about the programme, improve programme effectiveness, and/or inform decisions about future programming." Patton refers to 'utilisation-focused evaluation' which emphasises that what happens from the very beginning of a study will determine its eventual impact long before any final report is produced. According to Patton, utilisation-focused evaluation begins with the premise that evaluations should be judged by their utility and actual use; therefore, evaluators should facilitate the evaluation process and design any evaluation with careful consideration of how everything that is done, from beginning to the end, will affect 'use'. Use concerns how real people in the real world apply evaluation findings. Patton's definition emphasises systematic data collection rather than the application of social science methods. In that regard, utilisation-focused programme evaluations are carried-out for and with specific intended users. Therefore, it involves examining much more than goal attainment by, for example, focusing on broader issues such as implementation, programme process, unanticipated consequences and long-term impacts.

Patton (1997, p24) argues that his definition has three interrelated components – the systematic collection of information about a potentially broad range of topics for a variety of possible judgments and uses. From his perspective, programme evaluators may use research methods to gather information, but they may also use management information system data, programme monitoring statistics or other forms of systematic information that are not necessarily research oriented. According to Patton, programme evaluation differs fundamentally from research in the purpose of data collection and standards for judging quality. Basic scientific research is undertaken to discover new knowledge, test theories, establish truth, and generalise across time and space. Programme evaluation is undertaken to

inform decisions, clarify options, identify improvements, and provide information about programmes and policies within contextual boundaries of time, place, values and politics. Ideas from both Rossi et al (1993) and Patton (1997) inform the way in which evaluation is understood and utilised in this study.

3.4.1 Purposes of evaluation

The two approaches discussed above in fact converge in respect to the purposes of evaluation. Their first point of convergence is to distinguish two categories of evaluation – summative and formative. They describe summative evaluation as an exercise that judges the overall effectiveness of a programme that are particularly important in making decisions about continuing or terminating an experimental programme or demonstration project. They posit that summative evaluation contrasts with formative evaluation which focuses on ways of improving and enhancing programmes rather than rendering definitive judgment about effectiveness. Summative evaluation, by contrast, provides data to support a judgment about a programme's worth so that a decision can be made about the merit of continuing the programme. The evaluation of the impact of AVP training in this study will be both summative and formative. On the one hand, it will be summative in that it will take stock of the anticipated attitudinal changes towards violence among trained youths, and such results will be used to assess whether churches in Zimbabwe should embrace AVP as an important programme to inculcate values of non-violence to build more peaceful communities. On the other, it will be formative in that the exact manifestations of conflict are likely to differ with communities, just as the participants and trainers will be different. As such, there could be need to adapt training methodologies to make them suitable for specific community contexts. This is in line with Patton's postulation that formative evaluation means collecting data for a specific period of time, usually during the start-up or pilot phase of a project, to improve implementation, solve unanticipated problems, and make sure that participants are progressing toward desired outcomes.

Be that as it may, there are three main purposes of evaluation that Patton (1997, p 65-70) identifies:

i. Judgment-oriented evaluation

This is evaluation that is aimed at determining the overall merit, worth or value of a project or programme. Merit refers to value of a programme, for example, how effective it is in meeting the needs of those it is intended to help. Worth refers to extrinsic value to those outside the programme, for example, to the larger community or society. Judgment-oriented evaluation approaches include summative evaluations aimed at deciding if a programme is sufficiently effective to be continued or replicated. Questions asked include: Did the programme work? Did it attain its goals? Should the programme be continued or ended? Were desired client outcomes achieved?

ii. Improvement-oriented evaluation

Improvement-oriented forms of evaluation include formative evaluation, quality enhancement and responsive evaluation, among others. These approaches gather varieties of data about strengths and weaknesses with the expectation that both will be found and each can be used to inform an on-going cycle of reflection and innovation. According to Patton (1997, p68), improvement-oriented evaluations ask: What are the programme's strengths and weaknesses? To what extent are participants progressing towards the desired outcomes? Which types of participants are making good progress and which types aren't doing so well? What kinds of implementation problems have emerged and how are they being addressed? What is happening that was not expected? How is the programme's external environment affecting internal operations? What new ideas are emerging that can be tried out and tested?

iii. Knowledge-oriented evaluation

The evaluation findings contribute to knowledge and may involve clarifying a programme's model, testing theory, distinguishing types of interventions, figuring out how to measure outcomes, generating lessons learnt, and/or elaborating policy options. This is sometimes describes as enlightenment where the evaluation findings broaden the knowledge base.

3.5 Types of evaluation

Rossi et al. (2004, p53) distinguish five types of evaluation. Firstly, there is *needs assessment* which questions about the social conditions a programme is intended to ameliorate and the needs for the programme. It assesses the nature, magnitude and distribution of a social problem; the extent to which there is need for intervention; and, the implications of those circumstances for the design of the intervention. As indicated in Chapters One and Two of this research, Zimbabwe has been subjected to politically-motivated violence coupled with economic hardships. Violence perpetrated by the youths had destroyed the normal community lives particularly during periods of electoral contestations that peaked during the 2008 harmonised elections.

Secondly, there is *assessment of programme theory* which asks questions about programme conceptualisation and design. Rossi et al. (2004, p54) posit that the conceptualisation of the programme must reflect valid assumptions about the nature of the problem and represent a feasible approach to resolving it. As for this research, the problem of politically organised youth violence was growing unabated. Churches had remained the only neutral platform at which youths from various political persuasions could still congregate. However, churches in Zimbabwe did not have programmes aimed at developing inter-personal skills of non-violence that would promote peaceful resolution of conflict. To a large extent, they restricted their social teachings to influence behaviour by focusing in the good and the bad, and the consequences of doing evil things as enunciated in the Bible.

Thirdly, there is *assessment of programme process* (or process evaluation). This considers questions about programme operations, implementation and service delivery. Given a plausible theory about how to intervene in an accurately diagnosed social problem, a programme must still be well implemented in order to have a reasonable chance of actually improving the situation. Rossi et al. (2004, p56) warn that it is not unusual to find that programmes are not implemented and executed according to their intended design. A programme may be poorly managed, compromised by political interference, or designed in ways that are impossible to

carry out. Sometimes appropriate personnel are not available, facilities are inadequate, and programme staff lack motivation, expertise or training. Possibly, the intended programme participants do not exist in the numbers required, cannot be identified precisely, or are not cooperative. The information about programme outcomes that evaluations of impact provide is incomplete and ambiguous without knowledge of programme activities and services that produced those outcomes. On the one hand, when the desired impact is lacking, process evaluation may have diagnostic value by indicating whether this was because of implementation failure (for example, the intended services were not provided) or because, when implemented as intended the programme failed to produce the expected effects. On the other hand, when positive programme effects are found, process evaluation helps confirm that they resulted from programme activities, rather than from spurious sources, and identify the aspects of the service most instrumental to producing the effects.

Fourthly, Rossi et al. (2004, p58) posit that there is *impact assessment* (impact evaluation or outcome evaluation) which examines programme outcomes and longer-term impact. It gauges the extent to which a programme has produced the intended improvements in social conditions. Impact assessment also asks whether the designed outcomes were attained and whether the changes included unintended side effects. To conduct an impact assessment, the evaluator must establish the status of programme recipients on relevant outcome measures and also estimating what their status would be had they not received the intervention.

Fifthly, Rossi et al. (2004, p60) identify *efficiency assessment* which asks questions about costs and cost-effectiveness. An efficiency assessment takes account of the relationship between a programme's costs and its effectiveness. Typical issues include whether a programme produces sufficient benefits in relation to its costs or whether other interventions or delivery systems can produce the benefits at a lower cost.

3.6 Programme outcomes and impact

An outcome is the state of the target population or social conditions that a programme is expected to have changed. Outcomes are observed characteristics of the target population or social conditions, not of the programme, but the benefits products or services might have for the participants (Rossi et al., 2004; UNDP, 2002). In this research it would be any positive attitudinal change among participating youths after AVP training, and the before and after observations will therefore be critical.

Not every outcome is of equal importance or relevance. Some important outcomes – for example, very long term ones – may be quite difficult or expensive to measure. Outcome measurement uses observable indicators that vary systematically with changes or differences in those circumstances. Some programme outcomes have to do with relatively simple and easily observed circumstances that are virtually one-dimensional, while others are multi-dimensional and have serious facets. A single outcome measure may not be sufficient to present their full character.

One of the most consistently used evaluation model is the *Logic Model*, (also known as the Logical Framework Approach) developed by the Kellogg Foundation (2004). Basically, a logic model is a systematic and visual way to present and share an understanding of the relationships among the resources one has to operate a programme, the activities planned and the changes or results one hopes to achieve.

The Basic Logic Model components that illustrate the connection between *planned work* and *intended results* depicted in Figure 3:1 below.

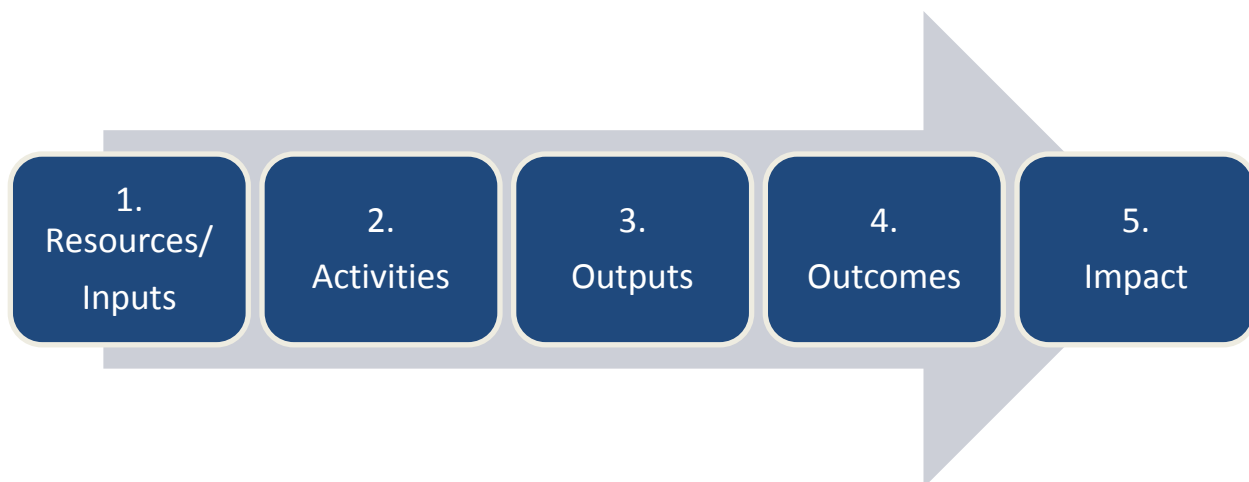


Figure 3:1 Basic Logic Model, derived from The Kellogg Foundation, 2004:1

Reading the logic model means following the chain of reasoning or “**if...then...**” statements which connect the programme’s parts as follows:

1. **Resources** include the human, financial, organisational, and community resources a programme has available to direct toward doing the work. Sometimes this component is referred to as **Inputs**. The logical reasoning is that certain resources are needed to operate a programme. In this study, this will include AVP facilitators/trainers and training material, the youths to be trained, financial resources to cover food and transport expenses as well as the community resources such as the training venue, among others.
2. **Programme Activities** are what the programme does with the resources. **Activities** are the process, tools, events, technology, and actions that are an intentional part of the programme implementation. These interventions are used to bring about the intended programme changes or results. The logical reason behind is that if you have access to them, then you can use them to accomplish your planned activities. In this study, the main activities will be the AVP training workshops as well as the other research-related activities such as interviews and observations referred to in detail later in Chapters Five and Six.

3. **Outputs** are the direct products of programme activities and may include types, levels and targets of services to be delivered by the programme. In this study, the main output would be youths trained in AVP.
4. **Outcomes** are the specific changes in programme participants' behaviour, knowledge, skills, status and level of functioning. The Kellogg Foundation (2004) prescribe that short-term outcomes should be attainable within 1-3 years, while longer-term outcomes should be achievable within a 4-6 year timeframe. The logical progression from short-term to long-term outcomes should be reflected in impact occurring within about 7-10 years. Using these timeframes, this study would fall into the short-term category because the AVP training in Gutu District will take place over a period of 16 months, during which participants will have acquired AVP values, knowledge and skills.
5. **Impact** is the fundamental intended or unintended change occurring in organisations, communities or systems as a result of programme activities within 7-10 years. While this study may not be able to monitor the impact as espoused in this model, the short-term outcomes observed will hopefully provide a likely indication.

The purpose of a logic model is to provide stakeholders with a roadmap describing a sequence of related events connecting the need for the planned programme with the programme's desired results. According to the Kellogg Foundation (2004), this takes place in three fundamental ways: firstly, in *programme design and planning* – where a logic model serves as a planning tool to develop programme strategy and enhance one's ability to clearly explain and illustrate programme concepts and approach for key stakeholders; secondly, *programme implementation*, where a logic model forms the core of a focused management plan that helps to identify and collect the data needed to monitor and improve programming; and, thirdly, *programme evaluation and strategic reporting* – where a logic model presents programme information and progress toward goals in ways that inform, advocate for a particular programme approach, and teach programme stakeholders.

3.7 Social change

Interventions are about change – how the social issue that is the focus of research is enacted and produced at various levels in society (i.e. individual, cultural, economic, organisational) and what the impact such intervention is hoped to achieve, based on existing scientific evidence. In international conflict work, this has been made prominent through the work of Shapiro (2006, p5). She postulates that changing individuals involves strategies that shift attitudes and perceptions, feelings, behaviours and motivations of participants in an intervention and highlights three theories that programmes explicitly or implicitly draw from in their efforts to change individuals, inter-group relations and social structures. Firstly, Shapiro recognises *cognitive changes* which she says are, among other things, aimed at transforming hostile or prejudicial attitudes towards the other party, providing more hopeful analyses of the conflict and uncovering new possibilities for resolution. Micro-level change strategies include fostering self-reflection and awareness, learning about the Other, eliciting an “aha” experience of insight, introducing new information or analysis that is connected to existing knowledge structures, providing ‘safe environments’ and permission to experiment with new ways of and reframing conflictual issues in integrative ways. Secondly, she highlights *affective change* strategies which she says are rarely articulated in conflict interventions, although practitioners are quick to acknowledge the important role that emotions such as fear, rage, shame and grief play in preventing resolution, and the importance of hope and compassion in supporting it. Programmes often focus on encouraging emotional control (for example anger management) among participants to facilitate rational problem-solving. Thirdly, Shapiro highlights *behavioural change* strategies that aim to improve communication, integrative negotiation and problem-solving skills, promote interpersonal cooperation and reduce the use of hostile language and physical violence, among other vices. Programmes foster behavioural change in participants by, among other things, establishing new rules of interaction, modelling more constructive behaviours and providing opportunities for imitation and rehearsal of constructive behaviours in a relatively safe environment.

Rossi et al. (2004) note that evaluation presents many challenges to the evaluator. Programme circumstances and activities may change during the course of an evaluation, an appropriate balance must be found between scientific and pragmatic considerations in the evaluation design, and the wide diversity of perspectives and approaches in the evaluation field provide little firm guidance about how best to proceed with an evaluation. Stufflebeam (2001:7) warns against what he terms pseudo-evaluations, where researchers are tempted to shade, selectively release or even falsify findings. He distinguishes two pseudo-evaluation approaches which are Public Relations-Inspired Studies and Politically Controlled Studies which are primarily distinguished on the matter of truth seeking and dissemination of findings. Public relations studies do not seek truth but instead acquire and broadcast information that provides a favourable, but often false impression of a programme. Politically controlled studies seek the truth but inappropriately control the release of findings to right-to-know audiences. This study will be done in honesty, guided by highest academic expectations and ethical standards to deal with issues of bias. Chapter Six on data collection methods also highlights how issues of bias will be restricted in carrying out this study.

3.8 Case Studies of AVP Evaluations

Despite the extensive growth of AVP in nearly four decades of its existence there are still very few reports of systematic evaluation in the published literature (Walrath, 2001; Miller and Shuford, 2005; Tomlinson, 2007). Tomlinson carried out a broad review of available AVP literature to summarise evaluations that have been undertaken around the world with the aim of identifying the aims of AVP interventions, the theory base behind the programme, the evidence of its effectiveness or otherwise. Her review found out that there seems to be considerable evidence, both quantitative and qualitative, for the effectiveness of AVP in bringing about change in relation to violence. She however laments that some of the evaluations are methodologically problematic, reflecting the difficulties involved in assessing the impact of experiential learning programmes designed to bring about change in individuals.

Evaluation of an Inmate-Run Alternatives to Violence Project by Christine Walrath, 2001

Walrath's (2001) evaluation research in a medium-security facility in Maryland, USA in 1995 is often considered as the first attempt at an empirical evaluation on an inmate-run AVP. According to Walrath (2001, p699), the primary objective of her work was to conduct a methodologically robust evaluation to understand the impact of the AVP initiative on attributes and behaviour of participant inmates as compared to non-participant inmates more than six months post-intervention. Both the intervention and the comparison group were assessed at base-line and six-month follow-up. In summary, after a follow-up study of inmates involved in AVP compared to a like group of non-participants, Walrath (2001, p707) found that:

1. Inmates who participated in AVP had significantly lower levels of expressed /experienced anger at six months post-intervention compared to non-participant inmates.
2. Inmates who participated in AVP reported significantly lower rates of confrontations six months post-intervention, compared to non-participants.
3. Inmates, regardless of study group status, had significantly lower levels of global self-esteem at six months post-intervention.
4. Inmates, regardless of study group status, demonstrated a level of higher levels of optimism at six months post-intervention.

The most interesting find of Walrath's evaluation is the behavioural measure, particularly on anger and confrontation (the first two findings above). Inmate behaviour was assessed using a self-responding questionnaire to assess their level of exposure to and involvement in non-violent and violent confrontations over the preceding one month. Behavioural measures were therefore included in this evaluation as an assessment of the interpersonal impact of the AVP intervention. The fact that the AVP group reported less times the number of confrontations reported by those who did not receive the intervention is critical for the intervention in Zimbabwe. The AVP intervention, as evaluated by Walrath, did have a positive impact on participants. Not only did levels of expressed/experienced anger decrease as a function of participation in the AVP intervention, but also a self-reported decline in number of

confrontations was indicated for the AVP group compared to those who did not participate in AVP.

Relevance of Walrath's research to this study

Walrath's research provided some insights that are relevant to this study, especially on methodology. These include the use of pre and post-test experiment involving an intervention group on which AVP was administered as a stimulus, and a comparison group which was similar to the intervention group but that was not exposed to the programme. In her study, both the intervention and the comparison groups were assessed at base line and six-month follow-up. The intervention group baseline assessment took place in the morning before the start of their AVP basic workshop. In this study will I employ the same methodology by carrying-out pre and post-test experiments with the experimental group and a control group to detect the effects of AVP by comparing the results of the two groups as discussed in detail in Section 6.4. However, Walrath's experiment was carried out over a period of six months while this study will take place over a longer period – 16 months, and the experimental group will undergo all three levels of AVP training. It is my hope that the longer period will allow for more time to observe the impact of AVP among participants, while training them in all the three levels gives them sufficient time for their reflection of the programme in real life situations between the training sessions. As such, I expect to gather more insights into the potential for AVP to shift attitudes towards violence by comparing the results of the two groups over this longer period than what Walrath gathered in six months.

Another insight from Walrath's (2001, p703) study is the use of self-reports to assess participants' level of exposure to and involvement in violent and non-violent confrontations over the preceding one month period. She used a questionnaire with 10 items that asked participants to report their frequency of involvement in confrontation and the number of times those confrontations turned violent. In a similar way, this study will gather data from participants' conflict diaries in which they write entries of the conflicts that they encountered and how they reacted as discussed in Section 6.7. The diary entries are analysed in Section 8.4.2. Again, the issue of time is the main difference as Walrath's study only requested for

conflicts encountered only in the preceding one month, while in this study they reflected on the conflict they encountered in life.

Despite the insights above, there are major differences between Walrath's study and this one. The first difference is on the sample. The recruits in her study were all males ranging from 18 years to 51 years in age, while this study targets male and female youths between 18 and 35 years. She recruited a total of ninety-four prison inmates (53 intervention and 41 comparison), while this study will have thirty-two participants.

Another significant difference is the setting. Walrath's study takes place within a prison environment in the United States where AVP had existed for quite a long time, while this study will take place in an African community in Zimbabwe where the programme is relatively new. As such, while the findings from her study are important, this study might give new insights on the impact of AVP on the participants in a totally different setting.

A Study of the Effectiveness of Alternatives to Violence Workshops in a Prison System, by Stanton Sloane, 2002

Sloane (2002) conducted a study of the effectiveness of the AVP workshops in a Delaware Correctional Centre. Sloane's study looked at inmate behavioural write-ups before and after participation in AVP and used an experimental group and a control group. The sample size was 31 participants for the experimental group composed of inmates who had completed AVP training at least twelve months prior to the collection of data, and a control group of 37 participants drawn from a similar population but who had not been exposed to AVP.

The study sought to find out whether prisoners who had completed AVP exhibited a reduced tendency toward violent or anti-social behaviour by analysing effects of AVP on infraction rates in the prison. The primary interest was to determine whether there was a difference between the control and experimental groups in terms of numbers of infractions. It also sought to determine whether effects of AVP were influenced by other factors such as age, level of education or race.

The data for this study was extracted by manually examining the prison records of the experimental and control groups. A comparison of the two groups showed that the experimental group had a lower average infraction rate than the control group. This was followed by interviews with participants in the experimental group to gain more insights into their perception of AVP.

After an analysis of interviews with a sample of the experimental group, Sloane (2002:16) suggested that:

- AVP develops respect for self and others [empathy].
- AVP develops critical social skills [communication, inter-personal trust].
- AVP helps participants develop alternative approaches to conflict resolution by providing examples, practice and positive reinforcement.
- Participants desire a better “community” within the institution [safer, more social environment with more meaningful interaction with fellow inmates and a desire to participate in socially oriented activities].
- AVP establishes a reinforcing social system within the institution.

From the interviews, Sloane (2002, p17) observed that most participants did not understand any other way to react to conflict or confrontation except violently because they never had an alternative model or example. Sloane concludes that as affective trust increases, participants begin to see others as having value, which is the foundation of empathy. The result is that pro-social behaviours begin to develop rather quickly. On age, the results showed that AVP was effective for those under 40 years, but not significantly effective for those over 40 years. One of the reasons given was that younger inmates were more receptive to the training perhaps because they wanted to modify their behaviour.

Relevance of Sloane’s research to this study

Just like Walrath’s study discussed earlier, Sloane’s research also employs experimental and control groups for comparison purposes. However, Sloane goes further to give insights into the validation of AVP programmes that this study may benefit from, particularly the use of

interviews with the experimental group to get deeper understanding of their behaviour and perceptions.

The notion that AVP was more effective to participants under 40 years as found by Sloane (2002:20) is of particular interest to this study which targets youths for training. However, just like in the case of Walrath, Sloane's study is limited to male inmates in a tightly controlled setting. This will be different to this research that will take place in an African community setting involving both males and female participants.

The Alternatives to Violence Project in Delaware: A Three-Year Cumulative Recidivism Study by Marsha Miller and John Shufford, 2005

Miller and Shuford (2005) carried out a three year recidivism study also at a Delaware Correctional Centre (DCC) comparing recidivism and returns to prison between 175 AVP participants (the experimental group) and 34 inmates who had only undergone the DCC Life Skills programme (the control group). The Life Skills programme provided academic and moral education, practical living skills, and anger management. Their study observed striking differences between the AVP group and the Life Skills control group on both recidivism and returns to prison for any reason. They observed that inmates in the Life Skills control group were more likely to reoffend than their AVP counterparts. This suggested that AVP was effective in reducing recidivism.

In their conclusion, Miller and Shuford argued that from their finding, there was a strong possibility that AVP addresses the important psychological need for connection with others. This, they conclude, is accomplished by teaching attitude skills such as self awareness, empathy and community building.

However, Miller and Shufford's (2005) study had some methodological flaws. While it employed experimental and control groups from the same prison for comparative purposes, the composition of the groups was too dissimilar both in numbers and training backgrounds. The disparity in numbers was huge – the experimental group with 175 while the control group only had 34. The control group was too small. Also, the fact that the control group acquired a

different training (Life Skills) makes it look like it was a comparison of the effectiveness of different training programmes.

Relevance of Miller and Shufford's research to this study

Miller and Shufford's (2005) study emphasises the use of experimental and control groups just like Walrath (2001) and Sloane (2002) earlier. It also takes place over a longer period (three years), which gives the impression that AVP has potential for long term impact. These aspects will be utilised in this study. However, the disparities in the group composition highlighted above are examples that will be avoided in this study.

An Evaluation of AVP Workshops in Aotearoa/New Zealand, by Brian Phillips, 2002

Outside the USA, Brian Phillips (2002) conducted an evaluation of AVP workshops in Aotearoa/New Zealand. His study drew upon a mix of qualitative and quantitative data from past workshop participants from both community and prison workshops. The objective of the evaluation was to undertake an appraisal of the effectiveness of AVP workshops. He employed a two-pronged methodology that began with an analysis of routine end-of-workshop evaluation forms followed by a national survey of past workshops participants. These included prison and community-based workshops involving both males and females.

Phillips analysed a sample of 81 end-of-workshop evaluations from the period 1996 – 2001 as initial sources of information about participants' impressions and understanding of the experience. His assumption was that because these forms were completed immediately after the conclusion of the workshop, they therefore evaluated the impact of the workshop. From these he identified 10 themes for analysis. This process was followed by a national survey using a questionnaire to collect both qualitative and quantitative data on the impact of AVP workshops on a sample of 146 respondents.

According to Phillips (2002, p21), from the survey most respondents reported that AVP workshops had been "helpful" in changing their approaches to conflict and improving personal relationships, among other attitudes. The major finding of his evaluation study was that 94% of AVP workshop participants reported that their experience helped them to take steps towards

living peacefully. Written responses in the survey also showed that the workshop material was effecting change and being integrated into respondents' individual everyday lives.

Relevance of Phillip's evaluation to this study

Phillips' evaluation study used two methods of gathering data. The analysis of end-of-workshop evaluation forms assessed the immediate impact of AVP while the survey questionnaire appraised longer standing outcomes of AVP workshops. However, more interactive methods such as interviews and focus groups could have led to deeper insights from follow-up questions. Added to that, Phillips did not observe the training process which could have provided more insights as the perceived changes are taking place.

An evaluation of the Alternatives to Violence Project in Rwanda, by Adrien Niyongabo and Peter Yeomans, 2003

AVP was introduced to Rwanda in 2001 as a pilot project to contribute to peace and reconciliation efforts after the 1994 genocide committed against Tutsi ethnic minority by majority Hutu ethnic group. In an innovative yet controversial effort to bring justice and reconciliation to both the victims and suspected perpetrators of the genocide, the Rwandan government chose to utilise a modern day version of a traditional form of arbitration known as *Gacaca* to settle many of the lower-level cases (Niyongabo and Neomans, 2003, p1). By October 2002, more than 300 *Gacaca* judges and administrators had been trained in AVP basic workshop to prepare them for their roles. In an attempt to assess the impact of AVP after the two-year pilot phase, in August 2003 Niyongabo and Yeomans interviewed 39 people from four regions of Rwanda representing a cross-section of people who had participated in AVP, including AVP facilitators, *Gacaca* judges and administrators, among others.

Niyongabo and Neomans (2003, p3) grouped the data gathered during the interviews into 10 themes and in some instances quoted the interviewees verbatim as they responded to the questions. All the 39 people who were interviewed shared mostly positive things about AVP to the level of being biased as the researchers themselves noted that readers may get an

impression that the quotes “were to please the interviewers” (ibid, p18). To their admission, a shortcoming of their evaluation effort was that besides the challenges regarding the purpose of AVP’s ‘adjective name game’, critiques on content “were very hard to elicit” Niyongabo and Neomans (2003, p17).

While this evaluation was very important as it attempted to assess the impact of AVP in a post-conflict country in Africa, it had data collection flows that may have limited it from bringing out more insights. For example, it relied on only one method of collecting data, i.e. interviews. It therefore depended solely on the interviewees’ perceptions of AVP. More methods could have been employed to obtain more data.

Relevance of Niyongabo and Neomans’ evaluation to this study

The evaluation gave important insights of AVP in an African set up which, to some extent, has many similarities with the setting of this study, particularly in the people’s communal way of life. It examines the notion of AVP growing and impacting on people’s lives beyond cultures. Also important is the fact that this research did not take place in a prison set-up, thus, reflected on how AVP can work in the community.

Narrative Conflict and Evaluation of AVP in South Africa and in the Netherlands by Ivar Halfman and Tijl Couzij, 2008

Halfman and Couzij (2008) carried out a study to evaluate the impact of AVP workshops in South Africa and the Netherlands for two organisations – Phaphama Initiatives and DiversityJoy, respectively. Their aim was to design an evaluation model for AVP by assessing its impact on participants and using the knowledge to come up with an appropriate model. The validity of such a model would be tested in a pilot project. To achieve this, they employed a variation of qualitative research methods including interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation.

Halfman and Couzij (2008, p33) used a sample of 56 participants (34 males and 22 females) whose age ranged from 17 – 63 years, representing three nationalities even though most of them (48) were South Africans. All participants had completed the basic AVP workshop – 20 had completed the basic workshop only, 13 had completed the advanced while 23 were AVP facilitators who had completed the training for facilitators workshop. Halfman and Couzij carried-out a total of 22 interviews – 18 in South Africa and four in the Netherlands, and conducted four focus group discussions – three in South Africa and one in the Netherlands. They participated in a basic workshop in the Netherlands and later participated in the advanced and training for facilitators workshops in South Africa.

From the variation of methodology that they employed to gain insights from the participants, Halfman and Couzij (2008, p24) concluded that an appropriate evaluation method should be focused on the changes in participants' experience by having conversations with the participants themselves. They advocate for the use of narratives to evaluate a broad-aim programme like AVP. They further argue that if people tell a conflict story before they participate in a workshop, and again tell their story after their participation, the differences in the narratives gives an idea of the changes in the narrator's understanding of conflict situations. This, they posit, enables the researcher to collect meaningful data on the changes and differences in participants before and after they have taken part in AVP. The use of narrative analysis, they say, helps researchers to discover important aspects of changes in participants' views and attitudes towards conflict by including participants' ideas about workshop effects.

Relevance of Halfman and Couzij's research to this study

By including participants' narratives before and after attending the workshop, Halfman and Couzij's research provide new insights in evaluating the impact of AVP workshops. Also important is the use of a variation of qualitative research methods that bring out multiple perspectives and alternative accounts as participants share their own interpretations. The use of self-reports will be employed in this study as discussed in Section 10.3.4. Also, the importance of participating in the AVP workshops provided them with an opportunity to directly observe as the process unfolds. In this study I will be a participant observer to capture

the details of the workshops and look for ‘aha’ moments in AVP. Participating will also help to analyse group behavior.

3.8.1 Significance of the evaluation case studies

The evaluation case studies above provide insights into the complexities of evaluation. Walrath (2001) advises that in order to gain a complete understanding of a complex intervention such as AVP, continued expanded and long-term evaluation is required. Her research was carried out over a period of six months. Although this study will take place in a very different context, it is assumed that it will provide new impetus to AVP that builds on such initial work as Walrath’s. Tomlinson (2007) argues that given the considerably remarkable amount of evidence of positive changes brought about by AVP workshop attendance, research specifically on why AVP works is not as developed as evaluations indicating that it does. She proposes, in the line of Walrath, that a wider examination of literature on experiential learning programmes may provide more theoretical and evidence-based answers, thus suggests further research.

The conclusions reached by Tomlinson (2007, p22-23) are worth highlighting further as they speak directly to the potential of this study. Her review of literature concerning AVP found considerable evidence of bringing about change in relation to violence. For those evaluating AVP in the future, she suggests that a mixture of assessment techniques would provide the most comprehensive information. She argues that quantitative research using psychological measures, beginning with a baseline study prior to the provision of AVP workshops and using an appropriate control group would increase the evidence base as to whether AVP is effective. However, she continues, “in-depth qualitative research is likely to produce the best results, particularly if it is undertaken over an extended period of time.” She charges that evaluations that attempt to bridge these approaches – using questionnaires to ask semi-open questions, with a basic statistical analysis of data – are less convincing in their evidence of either effectiveness or reasons for effectiveness. She laments that “there exists few evaluations of AVP workshops in community settings, and none [to date] that look at specialised

circumstances, including workshops run for mental health organisations or for young people”, thus, these are areas worthy of further investigation. This study, taking place in a community set-up in Gutu District, and targeting young people, would be a direct response to this clarion call. The study will also incorporate Halfman and Couzij’s suggestions above to gain insights on the impact of AVP from the participants themselves.

3.9 AVP in Zimbabwe

As noted earlier in this chapter, a number of Zimbabweans encountered AVP programmes in their individual capacity mostly outside the country. Some, including myself, attended all three levels of AVP training and became AVP Facilitators. However, as a programme, AVP was only introduced in Zimbabwe by South African-based NGO Phaphama Initiatives in May 2008. It was designed as a crash programme for 20 participants seconded by NGOs and church based organisations. May 2008 was the peak of politically motivated violence, mainly perpetrated by youths, so AVP was offered as a mitigating programme.

Unlike the accepted AVP model and methodology explained above in Section 3.3, the 20 participants were trained from AVP Basic to AVP Training for Facilitators – all three levels – in the same week (in six consecutive days). The reason for this was pragmatic – the prevailing situation was deteriorating, and there was no guarantee that another chance to safely bring participants together would avail itself soon. As such, the concepts of experiential learning and reflection, which are considered critical and are indeed the embodiment of the uniqueness of AVP were, unfortunately, limited. In the end, the training produced ‘half-baked’ AVP facilitators who could not initiate any training initiatives of their own to promote the programme. This study therefore comes with an added potential to create a new breed of AVP facilitators who will undergo the training process in its accepted format.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter attempts to trace the origins and development of AVP from a prison setting to a widely accepted non-violence programme throughout the world. Although literature about AVP is still difficult to find, especially on AVP evaluation, an attempt has been made to highlight the evaluations that have been undertaken so far. Judging by the evaluations available, this study will be unique in that save for Rwanda, all evaluations/research have so far targeted inmates in prisons. The research in Zimbabwe will be community based, and will therefore fill the gap confirmed by researchers such as Walrath (2001) and Tomlinson (2007). This study will also be alert to the deficits of academic rigour that they flagged in some of the evaluations.

CHAPTER FOUR: UNDERSTANDING CONFLICT, VIOLENCE AND PEACE

4.1 Introduction

There is a distinction between conflict and violence. Conflict is something natural. Everybody experiences conflicts, and every single day people may have many different conflicts of varying levels of intensity regardless of their age, sex or status. Conflict is part of life. Violence, however, is one way of dealing with conflict. Violence happens when conflict has been mismanaged or neglected, and when violence is accepted and seen as a legitimate way of responding to conflicts within the society or culture. This chapter attempts to clarify this distinction by looking at the inter-relatedness of conflict and violence, and how they are intricately linked to the existence of peace or lack of it.

Anchored on Johan Galtung's pioneering work, this chapter begins by exploring the concept of conflict. It follows this by exploring violence as a phenomenon, focusing on empirical studies by leading scholars such as Galtung and Stathis Kalyvas. The chapter then follows this by exploring the concept of peace. The chapter concludes by exploring the concept peacebuilding, drawing from the ideas of John Paul Lederach that were influenced by Galtung. These concepts and theoretical frameworks were used as lenses to understand the dynamics of conflict and violence as well as the pursuit for peace in post-independence Zimbabwe which provided the basis to explore AVP as a strategy to build peaceful communities. Where applicable, examples were drawn from the situation prevailing in Zimbabwe, particularly in Gutu district where this research took place.

4.2 Understanding Conflict

The concept of conflict has been defined in many ways by different scholars in various disciplines. Wallensteen (2002, p48) alludes to the fact that conflict contains a severe disagreement between at least two sides, where their demands cannot be met by the same

resources at the same time. This is an *incompatibility*. Positions are incompatible. There is some form of scarcity. Incompatibility appears to be the key to the existence of conflict. If there are no actions there is a latent conflict. According to Wallensteen, conflict consists of three components: action, incompatibility and actors. He combines them to arrive at what he terms a 'complete' definition of conflict as *"a social situation in which a minimum of two actors (parties) strive to acquire at the same moment in time an available set of scarce resources"* (italics emphasis by the author).

All societies, communities, organisations and interpersonal relationships experience conflict at one time or another in the process of day to day interactions. Moore (2003), like many other scholars, identifies three forms of conflict as follows:

- i. Latent conflicts that are characterised by underlying tensions that have not fully developed and have not escalated into a highly polarised conflict. Often, one or more parties, usually the stronger one, may not even be aware that a conflict or the potential for one exists.
- ii. Emerging conflicts, referring to disputes in which the parties are identified, the dispute is acknowledged and many issues are clear. However, a workable cooperative negotiation or problems-solving process has not developed. Emerging conflicts have a potential of escalating if a resolution or transformation procedure is not implemented.
- iii. Manifest conflicts referring to those in which the parties are engaged in an active and ongoing dispute. They have participated in violence and non-violence activities, or may have started to negotiate and reached an impasse.

The pursuit of incompatible goals espoused by Wallensteen and the forms of conflict by Moore that follow both affirm the theory of conflict propounded by Galtung, which is explained below and which this study follows.

4.2.1 Root causes of conflict

It is now widely agreed that the systematic frustration of human needs is a major cause of conflict. Grievances and feelings of injustice are likely to grow when individual and group needs for physical safety and wellbeing, access to political and economic participation, and cultural or religious expression are threatened or frustrated over long periods of time, especially when a group feels that it is being unfairly disadvantaged compared to other groups (Fischer, 1997; 2005; Peck, 1998; Galtung, 1996; 2004; Jeong, 2000). Peck notes that in such cases, communal groups often mobilise along cleavages, such as ethnic, religious or class lines to express their grievances and seek redress. This assertion resonates with Kalyvas' (2006) contention noted in Section 4.3 below, which also explains the growing discontent in Zimbabwe that led to the economic and political implosion.

Scholars generally agree that competition for scarce resources is at the core of most conflicts. In a world where resources are finite, their supply is often distributed unevenly, with dominant groups enjoying adequate satisfaction of these needs while non-dominant groups suffer privation. Underlying this assumption are the basic needs theories which posit that the satisfaction of basic needs is required for human development as well as the survival of human beings in both physical and emotional terms. As Jeong (2000, p70) notes, basic needs theories reject the priori assumption that violence originate in the very nature of humans or unconscious psychological dynamics. The needs provide factual, objective and rational criteria for analysing and evaluating an emergent social situation that may contain in its womb the potential for generating conflict. Peck (1998, p30-31) goes further to argue that many governments are too fragile, partisan, authoritarian or incompetent to accommodate the basic human needs of communal groups therefore utterly fail to meet their population's basic needs. "Often through a distortion of modes of governance, political authority has been concentrated in the hands of the dominant group or a coalition of dominant groups, who use the state as a means of maximising their own interests at the expense of others", she argues. Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF, with the support of war veterans and youth militias, exemplifies this.

Peck further points out that many contemporary conflicts are the current manifestation of historical grievances. Although led by modern political entrepreneurs who are also articulating modern grievances, she argues that their intensity is related to deep-rooted beliefs in a separate identity that was never completely extinguished by state policies of repression, eradication or homogenisation. Fischer (1997, p5) ascribes the term deep rooted conflict to refer to conflicts that are not based on negotiable interests and positions, but on underlying needs that cannot be compromised. Such conflicts, he says, can occur in any relationship where inequality exists and basic needs for identity and participation are frustrated. Severe political and economic repression often leaves a durable legacy of reverberating echoes of conflict.

In Zimbabwe, the effects of colonialism have always provided Robert Mugabe and ZANU-PF with arsenal to target minority whites in the name of redressing the injustices of the past. This is the discourse that was used in the chaotic and violent land reform exercise that began in 2000. It was also in the same spirit that the indigenisation programme was introduced in 2011, as evidenced by the rhetoric that accompanied it, mainly for political expediency towards the expiry of the inclusive government. This is in the face of what Peck groups under 'contemporary grievances' that include demands for greater political access and economic rights. She says demands for greater political rights can take many forms, ranging from the demand for greater participation in political decision making at a central level, to demands for equal civil rights, or simply to the demand for replacement of unpopular local officials or policies.

In Zimbabwe, such demands were at the core of the emergence of the MDC in 1999, along with other opposition political formations who were tired of ZANU-PF rule. Demands for greater economic rights may include a call for a larger share of public funds, improved working conditions, wealth, better education or other resources. These are issues on which civil society activism in Zimbabwe rested, and led to the coalition of civic groups and opposition political formations seeking the removal of Mugabe and ZANU-PF from power. As elaborated by Jeong (2000), in deep rooted conflict, inequity and economic power between different groups as well as incompatible ideological convictions generate conditions for polarisation and violence.

4.2.2. Galtung's model of conflict

In the late 1960s, Galtung proposed an influential model of conflict that encompasses both symmetric and asymmetric conflicts (Galtung, 1996; Miall et al., 1999). He suggested that conflict could be viewed as a triangle with *attitude* (A), *behaviour* (B) and *contradiction* (C) at its vertices, as in Figure 4.1 below.

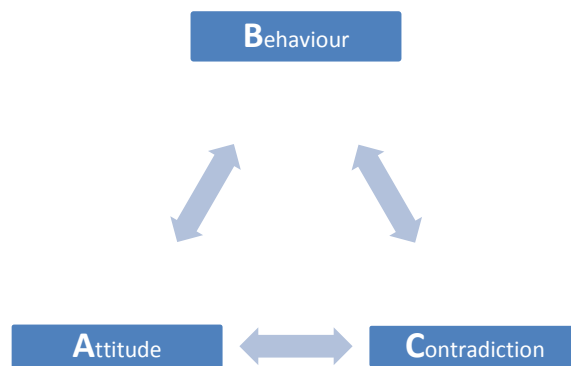


Figure 4.1 Galtung's ABC Triangle, adapted from Galtung (1996, p72)

According to Galtung (1996), this triangle can be used to trace and identify flows in all six directions, starting anywhere. Thus, a contradiction may be experienced as a frustration, where a goal is being blocked by something, leading to aggressiveness as an attitude, and aggression as a behaviour. Contradiction refers to the underlying conflict situation which includes the actual or perceived 'incompatibility of goals' between the conflict parties generated a mismatch between social values and social structure. According to Miall et al. (1999, p14), who reinforce Galtung's thoughts, in a symmetric conflict the contradiction is defined by the parties, their interests and the clash of interests between them. In an asymmetric conflict, it is defined by the parties, their relationship and the conflict of interest in the relationship. Again in agreement with Galtung they further assert that attitude include the parties perceptions and misperceptions of each other and of themselves. These can be positive or negative, but in violent conflicts parties tend to develop demeaning stereotypes of each other, and attitudes are often influenced by emotions such as fear, anger, bitterness and hatred. Behaviour, the third component, can include cooperation and coercion, gestures signifying conciliation or

hostility. Violent conflict behaviour is characterised by threats, coercion and destructive attacks that are physical or verbal.

Galtung (1996) postulates that direct violence can be stopped by changing conflict behaviours, structural violence by removing structural contradictions and injustices, and cultural violence by changing attitudes. In the ABC triangle, he combines A and C (attitudes and contradictions) and refers to them as the 'root causes' of conflict. Many other scholars in the discipline of peace studies accent to this categorisation, and agree that peace can only be achieved when the root causes of conflict have been addressed. This is examined in detail in Section 4.4 below.

4.3 Understanding violence

Violence is a multifaceted social phenomenon which can be defined very broadly and beyond just physical violence. From the onset, I would like to state that there are many theories of violence that have been proffered in the fields of criminology, sociology and psychology. It is not the aim of this research to dwell on these. Instead, this research will limit itself to violence in its relation to conflict and peace, basing facts on the politically motivated violent actions that were witnessed in Zimbabwe in general, and specifically in Wards 1 and 2 of Gutu district during the 2008 elections and the period soon preceding it. These acts of violence were mainly perpetrated by the youths.

Luc Reichler (2001, p4) defines violence as a situation in which the quantitative and qualitative life expectancy of individuals or communities is intentionally reduced. Indicators of this are the average life expectancy of the members of a group, infant mortality, daily calorie intake, access to schooling, and so on. At a very basic level, violence is the deliberate infliction of harm on people (Kalyvas, 2006, p19). Johan Galtung (2006, p197) aptly says violence means harming and/or hurting. He sees violence as avoidable insults to basic human needs, and more generally, to life – lowering the real level of needs satisfaction below what is potentially possible. Galtung further argues that threats of violence are also violence.

According to Kalyvas (2006, p20), intentional and direct physical violence takes several forms, including pillage, robbery, vandalism, arson, forcible displacement, kidnapping, hostage taking, detention, beating, torture, mutilation, rape, and desecration of dead bodies. It should be noted that all of these aspects were experienced at the peak of politically motivated violence that rocked Zimbabwe in 2008. Kalyvas postulates that political actors use violence to achieve multiple, overlapping, and sometimes mutually contradictory goals. These include intimidation, demoralisation, polarisation, demonstration, radicalisation of the public, publicity, the improvement of group morale, the enforcement or disruption of control, the mobilisation of forces and resources, financing, the elimination of opposing forces, the sanction of cooperation with the enemy, and, repression. To a very large extent this list resembles the uses of violence in contemporary Zimbabwe, especially during periods of elections, which Kalyvas refers to as 'coercive violence'. Coercive violence is intended to shape the behaviour of a targeted audience by altering the expected value of particular actions – elections in the case of Zimbabwe. In such a situation violence performs a communicative function with a clear deterrent dimension, for example by making sure that the general populace would be afraid of attending political gatherings or expressing their conscience freely. Kalyvas argues that coercive violence may be strategic and tactical at the same time. Targeting a person to eliminate a particular risk (e.g. information leaks) is tactical, but using this act of violence so as to deter others from engaging in similar behaviour is strategic. The targeting of people known or suspected to be canvassing for votes for a particular political party was a common practice in Zimbabwe, especially during election periods. In fact, this type of coercive violence can be traced back to the period since the beginning of the liberations struggle, and was done by all the warring sides, with specific targets often branded as "sellouts" (Sachikonye, 2011). The main objective of coercive violence is to instill fear. Kalyvas further argues that although the underlying logic of coercive violence is similar across contexts, its form varies depending on aims and local cultures. Targets can be prominent local personalities or weak and marginal people, and the intensity of their victimisation varies considerably. He concludes that although violence may fulfil a variety of functions, the instrumental use of coercive violence to generate compliance constitutes a central aspect of the phenomenon.

Another dimension that Kalyvas (2006, p28-31) brings up is the production of violence. He says violence can be produced unilaterally (by one actor, usually the state) or bilaterally/multilaterally (by two or more competing actors). The main difference between unilateral and multilateral settings is that strategic interaction is more critical in the latter. The intersection of aims and production of violence generates four ideal types of mass political violence: state terror, genocide and mass deportation, civil war violence, and a type he calls 'reciprocal extermination' as in Table 4.1 below.

Aims of Violence: Political Actor Intends to Govern the Population Targeted		
Production of Violence	Yes	No
Unilateral	State terror	Genocide and mass deportation
Bilateral (or multilateral)	Civil war violence	Reciprocal extermination

Table 4.1. A Typology of Mass Political Violence, adapted from Kalyvas, (2006, p29)

While reiterating that coercion is a common feature where there is state terror, Kalyvas stresses the fact that state terror is exercised against a population that lacks organised alternatives. On genocide, he points out that it is premeditated, purposive, and centrally planned, while it aims towards extermination rather than coercion. Kalyvas defines reciprocal extermination as a type of violence that emerges in multilateral, interstate or intrastate contexts where neither political actor intends to govern the population it targets for violence. Kalyvas pays special attention to civil war violence, which is produced by at least two political actors who enjoy partial and/or overlapping monopolies of violence. Unlike the unilateral production of violence, targeted individuals often have the possibility of shifting their support and resources to competing actors, he argues. This feature turns violence into a process with obvious strategic implications. He posits that first, political actors need to anticipate their opponents' strategy and the likely effects of their violence on civilians. Second, violence is not only state terror multiplied by two: whereas the violence under unilateral provision is more or

less a direct expression of the intentions of the actor initiating it, in civil wars it reflects the strategic interaction of at least two actors that are simultaneously preset on the same territory.

Although Zimbabwe did not experience a civil war per se in the period that led to this study, the violence that engulfed the country in 2008, which is in itself characteristic of the several election periods since independence but particularly prominent since the emergence of MDC as a formidable political force, had many characteristics of civil war situations. This phenomenon was characterised by physical violence against non-combatants in rural communities such as Gutu District which ZANU-PF sought to control. To that end, coercive violence was employed to obtain popular compliance as a strategy.

Brewer (2010, p12) brings up the concept of 'communal violence' and posits that it has three qualities: it involves the mobilisation of group identities; its perpetrators and victims act as proxies for group interests; and it is imbedded in the social structure in which it takes place. He argues that communal violence is the preferred term because it makes clear that the perpetrators and victims are not random individuals who through chance circumstance end up in incidents of violence. He says accidental circumstance may explain how and why the communal violence broke out there and then, but how and why these perpetrators and victims were involved is not accidental but linked to their identity as group members. This proposition resonates with the case of Gutu district, particularly in Ward 1 and Ward 2 where this study was conducted. Incidents of violence took place among people who lived in the same community and knew each other so well as to easily trace links and identities to known political party affiliations. This way, easily recognisable group identities that defined the 'enemy' were formed.

Brewer further argues that embedding communal violence in the social structure in which it takes place enables us to focus on the influence of particular kinds of social structure to explain the violence, rather than on the effect of different kinds of political regime or other political explanations. It draws attention to the effect of social processes like 'race', structural inequality, colonialism, ethnicity and religion, and to the impact of globalisation in reinforcing

violent conflicts over social cleavages. It thus, incorporates Galtung's notion of structural and cultural violence explained in Section 4.3.1 below.

Brewer's proposition that communal violence involves the mobilisation of group identities, and that its perpetrators and victims act as proxies for group interests conforms with what Kalyvas (2006) refers to as 'cleavage and agency'. Kalyvas (2006, p365-6) uses the centre – periphery theory to postulate that conflicts and violence 'on the ground' often seem more related to local issues rather than the 'master cleavage' that drives the violence at the national level. Thus, the master cleavage influences the local cleavage at which violence plays out. Because of the dominance of national-level cleavages, Kalyvas argues, grassroots dynamics are often perceived merely as their local manifestation where local actors are seen only as local replicas of central actors. In that regard, he further argues that conflicts and violence 'on the ground' often seem more related to the local issues rather than the 'master cleavage' that drives it at the national level, leading him to postulate that areas consumed by the same conflict can exhibit substantial variation in violence. This is often the case despite the fact that local cleavages are usually framed in the discursive terminology of the master cleavage. Kalyvas concludes that individuals and local communities involved in violence tend to take advantage of the prevailing situation to settle private and local conflicts whose relation to the goals of the belligerents is often tenuous. Under normal circumstances, he says, these conflicts are regulated and do not result in violent conflict. This offers an insight into the periodic prevalence of politically motivated violence in Zimbabwe which often erupts during election periods. Kalyvas (2006, p371) concurs with the notion that the introduction of national electoral politics exacerbates local factionalism, and often party labels are appropriated within the village to serve ends that often have only local significance and little or nothing to do with the parties as national institutions. Local cleavages matter as they define the targets and intensity of violence.

Another concept proffered by Kalyvas (2006, p383) that expands the ideas of cleavages and agency discussed above is 'alliance'. Alliance entails a process of convergence of interests via a transaction between supra-local and local actors, whereby the former supply the latter with external muscle, thus allowing them to win decisive advantage over local rivals. This serves the

purpose of local mobilisation alliances. Kalyvas expatiates this by pointing-out that political actors external to the community play a critical role in the conversion of local and private conflicts into violence because they provide incentives without which local actors would be unable or unwilling to undertake violence. This encourages local actors to make a conscious decision to ally with outsiders. This gives insight and credence to a situation where external actors influenced and sustained formation of youth alliances that were the main perpetrators of violence in Wards 1 and 2 of Gutu District in Zimbabwe. Just like in any other community, it is normal for political party formations to have youth wings. In Gutu, the number of trained youth militias aligned to ZANU-PF progressively increased since 2001 when the National Youth Service (NYS) training started, but they were too few to involve themselves and sustain violent activities in the communities that they lived. The politically motivated violence that broke-out after the defeat of ZANU-PF in the March 2008 general election was unprecedented in that in previous elections suspected members of opposition political parties were coerced through mere threats of violence. In 2008 ZANU-PF youths were encouraged and supervised by the liberation war veterans and the members of the Zimbabwe National Army to set up political 'bases' in their communities where they would operate from. The youths were then requested to compile names of known and suspected members of opposition political parties in their communities who were to be targeted for violence and extortion. It is at these 'bases' that their targets would be brought, or would 'surrender' themselves to be beaten or tortured. ZANU-PF politicians helped to sustain these bases by providing food, beer and cigarettes – often luxuries to unemployed and impoverished youths. This scenario fits very well into Kalyvas' theory of external actors playing a critical role in the conversion of local and private conflicts into violence by providing incentives without which local actors would be unable or unwilling to undertake, as described above.

4.3.1 Galtung's theory of violence

Johan Galtung (1990; 1996; 1998; 1999; 2000; 2004; and in many other publications), one of the founding scholars of the discipline of peace studies whose pioneering work influences much of the contemporary work done so far, distinguishes between direct and indirect violence.

Galtung (1998) elaborates this distinction in a simplified way by describing direct violence as visible while indirect violence is invisible.

Direct violence

Direct violence refers to physical or verbal abuse, or threat of abuse. This is the most commonly identified and visible form of violence as it is a direct act. It is visible as behaviour seen in a person, group or organisation that carries out the act of violence. It includes physical as well as emotional, verbal and psychological violence. Galtung (1999) argues that because it is the most common, it is also the most feared. All the acts of violence that were perpetrated by youth militias in Gutu district during election periods, just like in many other parts of Zimbabwe, fit in this categorisation. The tension, polarisation and general culture of fear being experienced in Zimbabwe can be traced back to the acts of direct violence that the people experienced. The ending or prevention of direct violence results in what Galtung calls negative peace, a concept explained in Section 4.6 below.

Structural violence

Galtung coined the term structural violence as a result of fieldwork in Zimbabwe during colonial rule, then known as Rhodesia. He became increasingly aware of the limitations of defining peace as the absence of violence. He noticed that while there was little direct violence by the colonial authorities against the native population, there were structures in society which had significant negative effects on them:

In a certain sense, there was harmony, cooperation and integration. But was this peace? With the blatant exploitation, with blacks being denied most opportunities for development given to whites, with flagrant inequality whereby white were making about twenty times as much for exactly the same job as blacks? Not to mention the basic fact that this was still a white colony (Galtung, 1985, p145)

In agreeing with Galtung, Jeong (2000) and Harris (2003) also elaborate that structural violence describes the structures which maintain the dominance of one group at the centre of power over another group at the periphery. At a practical level for those at the periphery, it can mean low wages, landlessness, illiteracy, poor health, limited and or non-existent political representation or legal rights and, in general, limited control over their lives. If those that suffer structural violence resist or try to change it, they may be met with direct violence. The exploitation, neglect and exclusion, which are features of structural violence, kill slowly by comparison with direct violence but kill vastly more people. Galtung (1999) argues that structural violence may be as bad as, or worse than, direct violence. As Paulo Freire (1998, p37) aptly posits, oppression can be camouflaged in a “situation in which one person exploits another person or hinders his or her pursuit of self affirmation as a responsible person. Such a situation in itself constitutes violence, even when sweetened by false generosity, because it interferes with the individual’s ontological and historical vocation to be more fully human”. In that sense, oppression as a form of structural violence can be maintained by manipulation of relations.

Raftopoulos and Mlambo (2004, p viii-xxii) confirms the existence of structural violence in Zimbabwe, which he traces back to “gross inequalities inherited from settler colonial rule”. He also notes the continuing legacy of structural inequality in the sphere of the economy after independence in 1980, and highlights a particularly damaging feature of the ruling party’s response to the crisis in Zimbabwe which he refers to as “the state’s overarching articulation of an intolerant, selective and racialised nationalist discourse”. This is corroborated by Muzondidya, (2004), who notes that Colonial Rhodesia, like most colonies of the region, was a fragmented or bifurcated state in which race, colour and historic origin determined one’s access to resources and position in society. Muzondidya’s analysis of the land reform process after independence led him to conclude that the post-independence order has not led to the disappearance of the old segmented, racial and ethnic order. He argues that since its defeat in the constitutional referendum of 2000, the Zimbabwean government abandoned both its conciliatory political approach and the inclusive nationalism of the early period and adopted a radical, exclusive nationalist stance, coupled with the extensive deployment of violence which

resulted in a serious polarisation of society. Such discrimination, as Jeong (2000, p20-21) explains, results in denying people important rights such as economic opportunities, social and political equality and a sense of autonomy and freedom. The gross violation of human rights and dignity prevents the optimum development of each human being. If human beings are denied decent education, housing, an opportunity to work and freedom to express themselves, they become marginalised. Conditions for social fragmentation are created by a lack of equity and freedom. In some societies, an oppressive structure is maintained simply by its ability to put down revolts and other types of challenges. Organised struggle against repression is very difficult under tight social control and fear of prosecution. This explanation succinctly reflects the situation that prevailed in Zimbabwe between 2000 and 2008, a period of unprecedented economic downturn and political repression, as described in Section 1.2 and Section 2.3 of this thesis which discuss the context in Zimbabwe.

Cultural Violence

According to Galtung (1996, p196), cultural violence refers to those aspects of culture that are exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, science and other symbols that can be used to justify or legitimise direct or structural violence. He postulates that “cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel right – or at least not wrong.” He proffers that the study of cultural violence highlights the way in which the act of direct violence and the fact of structural violence are legitimised and thus rendered acceptable in society. Galtung says that one way cultural violence works is by changing the moral colour of an act from wrong to right or at least to being acceptable. Cultural violence teaches, preaches, admonishes and dulls people into submission and acceptance of exploitation and inequality. Such a situation favours those that benefit from the system, especially the ruling elite who view any challenge to their privileges as promoting instability or ‘anarchy’. Indeed, a major form of cultural violence indulged in by the ruling elites is to blame the victims of structural violence to protect the status quo.

Jeong (2000, p75) highlights cultural violence by using the example of gender. He argues that violence against women represents a form of social control that limits their ability in every

aspect of life. “While both women and men are victims of sexism, racism, human rights abuses and poverty, there are particular types of violence that afflict women more than men”, he says. He blames this on patriarchy, which he says is the central concept that determines virtually all human enterprises while illustrating the historical and social dimensions of women’s exploitation and oppression. It represents a set of beliefs and values supported by dominant social and political institutions that are backed by the threat of punishment, as Galtung argues above.

In Zimbabwe, besides the institution of patriarchy that generally favours men, a culture of violence was systematically institutionalised among the youths who underwent training under the banner of National Youth Service, and to them, committing violence in the name of patriotism became ‘acceptable’. Patriotism was narrowed down to protecting the interests of ZANU-PF and President Robert Mugabe against any forms of dissent or political opposition, perceived or real.

4.3.2 Relating Direct, Structural and Cultural violence

Galtung (1996, p199) refers to the relationship between direct, structural and cultural violence as the ‘violence triangle’, with direct violence on top, standing on the ‘feet’ of structural and cultural violence. He points out that standing the triangle on its direct violence head yields the image of structural and cultural sources of ‘direct violence’, as shown below in Figure 4.2.

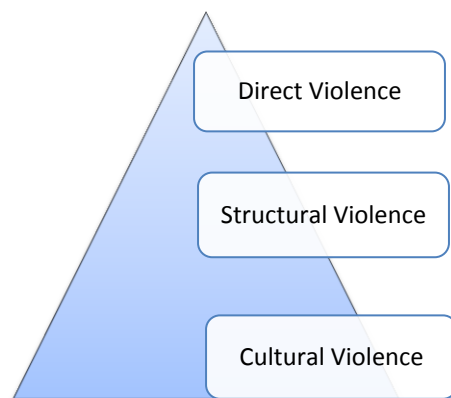


Figure 4.2, Galtung’s Violence Triangle (adapted from Miall et al, 1999, p14)

In this typology, Galtung (1996, p199-200) emphasises that direct violence is an *event*; structural violence is a *process* with ups and downs; cultural violence is an *invariant*, a '*permanent*' remaining essentially the same for long periods, given the slow transformations of basic culture [Italicised emphasis by Galtung]. He further explains the violence triangle as follows: at the bottom is the steady flow through time of cultural violence, a substratum from which the other two can derive their nutrients; in the next stratum the rhythms of structural violence are located – patterns of exploitation build up, wear out or torn down, preventing consciousness formation and preventing organisation against exploitation and repression; and at the top is the stratum of direct violence with the whole record of direct cruelty perpetrated by human beings against each other and against other forms of life and nature in general. It is important to note that to Galtung, a causal flow from cultural, via structural to direct violence can be identified – a scenario that expatiates on his ABC-triangle explained earlier in this chapter. He concludes that violence can start at any corner in the direct-structural-cultural violence triangle and is easily transmitted to other corners. With the violent structure institutionalised and the violent culture internalised, direct violence also tends to become institutionalised, repetitive, ritualistic, like a vendetta. Training youths in alternatives to violence, it is hoped, contributes to efforts to break this triangular structure and build a peaceful Zimbabwe.

4.4 Conflict management, resolution and transformation

4.4.1 Conflict management

While various types of peaceful settlement can be found throughout history, the 20th century observed a growing awareness of their significance and institutionalisation of conflict management processes. Jeong (2000) traces these back to the League of Nations Covenant of 1920 which stipulates the obligation to submit disputes to arbitration, judicial settlement or to enquiry by the Council. This was followed by the United Nations (UN) Charter after the Second World War. Chapter VI of the UN Charter calls for peaceful settlement of disputes with the use of a wide variety of methods, including negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration

and judicial settlement. It should be noted that during this period, most of the violent conflicts were taking place between nations, a phenomena that has since changed since the end of the Cold War because conflicts are now more prevalent within states (Peck, 1998; Wallenstein, 2002).

Christopher Moore (2003, p6) recognises that people in conflict have a number of procedural options to choose from to resolve their differences, and came up with a continuum of conflict Management and resolution approaches as shown in Table 4.2 below.


Private decision making by parties				Private third-party decision making		Legal (public), authoritative third-party decision making		Extralegal coerced decision making	
Conflict avoidance	Informal discussion and problem solving	Negotiation	Mediation	Administrative decision	Arbitration	Judicial decision	Legislative decision	Nonviolent direct action	Violence
Increased coercion and likelihood of win-lose outcome 									

Table 4.2. Continuum of Conflict Management and Resolution Approaches, adapted from Moore (2003, p7)

Regarding this continuum, Moore (ibid, p7-11) says disagreements and problems can arise in almost any relationship, and the majority of these are usually handled informally. He says initially people may *avoid* each other because they dislike the discomfort that accompanies conflict, they do not consider the issues to be important, they lack the power to force a change, they do not believe the situation can be improved, or they are not yet ready to negotiate.

When avoidance is no longer possible or tensions become so strong that the parties cannot let the disagreement continue, Moore says that they usually resort to *informal problem-solving discussions* to resolve their differences. When this fails they would pursue a more formal and structured means of voluntarily reaching an agreement. This is where *negotiation* comes in, which he describes as a bargaining relationship between parties who have a perceived or actual conflict of interest. If negotiation fails, the actors may need some assistance from a third party outside of the dispute for a *mediation* process. Moore says *mediation* is an extension or

elaboration of the negotiation process that involves the intervention of an acceptable third party who has limited (or no) authoritative decision-making power. The person assists the principal parties to voluntarily reach a mutually acceptable settlement of the issues in dispute.

Beyond negotiation and mediation, as shown in Moore's continuum, there are a number of approaches that decrease the personal control the people involved have over the dispute outcome and increase the involvement of external decision makers, often resulting in win-lose situations. These include an *administrative decision* where a third party who has some distance from the dispute but is not necessarily impartial may make a binding decision for the parties in dispute. Along the continuum is *arbitration*, which Moore refers to as a generic term for a voluntary process in which people in conflict request for the assistance of an impartial and neutral third party to make a decision for them regarding contested issues. When these fail, a legal route may be pursued. A *judicial approach* involves the intervention of an institutionalised and socially recognised authority in a dispute, whose outcome would be binding. The next along the continuum is the *legislative approach* which is a way of solving a conflict by recourse to law. Moore concedes that it is usually employed for larger disputes affecting broad populations yet it may have significant utility for individuals.

Finally, there is the *extra-legal approach* in Moore's continuum, such as *nonviolent action* which involves a person or group committing acts or abstaining from acts so that an opponent is forced to behave in a desired manner. On this Moore cites Gene Sharp's strategies, which are explored in depth in Part Two of this study. Moore's last approach to dispute resolution is *violence* or *Physical coercion* where concessions are sought by force. Conceptual issues of violence are explored above in this chapter with examples from Zimbabwe in general, and Gutu district in particular.

While this research recognises and appreciates the whole spectrum of conflict management strategies given above, it will focus more on conflict resolution and transformation which are specific to the study. This is because the study itself leans towards a bottom-up approach as espoused by Galtung, (1996; 2000; 2004), Lederach (1997), van Tongeren (2005), Fisher (1997;

2005), among others. This is necessitated by the communal nature of the violence that was experienced in the area under study.

4.4.2 Conflict resolution

Conflict resolution is quite a recent concept, and literature on its systemic study is still being generated. The definitions here will follow Peter Wallensteen's work, which in itself is the extension of the work of Galtung. Wallensteen (2002, p8) defines conflict resolution as a situation *"where the conflicting parties enter into an agreement that solves their central incompatibilities, accept each other's continued existence as parties, and cease all violent action against each other"* (italics emphasis by the author). He goes on to emphasise that conflict resolution is something that necessarily comes after conflict. However, Wallensteen also warns of the limitations to conflict resolution by pointing out that it is not necessarily identical to peace. He says conflict resolution is more than the limited definition of peace as the absence of war. He conforms to Galtung's idea that there are broader understandings of what peace is, such as the presence of cooperation, justice and integration. Galtung refers to this as 'positive peace', which is explained in detail in Section 4.6 below. Along the same lines, Miall et al. (1999) define conflict resolution as a more comprehensive term which implies that the deep-rooted sources of conflict are addressed and resolved. This implies that behaviour is no longer violent, attitudes are no longer hostile, and the structure of the conflict has been changed.

Wallensteen posits that conflict resolution finds itself at a bridge between a very narrow concept of peace (no war) and a very broad one (justice) but a broader international understanding of the concept is developing. It contributes to pushing the concept further in the direction of justice, not simply cessation of violence.

Wallensteen further asserts that central to conflict resolution is the task to achieve a change in the direction of the flow of events so that the escalation is turned into de-escalation, and polarisation into positive interaction. This assertion fits the context of violence and polarisation prevalent in Zimbabwe, and particularly so among the youths who are often at the forefront of perpetrating politically instigated violence. If 'positive interaction' is achieved among the

youths in Gutu district in which this study will take place, then, to some measure, the training of youths in AVP would have contributed to conflict resolution. This conforms to what Lederach (1997) refers to as 'relationship building', which suggests that training is not solely concerned with increasing an individual's capacity and skill, but seeks to develop and build relationships in and across the lines of the division in the context of a protracted conflict. Also in the same direction, Wallensteen stresses the importance of 'establishing dialogue', a strategy that will be explored further below in Galtung's transcend method, as well as in Fischer's Interactive Conflict Resolution method that follows.

4.4.3 Conflict transformation

Conflict transformation includes the process, action and approaches which seek to constructively address the conflict, dealing with the attitudes and behaviours of the parties, as well as the contradictions – the root causes and underlying structures and dynamics – of the conflict through peaceful means, using empathy, non-violence and creativity. It is described as an approach that addresses the structural realities of inequality, rights, and justice, and aims to transform violence and destruction into constructive social change. Conflict transformation is the process which leads to the development of a positive constructive outcome of the conflict, helping the parties to move beyond, to transcend the conflict by ensuring that goals of all parties are respected and their basic needs and rights are upheld (Galtung, 1996; Lederach, 1997; Wallensteen, 2002; Brand-Jacobsen, 2004; Miall et al., 1999; Miall, 2004). The emphasis here is on 'process' rather than a single act. For conflict transformation to be sustainable and effective it must address all the levels and manifestations of the conflict, including the root causes.

The Institute for Multi-track Diplomacy acknowledges the strong bias towards systemic change, and defines conflict transformation as follows:

Conflict transformation refers to the process of moving from conflict-habituated systems to peace systems. This process is distinguished from the more common term of

conflict resolution because of its focus on systems change. Social conflicts that are deep-rooted or intractable get these names because the conflict has created patterns that have become part of the social system. With the social system as the unit of analysis, the term 'resolution' becomes less appropriate. Transforming deep-rooted conflicts is only partly about 'resolving' the issues of the conflict – the central issue is systemic change or transformation. Systems cannot be 'resolved,' but they can be transformed, thus we use the term conflict transformation (<http://www.imtd.org/transform.html>)

Relating it to conflict resolution, Lederach (1997, p82-83) says conflict transformation “goes beyond the resolution of issues”, and locates it descriptively and prescriptively across four interdependent dimensions – personal, relational, structural, and cultural. He goes on to qualify 'descriptively', saying transformation refers to the empirical impact of conflict – in other words, to the effects that social conflict produces. At a prescriptive level, transformation implies deliberate intervention to effect change. Lederach posits that at both descriptive and prescriptive levels, transformation is operative at all four dimensions. The *personal* dimension refers to the changes effected in, and desired for the individual. From a descriptive perspective, transformation suggests that individuals are affected by conflict both negatively and positively, for example, in terms of their physical wellbeing, self esteem, emotional stability, capacity to perceive accurately, and spiritual integrity. Prescriptively, transformation represents deliberate intervention to minimise the destructive effects of social conflict and maximise its potentialities for personal growth at personal, physical and spiritual levels.

Lederach's *relational* dimension depicts the changes effected in, and desired for the relationship. Descriptively, transformation refers to the effect of conflict on relational patterns of communication and interaction. Prescriptively, transformation represents intentional intervention that minimises poorly functioning communication and maximises mutual understanding, and that brings to the surface the relational fears, hopes and goals of the people involved. The structural *dimension* reinforces Galtung's structural violence, and highlights the underlying causes of conflict and the patterns and changes it brings about in social structures. In this case, transformation at the descriptive level refers to the analysis of

social conditions that give rise to conflict and the way that conflict effects change in existing decision-making structures and patterns. At a prescriptive level transformation represents deliberate intervention to provide insight into underlying cause and social conditions that create and foster violent expressions of conflict, and to openly promote non-violent mechanisms that reduce adversariness, minimise and ultimately eliminate violence. Lederach's *cultural* dimension is also buttressed on Galtung's cultural violence. At a descriptive level, transformation is interested in how conflict affects and changes in cultural patterns of a group, and how those accumulated and shared patterns affect the way people in that setting understand and respond to conflict. Prescriptively, transformation seeks to understand the cultural patterns that contribute to the rise of violent expressions of conflict, and to identify, promote and build on the resources and mechanisms within a cultural setting for constructively responding to and handling conflict.

Zimbabwe's multi-layered and multi dimensional conflict, as elaborated in Chapter Two of this study, fits Lederach's conflict transformation prognosis and therapy in its descriptive and prescriptive levels, which also reinforce Galtung's theory. The prescriptive levels described above also inform the AVP training and related interventions in this study.

Building on Galtung's work, Miall et al. (1999, p156-7) outline five generic 'transformations' of protracted conflicts. First is *context transformation*, which recognises that conflicts are embedded in a social, regional and international context which is often critical to their continuation. Changes in the context may sometimes have more dramatic effects than changes within the parties or their relationships. Second is *structural transformation*, which recognises that the conflict structure is the set of actors, issues and incompatible goals or relationships which constitutes the conflict. If the root causes of the conflict lie in the structure of relationships within which the parties operate, then a transformation of this structure is necessary to resolve the conflict. Third is *actor transformation*, which recognises that parties may have to redefine directions, abandon or modify cherished goals and adopt radically different perspectives. This may come about through a change of actor, a change of leadership, a change in the constituency of the leader or adoption of new goals, values or beliefs. Fourth is

issue transformation which recognises that conflicts are defined by the conflicting positions parties take on issues. When they change their positions, or when issues lose salience or new one arise, the conflict is transformed. Fifth is *personal and group transformation*, which is a change of mindset among actors, such as offering reconciliation, or where an oppressive government accept their opponents into an inclusive government.

There is no single approach to conflict transformation. However, to be effective, Brand-Jacobsen (2004, p14) suggests that conflict transformation approaches and methodologies used in any context or situation should be:

- Meaningful to the people/participants involved in and affected by the conflict, not simply imported from outside the community/country or imposed from above.
- Practical, providing effective tools and resources for people to directly and actively engaged in working to address the conflict constructively.
- Participatory, involving people as the participants, actors and decision-makers, guiders and implementers in the actual process of transforming their conflicts.
- Rooted in the traditions, culture and people of the community (indigenous) and addressing the real needs of the people as identified by the people themselves.
- Integrated, comprehensive and holistic, effectively addressing all of the issues – including the ABCs of each party – and aspects of the conflict, with different aspects and steps/stages complementing, reinforcing and supporting each other, avoiding the pitfalls of fragmented, competing, and contradictory processes.
- Sustainable, not relying or dependent upon outside support and outside-driven processes and interference.
- Inspiring, providing people with confidence and hope in their ability and the ability of the process to overcome and transcend the conflict, transforming it constructively, and creating new opportunities and possibilities out of the conflict.

4.5 Models of conflict resolution and conflict transformation

4.5.1 Galtung's Transcend Method

Rooted in dialogue and third party actors to promote conflict transformation, the transcend method produces diagnosis of the roots of conflict, prognosis about what is happening and will happen in the future if nothing is done to modify the trends, and therapy perspectives on how conflicts can be transformed (Galtung, 1990; 1996;1999;2000;2004; Christie, et al. 2001). The transcend methods rests on two basic assumptions in dealing with both the ABC and the Violence triangles illustrated above. First, that people are more able to discuss a root problem when they sense a solution somewhere. Galtung metaphorically posits that a glimmer of light at the end of the tunnel makes it considerably easier for people to admit that they are in a tunnel. Second, is that if conflicting parties manage to develop a perspective on the transformation of the contradictions as root causes of conflict, then attitudes and behaviours would subsequently improve. Galtung emphasises *creativity* if positive transcendence is to be achieved.

To substantiate on creativity in dealing with conflict situations, Brand-Jacobsen (2004) says it is the ability to see things from different perspectives, to imagine various possible outcomes, and to come up with ideas for how conflicts can be transformed constructively, effectively and practically to meet the needs of all the parties involved. It may include coming up with a new, more positive compelling vision of an alternative to the violence and the current state of unresolved incompatibilities. It may also include helping the parties to be able to see different ways of achieving their goals, and how they can do more together than they can apart. If creativity is to be meaningful, Brand-Jacobsen suggests, it has to be rooted and grounded in respect to the parties, the issues, and the culture of the community, but with the ability to go beyond, to transcend and develop inclusive visions of peace which satisfy all the parties to the conflict (including the groups affected by the violence).

The transcend method is based on trained conflict practitioners meeting the parties in a conflict one-on-one in a conversation-style setting. Often, conflicting parties are wedded to their positions and tend to attribute everything wrong on their adversaries. They are basically blocked to any other way of viewing the situation. The transcend method uses dialogue and creativity in an effort to expand the spectrum of acceptable outcomes among conflicting parties. Beyond exacerbating conflicts or just compromising for the sake of peace, the method goes beyond by stimulating creativity and developing new perspectives through conversation-style dialogues.

Galtung (2004) postulates that the transcend method is underpinned on the processes of a third party encouraging disputing parties to refrain from calcifying their respective positions and moving them each toward new and creative perspectives on the problem. This is firstly done by probing and exploring the negative goals (fears) and positive goals (hopes). With optimum creativity, this will open cognitive space to new outcomes not envisioned by the parties. Such outcomes will relate to the range of goals seen by the parties. Allaying the fears and satisfying the hopes from a different angle. At this stage, positive outcomes are creatively enlarged to arrive at positive goals that overlap for both sides. Secondly, mutual acceptability is built by taking into account all kinds of objections and probing for sustainability of the new possibilities. Thirdly, parties would meet to negotiate the details of a transcending outcome, beyond a compromise. A new common goal that goes beyond (transcend) the original goals may be identified to cement the new positive relationship that emerges. Galtung warns us of the mistake of failing to take account the whole ABC triangle as fallacious. Conflict can only be transformed if all the issues in ABC are dealt with in a holistic way. Conflict transformation has a task to change the direction of the flow of events so that escalation is turned into de-escalation and polarisation into positive interaction. In such a positive transcendence conflict parties move from a lose-lose position to a win-win position. The diagram on Figure 4.3 below and the explanation that follows explains Galtung's model, as expatiated by Wallensteen (2002, p36-7).

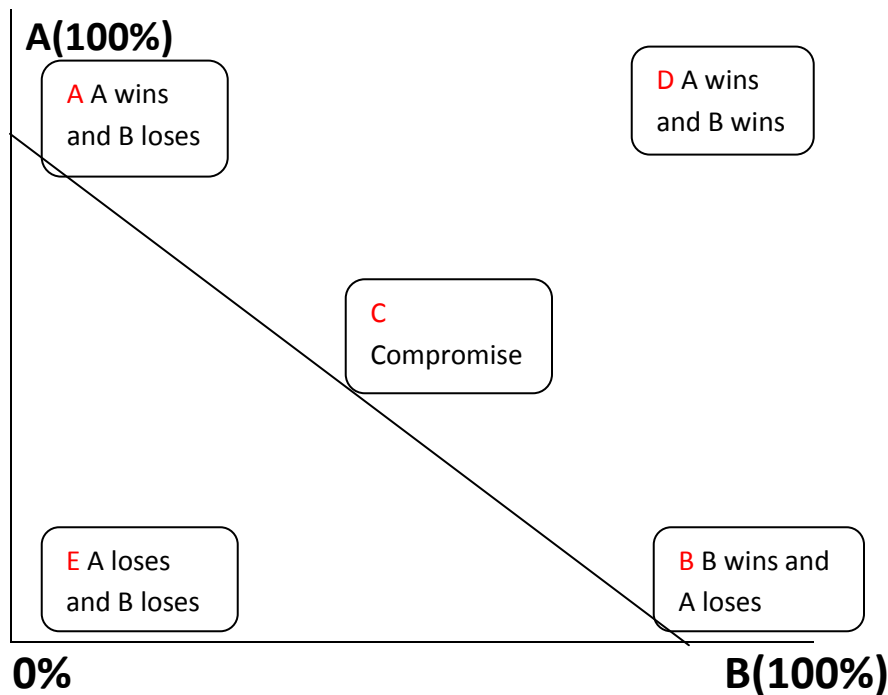


Figure 4.3, Galtung's basic diagram for elementary conflict transformation, adapted from Wallensteen, (2002, p37).

Figure 4.3 above shows actors A and B with contradictory goals. If A gets 100% of the available resources, there is nothing left for B, and vice versa. If either one wins, the resource finds itself at either point A or point B, respectively, meaning complete victory for one actor, and complete defeat for the other. It is an outcome an actor is not likely to abide by easily and voluntarily. Anything beyond these points may, however, be more acceptable and possible. Along the diagonal are positions at which the parties may meet. C marks a classical point, where the parties divide the resources 50-50, equally much (or little) for each side. The parties may also agree on going to point E, none of them takes anything, and the valuable may be handed to another actor, or are destroyed during the fighting. To the right and above the line is where Galtung's ideas lead: transcendence. The hope is to find points of type D, where both parties can get what they want at the same time. Creativity is needed for transcendence, as espoused by Brand-Jacobsen above. Conflict often stifles innovations and reduces the options perceived by the actors.

4.5.2 Ronald Fischer's Interactive Conflict Resolution (ICR)

Fischer (2005) recognises the unofficial facilitated interactions between antagonists in violent and protracted conflicts. In line with Lederach's model, he notes that such interventions are increasingly being directed towards all levels of actors, involving high-level influentials who have an ear of the leaderships, mid-level influentials from a variety of sectors who can influence policy-making and/or public opinion, and grassroots leaders who are essential in shaping public attitudes and peacebuilding initiatives on the ground. Fischer further borrows from John Burton's 'problem-solving conflict resolution' approach and refines it to develop what he refers to as Interactive Conflict Resolution (ICR). He defines ICR as "small group problem-solving discussions between unofficial representatives of identity groups or states engaged in destructive conflicts that are facilitated by an impartial third-party panel of social scientist practitioners". In a broader definition, he says these include "facilitated face-to-face activities in communication, training, education or consultation that promotes collaborative conflict analysis, problem solving and reconciliation among parties engaged in protracted conflict in a manner that addresses basic human needs and promote the building of peace, justice and equality" (Fischer, 2005, p2). He elaborates this by asserting that it could encompass, for example, dialogue at community level with neighbourhood residents from conflicting groups facilitated by skilled practitioners. It could also include training workshops in the concepts and skills of conflict analysis and resolution which bring together participants from contending collectivities in interactions that may only at times focus on the relations between their groups. In this case the third party may have generic knowledge of conflict but limited knowledge of the conflict from which the participants come.

In Fischer's model, third parties may organise inter-group educational activities, more structured and information laden, with the intent of broadening and informing the attitudes that members of the groups hold toward each other.

Characteristics of ICR

Firstly, it is quiet yet not a secret back-channel approach, which does not seek publicity but is quick to explain its purpose as an analytical exercise designed to increase mutual understanding of the conflict among unofficial influentials that might assist in charting broad directions toward peaceful outcomes. Secondly, it offers the leadership of the parties an informal, low-risk, neutral and non-committal forum, where people they trust can engage in an exploratory analysis geared to joint problem-solving which just might create some ideas that could point the way out of their destructive mess, while at the same time assuring that their basic needs are also addressed. Thirdly, it develops alternative forms of interaction which could be complementary to official negotiation and implementation. ICR emphasises that effective and constructive face to face interaction among representatives of the parties themselves is required to understand and resolve complex inter-communal and international conflicts. However, Fischer warns that ICR interventions are complex operations taking place in an even more complex field of conflict affected by countless conditions, dynamics and other forces that determine outcomes, all of which are subject to varying interpretations.

A central assumption of ICR is that constructive analysis and creative problem-solving between antagonists can be most satisfactorily implemented through the assistance of a skilled and knowledgeable third party. The method also takes a social psychological approach by asserting that relationship issues (misconceptions, unmet basic needs etc.) must be addressed and that the conflict will be resolved only by mutually acceptable solutions that are developed through joint interaction. The objectives of the discussions typically range from individual attitude change through the generation of innovative, mutually agreeable solutions to the conflict, to improvements in the wider relationship between the parties.

4.6 Understanding Peace

Peace is interpreted differently across cultures and social values with varying degrees of priority given to individual and communal well-being (Jeong, 2002, p12). It is however important to

highlight the fact that peace is most fulfilled in a place where opportunities for both psychological and material self-realisation are provided. Harmony and cooperation can be better maintained in a society that is supportive of freedom, economic equity and well-being, regardless of cultural, ethnic, racial or other differences.

4.6.1 Galtung's concept of negative peace and positive peace

Johan Galtung is regarded as the pathfinder of the concept of negative peace and positive peace. As stressed by Jeong (2000, p23), contrary to traditional definition of peace as the absence of war, the concept of peace is now broadly understood to include many situations that guarantee positive human conditions. Negative peace focuses on the absence of direct violence. As the absence of direct violence does not explain how to deal with unacceptable social order, changing human conditions has become an important goal for peace. Jeong pushes Galtung's proposition that peace is not only concerned about the overt control or reduction of violence but also about vertical social developments that are responsible for hierarchical relationships between people. The concept of positive peace, based on a broad understanding of social conditions, means the removal of structural violence beyond the absence of direct violence. Thus, peace ultimately has to be obtained by changing social structures that are responsible for death, poverty and malnutrition.

Galtung (1996, p32) pushes the frontiers of positive peace further by linking it to the direct, structural and cultural violence triangle and positive peace to each stratum. He says *direct positive peace* would consist of verbal and physical kindness, "good to the body, mind and spirit of self and other", addressed to all basic needs, survival, well-being, freedom and identity. Galtung says *structural positive peace* would substitute freedom for repression and equity for exploitation, and then reinforce this with dialogue instead of penetration, integration instead of segmentation, solidarity instead of fragmentation, and participation instead of marginalisation. Beyond this, Galtung proposes cultural positive peace which would substitute legitimization of violence with legitimization of peace – in religion, law and ideology; in language; in art and

science; in schools, universities and media – by building a positive peace culture. On this, Galtung concludes that “positive peace is the best protection against violence.”

Brewer (2010), just as Miall et al. (1999), also recognises Galtung’s pioneering distinction between negative peace and positive peace – the former being the absence of violence while the latter being the achievement of fairness, justice and social distribution. Peace is often perceived in the negative terms as the absence of something (violence) rather than an affirmation (of justice, fairness etc). According to Miall et al. 1999, the road to positive peace passes through justice, as shown on Figure 4.4 below.

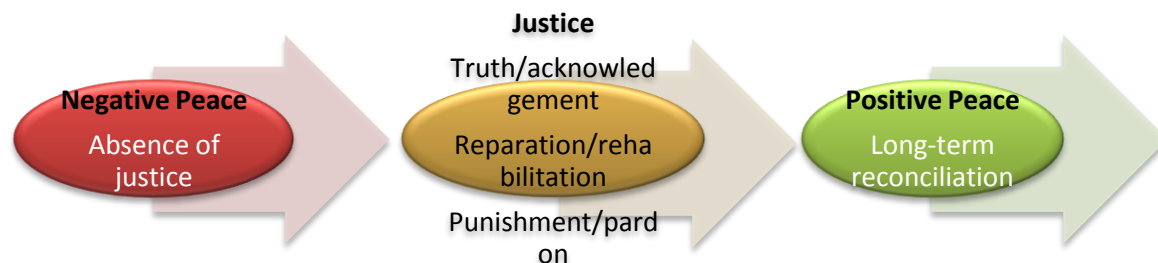


Figure 4.4. From negative to positive peace, via justice. Adapted from Miall et al. (1999).

This framework resonates with the concepts of peacebuilding discussed below.

4.7 The Concept of Peacebuilding

Scholars and practitioners have defined the concept of peacebuilding in a variety of ways, yet the concept remains the subject of some variance in definition, interpretation and execution. Experts however agree that Johan Galtung’s pioneering work through his 1975 essay “Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking and Peacebuilding” shaped the discourse of the concept, on which other scholars such as Lederach built their ideas on as is explained below in this chapter. While the concept was embraced by peace studies and conflict practitioners alike, it gained widespread usage at the end of the Cold War with the release of the then UN

Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's landmark report *An Agenda for Peace* (1992), that was broadened in 1995 (Tschirgi, 2011; Cockell, 1998; Wallensteen, 2002; Ryan, 1990; Fischer, 1997; Lederach, 1997, Murithi, 2009; Loode, 2011).

Galtung (1996, p271) refers to peacebuilding as “activities [that] can be identified with building structural and cultural peace.” He posits that the ability to identify the non-articulated structural conflicts throughout society is needed, not necessarily to solve all of the (which is almost impossible), but to recognise them, which is a very important step towards positive transformation. This means identifying exploitation, repression and marginalisation which he refers to as vertical structural violence, as well as groups that are too far apart to interact symbiotically, which he calls horizontal structural violence. He suggests that the vertical should be made more horizontal, and the horizontal more optical. This aspect is also underscored by Lederach (1997), who points out that while many of the fundamental conditions that generate conflict such as social and economic insecurity, political and cultural discrimination and human right violations are experienced at the grassroots level, the lines of group identity in contemporary conflict are often drawn vertically that horizontally. Galtung's work also influenced Ryan (1990, p206), says peacebuilding is the strategy which most directly tries to reverse the destructive process that accompany violence. This involves a shift of focus away from the warriors with whom peacekeepers are mainly concerned, to the attitudes and socio-economic circumstances of ordinary people.

More recently, Boutros-Ghali's report revitalised the UN vision for a multifaceted approach to peace. In addition to proposing wider initiatives in preventive diplomacy and peace enforcement, the report acknowledges the central roles of peacemaking, peacekeeping and “post-conflict peacebuilding.” The report defines peacebuilding as cooperative, developmental efforts to address underlying social, economic, cultural and humanitarian problems to build a foundation for peace and prevent further conflict. Boutros-Ghali proposes peacebuilding to be a medium-to long-term process of rebuilding war-affected communities.

Fischer (1997, p11) also acknowledges that peacebuilding is wide-ranging and describes it as an elastic concept as it refers to broad fundamental economic, political and social development

that fosters equity, freedom and justice among all people. He defines peacebuilding as “developmental and interactive activities, often facilitated by a third party, which are directed toward meeting the basic needs, de-escalating the hostility, and improving the relationship of parties engaged in protracted social conflict. He posits that peacebuilding refers to social change and economic development that reduces inequality and injustice, particularly efforts to improve the relationship between adversaries toward greater trust and cooperation, more accurate perceptions and attitudes, and more positive climate, and a stronger political will to deal constructively with their differences.

Mullenbach, in Mason and Meernik (2006, p56) defines peacebuilding as efforts by third party actors during crisis phases or post-conflict phases of intrastate disputes which are initiated to deal with the underlying problems or basic needs of the parties to the disputes to foster conditions that enhance the likelihood that the dispute will not escalate or re-escalate to military hostilities, and to enhance the likelihood that the dispute will be peacefully settled by the parties. There is a general acknowledgement that unlike peacemaking and peacekeeping, third party peacebuilding efforts actually address underlying grievances and injustices perceived by the parties. Once some or all of the underlying issues have been addressed, the likelihood that parties will seek a peaceful resolution of their differences is significantly higher. One of the main assumptions behind this argument is that since the underlying issues are normally multi-dimensional, the potential for building lasting peace is enhanced if the overall peacebuilding process is also multi-dimensional. In concurring with this line of argument Murithi (2009, p3) also emphasises the fact that at a fundamental level peacebuilding involves addressing root causes of the conflict and promotion of social and economic justice, but broadens it to include overseeing the process of demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) as well as security sector reform. Murithi goes on to suggest a peacebuilding spectrum that underscores what he terms micro-level peacebuilding. Micro-level peacebuilding refers to activities that take place at the sub-national level or at the level of local communities. He argues that grassroots and indigenous leadership structures have an important role to play in securing and sustaining peace. By this argument he is supporting

Galtung's ideas and Lederach's framework explained below. By training youths in AVP, these are also perspectives that this study promotes.

4.7.1 Lederach's framework for peacebuilding

Lederach (1997; 2001) generally concurs with Boutros-Ghali's proposal and framework for peacebuilding, which in itself should be seen as progression of Galtung's pioneering work. Lederach (1997, p20) proffers peacebuilding as a "comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates and sustains a full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships." He goes further to come up with a pyramidal model on Figure 4.5 below that locates the level of leadership and their specific peacebuilding roles in any conflict situation. He suggests different approaches to each level, which in the end combines the top – down approaches and the bottom – up approaches (Lederach, *ibid*: 38-55). These are also considered below.

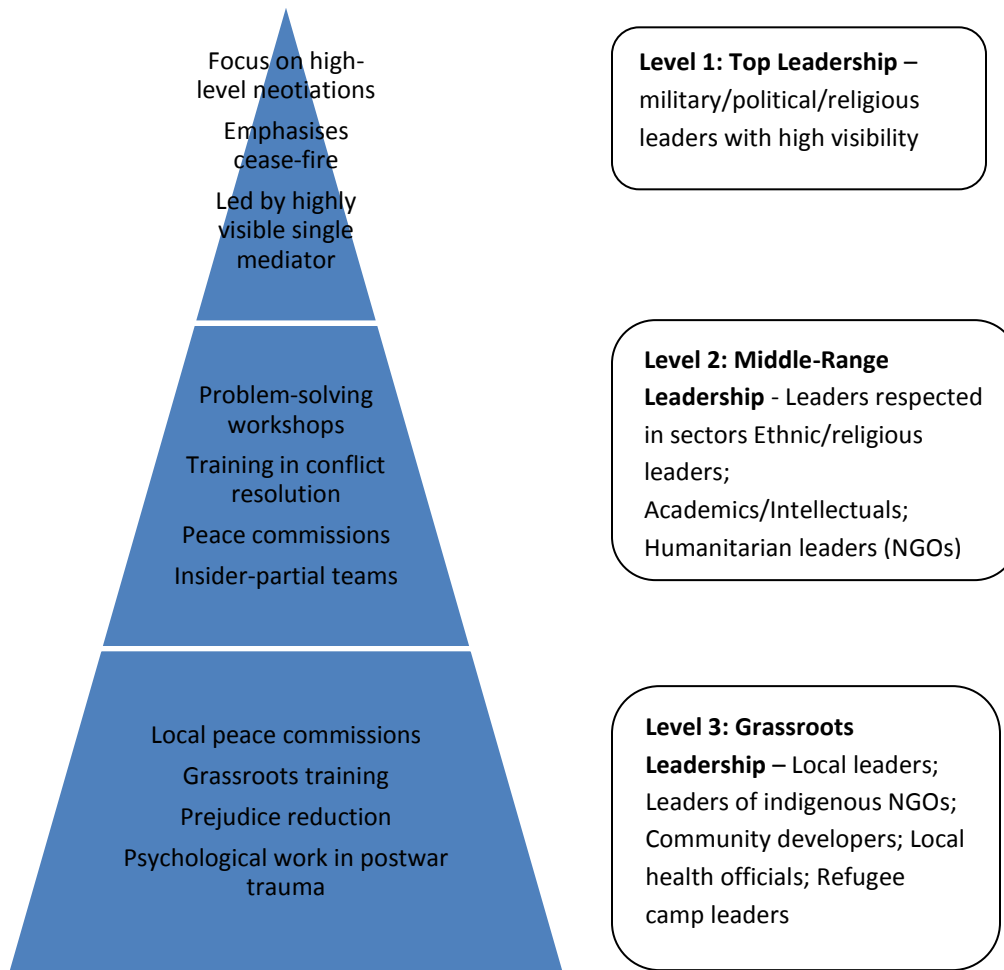


Figure 4.5. Actors and Approaches to Peacebuilding, adapted from Lederach, (1997, p39)

Levels of leadership and their approaches to peacebuilding

Level 1: Top-level leadership

Lederach says this level comprises highly visible key military and political leaders representing government or opposition movements. They are at the apex of the pyramid and are often the spokespersons for their constituencies. By virtue of their high public profile, these leaders are generally locked into positions taken with regard to the perspectives and issues in conflict, based on power and influence. At this level, the peacebuilding approaches include high-level negotiations in which top-level leaders are identified and brought to the bargaining table. These

are often focused on achieving a cease-fire or a cessation of hostilities as a first step that will lead to subsequent steps involving broader political and substantive negotiations, which in turn will culminate in an agreement creating the mechanisms for a political transition from war to peace. This is a top-down approach, which assumes that the accomplishments at the highest level will translate to, and move down through, the rest of the population. According to this model, the greatest potential and the primary responsibility for achieving peace resides with the representative leaders of the parties to the conflict. It is assumed that the accord will have to be relevant to and capable of implementation at the local level, even though in most instances the accord was reached under enormous pressure and involved compromises on all sides.

Ledereach's scenario described above was experienced in Zimbabwe when ZANU-PF and the two MDC formations signed the Global Peace Agreement (GPA) in September 2008 under pressure from SADC through its mediator former president of South Africa Thabo Mbeki. The GPA culminated in the formation of a Government of National Unity in 2009 as a transitional mechanism to bring peace. The GPA also set established a political party platform – Joint Monitoring and Implementation Commission (JOMIC) as well as the Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI) as mechanism that would lead the percolation of peace from top to bottom of the Zimbabwean society (The Global Political Agreement, 2008).

Level 2: Middle-level leadership and their approaches to peacebuilding

Lederach says middle-level leadership is composed of persons who function in leadership positions within a setting of protracted conflict but are not necessarily connected to or controlled by the authority or structures of formal government or major opposition movements. These can be highly respected individuals who may occupy formal positions of leadership in sectors such as education, business, agriculture, local NGOs, etc. They may also be individuals that command respect from their communities (and even beyond) as a result of their own individual achievements, which also make them opinion leaders. Middle-level leaders are positioned so that they are likely to know and be known by top-level leadership, yet they have significant connections to the broader context and the constituency that the top leaders

claim to represent. One of their advantages is that they tend to have pre-existing relationships with counterparts that cut across the lines of the conflict within the setting. In terms of peacebuilding approach, the middle-level leadership contributes through problem-solving workshops, conflict resolution training and the creation of peace commissions. Although different outcomes can be expected from these activities, they share one important aspect: they often create conducive environments for adversaries to interact in ways that their home settings or public events would not permit. Lederach suggests that if integrated properly, the middle-level leadership might provide the key to establishing a relationship and skill-based infrastructure for sustaining the peacebuilding process. In the Zimbabwean context, such actors could include the NGOs and church-based institutions that have been at the forefront of running workshops and other activities to promote peace.

Level 3: Grassroots leadership and their approaches to peacebuilding

Lederach says the grassroots leadership represent the masses, and include people who are involved in local communities or local NGOs, among other local community establishments. These people understand intimately the fear and suffering with which much of the population must live. They also have an expert knowledge of local politics and know the local leaders of the government and its adversaries. One important aspect that Lederach brings out is that the local level is, in many instances, the microcosm of the bigger picture. The lines of identity in the conflict often are drawn right through local communities, splitting them into hostile groups. Unlike many actors at the higher levels of the pyramid, grassroots leaders witness firsthand the deep-rooted hatred and animosity on a daily basis.

Lederach suggests that approaches at this level, often influenced by middle-level initiatives, should focus at providing an opportunity for grassroots leaders and others to work at the community or village level on issues of peace and conflict resolution. The grassroots-level programmes should also be characterised by their attempts to deal with the enormous trauma that violence produces, especially among the youths.

In the case of Zimbabwe, most of the violence affected people at the grassroots. It became so localised as to pit people from the same community, including relatives, against each other. As such, a more comprehensive framework which assumes an interdependence of levels that involve multiple tiers of leadership and participation within the affected population that integrate simultaneous but pace-differentiated activities, as Lederach suggests, is worth considering.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the nexus between conflict, violence and peace by drawing mainly from the work of Galtung. His theories of the conflict triangle, violence triangle, negative peace and positive peace shape this study and provide the academic perspective from which the context of Zimbabwe can be viewed, and how it can be transformed. Work from other peace scholars was considered mainly to emphasise the relevance of Galtung's theories to understand the situation in Zimbabwe.

PART THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Part Three focuses on research design, data collection methods and data analysis, and comprises Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

Chapter Five discusses the research design. The chapter discusses the mixed methods research paradigm that is employed in this study, and explains that this study leans more to the qualitative approaches. The chapter provides an overview of the research design of this study and also discusses the concept of evaluation.

Chapter Six discusses a range of data collection methods that are employed in this study. It begins by focusing on sampling before exploring the various data collection methods rooted in the mixed methods research paradigm that this study employs.

Chapter Seven discusses data analysis and techniques of coding that are utilized in this study.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH DESIGN

5.1 Introduction

This evaluation research employed a qualitative multiple-approach methodology that was participatory, prescriptive and transformative, focusing on the overall objectives and specific aims stated in Chapter One. The study also borrowed from the mixed methods approach as espoused by Creswell (2003, 2007) and Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009) that is explained in Section 5.5 below.

The methodology was participatory and took place in a natural setting. I visited and stayed in the community – Ward 1 and Ward 2 of Gutu District in Zimbabwe to conduct the fieldwork component of the research. The interactive method involved active participation by participants and community leadership, as well as building rapport and credibility with individuals in the study (Creswell, 2003). The research is prescriptive in so far as it seeks to provide guidelines for specific types of action and behaviour directly influenced by training in AVP in order to help refine the initiatives used by churches in trying to build a more peaceful Zimbabwe. As such, the methodology was also transformative, being a fusion of the principled approach as espoused by Gandhi and King, and the pragmatic as espoused by Gene Sharp and others.

On transformative procedures, Creswell (2003, p16) postulates that the researcher uses a theoretical lens as an overarching perspective within a design that may contain both qualitative and quantitative data. This lens provides a framework for topics of interest, methods of collecting data and outcomes or changes anticipated by the study. To that effect, the AVP training programme is the stimulus that was used to train an experimental group of sixteen youths over a period of one and half years. The results were compared to a control group of sixteen youths of similar characteristics, and a shift in attitude towards violence among members of the experimental group provided a valid argument for replication by churches in

Zimbabwe to enhance their contributions to building peaceful communities as discussed in Chapters Nine, Ten and Eleven.

5.2 The qualitative research paradigm

Qualitative research is an investigative process where the researcher gradually makes sense of a social phenomenon by contrasting, comparing, replicating and classifying the object of study. Qualitative research is fundamentally interpretive (Creswell, 2003; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2009). This includes developing a description of an individual or setting, analysing data for themes or categories, and finally, making an interpretation or drawing conclusions about its meaning personally and theoretically, stating the lessons learned, and suggesting further questions to be asked. Creswell (2003, p18) posits that;

...a qualitative approach is one in which the inquirer often makes knowledge claims based primarily on constructivist perspectives (i.e. the multiple meanings of individual experiences, meanings socially and historically constructed, with an intent of developing a theory or pattern) or advocacy/participatory perspectives (i.e. political, issue-oriented, collaborative, or change oriented) or both. It also uses strategies of inquiry such as narratives, phenomenologies, ethnographies, grounded theory studies or case studies. The researcher collects open ended emerging data with the primary intent of developing themes from the data.

Of the five strategies identified by Creswell, this research will employ two – phenomenology, and case studies.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology is an approach which aims to understand the meanings that subjects give to their everyday lives. Creswell regards phenomenological study as a study that describes the meaning of experiences of a phenomenon, topic or concept for various individuals. Babbie et al (2008, p28) go on to say “the phenomenologist emphasize that all human beings are engaged in the process of making sense of their (life) worlds” by continuously interpreting, creating and

giving meaning to, defining, justifying and rationalizing their actions. Researchers using this strategy of interpretive inquiry mainly utilise participant observation and structured-interviews as methods of data collection in natural settings that promote personal interaction with participants. In this research conflict, violence and peace were the underlying phenomenological concepts. The politically motivated violence perpetrated by youths in Zimbabwe in 2008, as well as indirect forms of violence prevalent in the country as discussed in Section 2.3 were the phenomena that was interrogated in this study, and the training of youths in AVP was a direct attempt to change the attitude of youths to behave non-violently when in a conflict.

Case study

Case studies have evolved to become respected sources of scientific information in the 20th Century. Stake (1995) defines the approach as one in which the researcher explores in depth a programme, an event, an activity, a process, or one or more individuals. The case(s) are bound by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time.

The exploration and description of the case takes place through detailed, in-depth data collection methods involving multiple sources of information that are rich in context. On contextual detail, Babbie and Mouton (2001, p282) stress that the researcher should identify contextual variables that influence the unit of analysis and enough information about subjects, setting, data collection and analysis “to permit readers to make judgments about the adequacy of the method to permit replication.” On this they concur with Cook and Campbell (1979, p96) who postulate that case studies can yield valuable scientific information when they take place in “settings where many variables are measured at the post-test; contextual knowledge is already rich, even if impressionistic; and intelligent presumptions can be made about what this group would have been without X” [where X refers to a programme under investigation – in this case, training in AVP]. In this study the youths who were trained in AVP in Gutu provide a case study whose results can be replicated by churches to build more peaceful communities in Zimbabwe.

5.3 Characteristics of qualitative research

Qualitative researches have particular characteristics that distinguish them from other research methods. While it is not the aim of this section to compare and contrast research methods, it is important to reflect on some of the qualitative research characteristics that have been identified by scholars. These include:

Multiple methods of collecting data

Research methods specialists (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Creswell, 2003;) emphasise the importance of multiple sources of data largely as a means of increasing the validity and reliability. In this study, I employed focus group discussions, interviews, observations and the interrogation of documents, as explained in detail in Chapter Six. Creswell (2003) points out that the methods should also be “interactive and humanistic” and “increasingly involve active participation by participants and sensitivity to the participants in the study.” It is important to note that in this study, issues of sensitivity were seriously considered as presented in Chapter Eight where the profile of the community and the training process are discussed.

Multiple sources of data are also important to achieve convergence necessary to validate facts, also known as triangulation. Triangulation involves comparing and contrasting information from one source to similar information received from another source in order to gain more comprehensive understanding of the interaction between intervention and the conflict dynamics. Triangulation is explained in more detail later in Section 5.7.

Researching in a natural setting

Creswell (2003; 2007) emphasises that ideally research should take place in the natural setting by going to the site of the participants to conduct the research. This, he argues, enables the researcher to develop a level of detail about the individual or place and to be highly involved in actual experiences of the participants. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p270) refer to this as ‘naturalism’, which underscores the study of attitudes and behaviours within their natural

setting as opposed to artificial settings of experiments and surveys. Save for some interviews and desk-research, this study took place in the community in which the youths live – Ward 1 and Ward 2 in Gutu district, Masvingo Region in Zimbabwe. All the AVP training sessions and focus group discussions took place at the local St. John's Chiguhune Roman Catholic Church, while interviews took place at various locations in the same community, including the homes of participants and key community leaders. Other interviews, particularly those with church leaders and heads of civil society organisations were carried out at their homes, places of work or at arranged locations.

Research is emergent rather than tightly prefigured

Creswell (2003) argues that the direction of qualitative research only emerges during the study. This may lead to research questions changing, being refined or changing altogether. Creswell (2003, p182) calls this the “unfolding research model” which makes it “difficult to prefigure qualitative research tightly at the proposal or early research stage.” Babbie and Mouton (2001, p270) also emphasise ‘process’ as a critical aspect of qualitative research because the researcher studies events as they occur over time rather than reconstructing them in retrospect. They concede, however, that in some qualitative research designs one may have to resort to reconstructing events. The analyses of research findings in Parts Four and Five will reveal how this research unfolded and evolved during the period of study.

Qualitative research is fundamentally interpretive

Wolcott (1994) posits that the researcher makes an interpretation of the data that involves describing the setting, analysing data for themes, making an interpretation or drawing conclusions about its meaning personally and theoretically. This means the researcher filters the data through a personal lens that is situated in a specific socio-political and historical moment (Creswell, 2003). Babbie and Mouton (2001) go further by asserting that qualitative researchers are primarily interested in describing the actions of the research participants in great detail and attempting to understand their actions in terms of the actor's own beliefs, history and context. In this study, I attempted to keep the participants as close to their normal way of life as possible and provide rich descriptions of the setting and participant actions that

capture the situation on the ground, as processes unfolded. I attempted to be as objective as possible and constantly aware of my responses and feelings.

Qualitative research involves personal reflection on the researcher. Creswell (2003) postulates that the qualitative researcher systematically reflects on who he or she is in the inquiry and how that shapes the study. This, he says, includes introspection and acknowledgement of biases, values and interests. This is very close to what Babbie and Mouton (2001, p271-2) refer to as 'contextual interest' when the qualitative researcher has a preference for understanding events, actions and processes in the concrete natural context in which they occur. Further linked to this is what they refer to as 'insider perspective', when the researcher attempts to view the world in the actors' perspective. They propose that the researcher should not only attempt to become more than just a participant observer, but also to make a deliberate attempt to put themselves in the shoes of the participants to understand their actions, decisions, practices and so on. In this study, these issues emerge in the section on 'role of researcher in Section 6.6, though it should be noted that personal reflection is embedded throughout this research.

5.4 The experimental design

This study employed the experimental design for hypothesis testing. De Vaus (2006), defines experiments as a research design used to draw causal inferences regarding the impact of a treatment variable on an outcome variable. This, he says, normally involves allocation of cases to experimental and control groups, exposing only the experimental group to a treatment whilst controlling the influence of extraneous factors. The analyses sought to determine whether the experimental group changed significantly over time on the outcome variable, in comparison with the control group that had not been exposed to the experimental treatment. Traditionally, experiments were associated with laboratories, but as Babbie and Mouton (2001, p208) note, social scientists study natural or field experiments – 'experiments' that occur in the regular course of social events. They identify the 'classical experiment' that involves three

major pairs of components: independent and dependent variables; pre-testing and post-testing; and, experimental and control groups. This study employed both.

Independent and dependent variables

Huysamen (1994) postulates that the purpose of experimental research is to determine whether one or more specifically chosen variables, known as the independent variables, affect another variable, referred to as the dependant variable. It is generally accepted that experiments examine the effect of an independent variable on a dependent variable. The independent variable is the experimental stimulus which is either present or absent. In this study, violence is the dependent variable while exposure to AVP training is the independent variable. My hypothesis is that violence is prevalent among the youths in Zimbabwe because, among other reasons, youths have not been trained in alternatives to violence so as to expand their choices or options when they encounter conflict situations. The purpose of the experiment was to test the validity of this hypothesis.

Pre-testing and post-testing

Babbie and Mouton's (2001) simplification of this research design, which is similar to that of DeVaus given above, is that subjects are measured in terms of a dependent variable (pre-tested), exposed to a stimulus representing an independent variable, and then re-measured in terms of the dependent variable (post-tested). Differences noted between the first and last measurements on the dependent variable are therefore attributed to the independent variable.

This process is also similar to a longitudinal study, defined by Bynner (2006, p164) as "any social or developmental research involving collection of data from the same individuals (or groups) across time" to observe changes and make causal inferences. Information is collected about individual sample members to assess current behaviours, feelings, attitudes and circumstances, and causal inferences are made from repeated measurements of key variables. Bynner argues that longitudinal studies are a powerful tool with enormous potential at individual and aggregate level for identifying and modelling sequences of cause and effect relationships.

This research began by using a questionnaire to pre-test youths in the experimental group (individually) on their attitude towards violence. The same questionnaire was administered after exposing the youths to AVP and a comparison was made. This procedure was repeated at all three levels of AVP training over a period of 18 months and the responses observed and analysed. Babbie and Mouton (2001) identify a potential problem of validity with this method, arguing that subjects might respond differently to the questionnaires the second time even if their attitudes remained unchanged. They attribute this to a realisation by the subjects about what the researcher is interested in (in this study, their inclination towards using violence when in a conflict).

Experimental and control groups

The study went beyond observing the experimental group on which the stimulus had been administered to include the observation of a control group that did not receive the experimental stimulus, as shown in Figure 5.1 below. A control group is a comparison group that was selected from the outset which was similar to the experimental group but was not exposed to the programme. The control group helped the researcher to detect the effects of the experiment by comparing the pre- and post- test results of the experimental two groups.

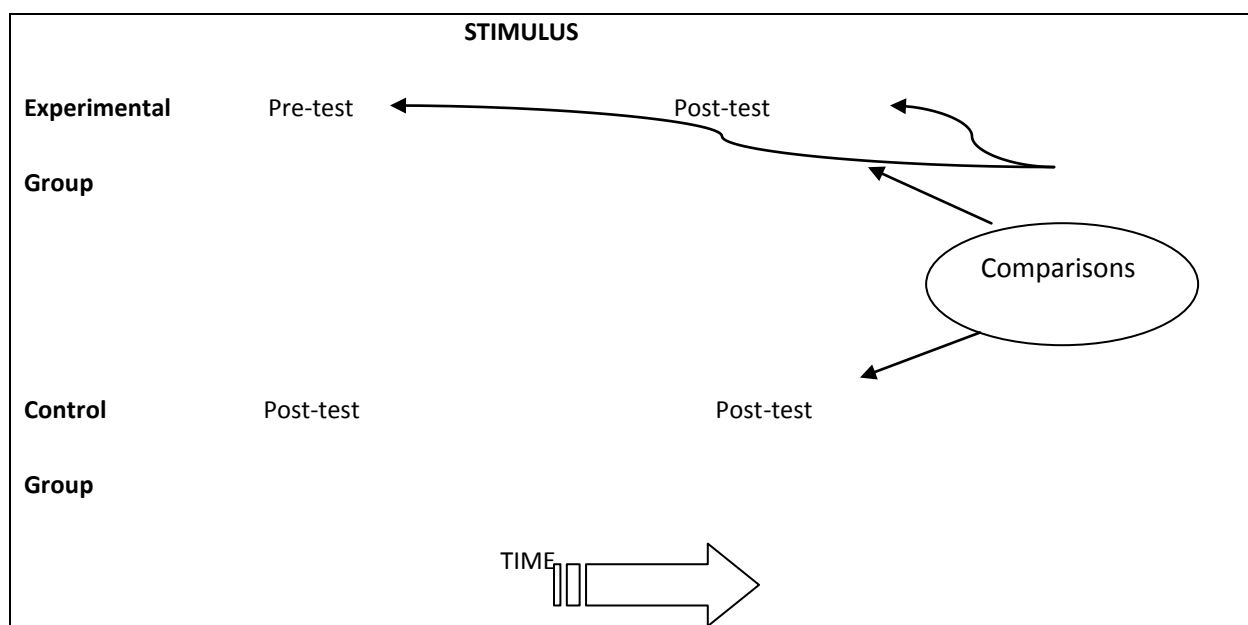


Figure 5.1, The Classical Experiment. Source: Babbie and Mouton, 2001: p219

It is generally accepted that comparisons to assess change have their strengths and limitations. A summary of these are provided in Table 5.1 below:

Table 5.1 Strengths and limitations of using comparisons to assess change

Comparisons	Strengths	Limitations
Reported perception of change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Least expensive - Allows some assessment of change when no other design is possible 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can be strongly influence by self-interest, conflicts of interest or memory deficits - Perception of change may reflect newly achieved consciousness that was brought about by the programme or other factors, so that the “problem” the programme focuses on may now seem greater - Lose opportunity to inform your evaluation design or programme delivery through data collected prior to implementation
Retrospective baseline vs. end-line comparison	-If content is fairly concrete, and/or data can be obtained by more than one source, and/or data source is not susceptible to distortion due to time or experience, one can be more confident in the comparison	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If data are subjective, can be strongly influenced by self-interest and memory deficits - Lose opportunity to inform your evaluation design or programme delivery through data collected prior to implementation
Pre- and post-programme assessment	-Lets you assess changes that are likely to be due to the programme	- Does not let you know if the changes observed might have been due to something else that took place

		independent of the programme over the time period between pre-programme and post-programme assessments
End of programme (with no baseline) and comparison group assessment	<p>-If the population is relatively homogenous and not affected by other influences, this design can show you what changes the programme produced</p>	<p>- Does not allow you to understand the process the programme went through and how it relates to the results</p> <p>- does not allow you to look at how variations within the programme relate to results</p> <p>- Data may be biased by differences in motivation and familiarity with programme topics between the groups</p>
Pre- and post-programme group plus end-line on comparison group	<p>-Enables analysis of how implementation influenced the changes observed</p> <p>-Reduces problem of not knowing if independent influences might have taken place and caused the observed changes occurring over the programme period</p> <p>-End-line comparison group could become a baseline for the next round of programme</p>	<p>- Care needs to be taken to avoid biases between the end-line comparison group and the programme group</p>

	implementation	
Pre- and post-programme assessment plus comparison group seen at the beginning and end of programme (control group)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Allows analysis of how implementation influenced the changes observed -Eliminates concern about influence of independent events during the programme period -Control group could receive a minimal package of services or education, thus assessing influence of added value of the programme you are evaluating 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Most expensive - Ethical and motivation issues related to control group - biases can creep in due to different levels of contact with control vs. programme group -In close-knit settings programme influences may filter into and benefit control group too
Additional post-programme assessments at a longer time interval after the programme has finished (could be added to any of the designs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Assesses sustainability of the changes related to the programme 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Costly and difficult to follow the same people after the programme has ended - May not be desirable or needed depending on the type of programme or objective

Source: Margaret Sanger Centre, Module 5 (2009, p17-18).

While the comparisons in Table 5.1 are all pertinent, of particular relevance to this study was the pre and post-test programme assessment plus comparison group seen at the beginning and the end which enabled analyses of the changes influenced by AVP among the experimental group as compared to the control group, from which conclusions about the immediate impact of the training were drawn.

5.5 Mixed methods research

Mixed methods research was popularised as a distinct alternative to the dichotomy of qualitative and quantitative traditions just over twenty years ago (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2009). Scholars find the roots of mixed methods research in both the quantitative and qualitative research traditions. They posit that on the one hand, quantitative research methods are techniques associated with the gathering, analysis, interpretation and presentation of numerical information, which is typically analysed by simply describing the phenomenon of interest or looking for significant differences between groups or among variables. On the other hand, qualitative research methods are techniques associated with the gathering, analyses, interpretation and presentation of *narrative* information. Qualitative data are analysed using a variety of inductive and iterative techniques that produce thematic analyses.

Mixed methods research, according to Tashakkori and Teddlie, present an alternative to the quantitative and qualitative traditions by “advocating the use of whatever methodological tools are required to answer the research questions under study.” Tashakkori and Creswell (2007, p4) define mixed methods research as “research in which the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or programme of inquiry.” Mixed methods data analysis involves the integration of statistical and thematic data analytic techniques. From the above, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009, p4) categorise social and behavioural sciences into three groups below, whose dimensions of contrast are given in Table 5.2 that follows:

- Quantitatively oriented social and behavioural scientists primarily working within the post-positivist/positivist paradigm and principally interested in numerical data.
- Qualitatively oriented social and behavioural scientists primarily working within the constructivist paradigm and principally interested in narrative data analyses.

- Mixed methodologists working primarily within the pragmatist paradigm and interested in both narrative and numeric data and their analyses.

Table 5.2 Dimensions of contrast among the three methodological communities.

Dimension of contrast	Qualitative position	Mixed methods position	Quantitative position
Methods	Qualitative methods	Mixed methods	Quantitative methods
Researchers	Qualitative methodologists	Mixed methodologists	Quantitative methodologists
Paradigms	Constructivism (and variants)	Pragmatism; transformative perspective	Post-positivism Positivism
Research questions	Qualitative research questions	Mixed methods research questions (qualitative plus quantitative)	Quantitative research questions; research hypothesis
Form of data	Typically narrative	Narrative plus numeric	Typically numeric
Purpose of research	(Often) exploratory plus confirmatory	Confirmatory plus exploratory	(Often) confirmatory plus exploratory
Role of theory; logic	Grounded theory; inductive logic	Both inductive and deductive logic; inductive-deductive research cycle	Rooted in conceptual framework or theory; hypothetico-deductive model
Typical studies or designs	Ethnographic research and others (case study)	Mixed methods designs, such as parallel and sequential	Correlational; survey; experimental, quasi-experimental

Sampling	Mostly purposive	Probability, purposive and mixed	Mostly probability
Data analysis	Thematic strategies: categorical and contextualising	Integration of thematic and statistical conversion	Statistical analyses: descriptive and inferential
Validity/trust worthiness issues	Trustworthiness; credibility transferability	Inference quality; inference transferability	Internal validity; external validity

Source: Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009, p22)

A number of methodological aspects in Table 5.2 will be incorporated in this study. Of particular interest are the forms of data that will be gathered which will borrow from the mixed methods paradigm. Another important aspect is sampling, which will be mostly purposive (qualitative), while data analysis will be based on both the qualitative and mixed methods paradigms.

Typologies of mixed methods designs

Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009, p151) identify typologies of mixed methods research designs which, they advise, are not exhaustive. They argue that unlike in the quantitative tradition where a complete menu of designs is provided and the research selects the preferred one, in mixed methods designs continue to evolve and researchers creatively manipulate options suitable for specific research settings. They identify five 'families' of mixed methods designs from which several permutations can be made by researchers.

- Parallel mixed designs. In these designs, mixing occurs in a parallel manner, either simultaneously or with some time lapse. Qualitative and quantitative questions, data collection and analysis techniques, are planned and implemented to answer related aspects of the same overarching mixed research question. Conclusions are generated through an integration of the inferences that have been obtained from the results of the qualitative and quantitative phases of the study.

- Sequential mixed designs. These are designs in which at least two phases occur chronologically, from quantitative to qualitative or vice versa. Questions or procedures of one phase emerge from, or depend on the previous phase, and research questions are related to one another and may evolve as the study unfolds. The conclusions based on the first phase lead to the formulation of design components for the next phase. The final inferences are based on the results of both phases of the study.
- Conversion mixed designs. In these parallel designs, mixing occurs when one type of data is transformed and analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively by looking at related aspects of the same question. The results of parallel analyses of quantitative and qualitative data sources are integrated into a coherent set of findings and inferences.
- Multilevel mixed designs. In these parallel or sequential designs qualitative data are collected at one level of analysis (e.g. the child) and quantitative data are collected at another (e.g. the family) in a parallel or sequential manner. Both types of data are analysed accordingly and the results are used to make multiple types of inferences. The different phases of research are associated with the different levels of analysis.
- Fully integrated mixed designs. This is a multi-strand parallel design in which mixing of qualitative and quantitative approaches occurs in an interactive and interdependent manner at all stages of the study. At each stage one approach affects the formulation of the other, and multiple types of implementation processes occur.

Jennifer Greene (2007, p98-104) identifies five purposes of mixing different kinds of methods in one social inquiry study as follows:

- Mixing methods for the purpose of triangulation. In a mixed methods study with a triangulation intent, different methods are used to measure the same phenomenon. If the results provide consistent or convergent information, then confidence in inquiry inferences is increased.
- Mixing methods for purposes of complementarity. With this purpose, a mixed methods study seeks broader, deeper and more comprehensive social understandings by using methods that tap into different facets or dimensions of the same complex phenomenon.

Results from the different methods serve to elaborate, enhance, deepen and broaden the overall interpretations and inferences from the study.

- Mixing methods for purposes of development. In a mixed methods development study, the results of one method are used to inform the development of the other methods, where development is broadly construed to include sampling and implementation as well as actual instrument construction, thereby capitalising on inherent method strengths.
- Mixed methods for the purposes of initiation. With initiation, Greene says, different methods are implemented to assess various facets of the same complex phenomenon, much like complementarity, but the intended result is divergence or dissonance. Research findings may warrant further investigative analysis which in turn can lead to important insights and new knowledge.
- Mixing methods for expansion. Methods can be mixed in social inquiry for the purposes of expanding the scope and range of the study. In the expansion mixed methods study, different methods are used to assess different phenomena. The scope of the study is expanded by extending methods choices to more than one methodological tradition to enable selection of the most appropriate method.

The approach in this study is that of a fully integrated mixed design that evolves from two separate components: the quantitative analysis that will measure the immediate outcomes of AVP training from pre and post-test questionnaires for the experimental and the control groups; and, the qualitative that will involve field observations, interviews, focus group discussions, document analysis and a holistic description of what actually occurred in the community where the research took place. This approach, helped to develop a better understanding of the phenomena of violence being studied.

5.5.2 Strengths and weaknesses of mixed methods research designs

All research approaches have some strengths and weaknesses. According to Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009, p152), the major advantage of mixed methods research is that it “enables

researchers to simultaneously ask confirmatory and exploratory questions, thus verifying and generating theory in the same study.” This is supported by Hewson (2006), who highlights the potential of mixed methods designs to gain a, richer and more complete understanding of a research question by combining both qualitative and quantitative perspectives. This combination broadens the way issues are viewed, and therefore caters for what may be missed by a one dimensional quantitative or qualitative research perspective. Brewer and Hunter (2006) conclude that a multi-method approach exploits the fortunate circumstance that although all methods are imperfect, their varied strengths provide the opportunity to check and compensate for their faults. Another important strength of mixed methods is triangulation, a concept explained in detail in Section 5.7.

The main disadvantage of mixed methods designs is that they are challenging to conduct due to the complexity of running multiple research methods simultaneously. Considerable expertise is required to examine the same phenomenon using two different approaches. Integration and interpretation of qualitative and quantitative results into a coherent set of findings and inferences can be difficult. Another disadvantage cited by Hewson (2006) is the lengthy data collection and analysis phases required that leads to heavy demands on both time and funding resources.

5.6 Evaluation Research

Leonard Rutman (1984), quoted by Babbie and Mouton (2001, p335) states that programme evaluation entails the use of scientific methods to measure the implementation and outcomes of programmes for decision-making purposes. ‘Programme’ is taken to refer to any intervention or set of activities mounted to achieve external objectives, that is, to meet some recognised social need or to solve an identified problem. This framework encapsulates this research in its entirety in that AVP training sessions are the ‘interventions or set of activities’ to deal with the culture of violence that has taken root in the community, with the ultimate aim of changing the attitudes towards a non-violent culture (solving an identified problem).

Patton (1997) suggests three main reasons for evaluation studies as given on Table 5.3 below, followed by explanations. The classification, though important, is not exhaustive.

Table 5.3 Primary uses /purposes of evaluation studies

Uses or purposes	Examples
Judge merit or worth	Summative evaluations Accountability Audits Quality control Cost-benefit decisions Deciding a programme's future Accreditation/licensing
Improve programmes	Formative evaluation Identifying strengths and weaknesses Quality enhancement Managing more effectively Adopting a model locally
Generate knowledge	Generalizations about effectiveness Extrapolating principles about what works Building new theories and models Informing policy

Source: Patton (1997, p76)

Judgment-oriented evaluations are aimed at establishing the intrinsic value, merit or worth of a programme. They ask questions of success or failure, effectiveness, attainment of objectives, and reaching of the target group. Patton (1997, p68) points out that these follow a four-stage (deductive) pattern:

- Selection of criteria of merit or worth
- Setting standards of performance (e.g. outcome measures)
- Performance measurement (often quantitatively)
- Synthesising results into a judgment of value

Babbie and Mouton (2001, p337) postulate that judgment-oriented evaluations deal with questions such as: Was the programme successful? Did it achieve its objectives? Was it effective? Did the programme attain its goals? Was the intended target group reached? Did the intended beneficiaries receive the intervention in the most effective and efficient manner? These are the questions that are answered in Part Four of this thesis.

Improvement-oriented evaluations involve collecting data for specific periods of time to track if participants are making the required progress towards the desired outcomes and make the necessary adjustments when needed. They deal with issues of proper implementation of programmes, strengths and weaknesses, and whether participants are responding positively to the intervention (towards the desired outcomes). In this study, the participants in the experimental group underwent the three-level AVP training over a period of 16 months, while engagement with the control group spanned a 12 month period, as detailed in Chapter Eight.

Knowledge-oriented evaluations aim to generate new knowledge that can be used to influence policy. Evaluation findings can be disseminated or replicated when the results are beneficial to society. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p339) assert that evaluations are also done to improve our understanding of “how programmes work and how people change their attitudes and behaviour because of successful interventions”. This study fits into this categorisation because it contextualises AVP training to youth violence in Zimbabwe and monitors the outcomes of the training to find out if there is a change of attitude and behaviour that can be attributed to the training intervention. The outcomes of this study are offered to churches to enhance their effectiveness in peacebuilding by promoting a culture of non-violence among the youths.

Posavac and Carey (2007) distinguished between four types of evaluation studies that follow a logical sequence as follows: First is the evaluation of need, which puts emphasis on assessing

need as a precondition to effective programme planning and subsequent evaluation. This evaluation type asks for the particular needs of a target population with respect to the type of programme being considered. Second is the evaluation of process. These focus on the process or implementation of the programme while asking questions of programme relevance to the target population. Third is the evaluation of outcomes. In this type of study the evaluator assesses both the intended and unintended outcomes of the programme by establishing the relative success or not of an intervention. This study entails attitudinal and behavioural changes among youths in Wards 1 and 2 of Gutu District in Zimbabwe, as further explained below. Fourth is the evaluation of efficiency, which looks at the costs of the programme against its achievements.

Babbie and Mouton (2001, p341) find the above sequential classification appropriate, and refer to it as “comprehensive evaluation” which answers the following questions:

- Is the programme conceptualised and designed in such a way that it addresses the real needs of the intended beneficiaries (the target group)?
- Has the programme been properly (well) implemented (and managed)?
- Have the intended outcomes of the programme materialised?
- Were the programme outcomes obtained in the most cost-efficient manner?

Comprehensive evaluation, they propose, is only possible if the evaluator becomes involved during the conceptualisation and design phase of a programme, a standardisation that I met in this research. Some of the outcomes of this research, however, could only be established from unstructured interviews carried out with community leaders who gave independent observations on the behaviour and attitude of the AVP-trained youths. These covered the periods in between the AVP training sessions when I was in South Africa for academic and work commitments. The participants prepared ‘conflict diaries’ narrating the conflicts they encountered in their lives and how they reacted, besides other self evaluation narratives that they gave at the end of AVP level-three training. These are discussed in detail in Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten.

For an evaluator to accept that an intervention has resulted in positive change, the change must have happened and it must have resulted from the intervention, Babbie and Mouton (2001, p348). They argue that the first condition is met through the use of pre- and post-measures while the second is met through experimental and comparison (control) groups, as shown on Table 5.4 below.

Table 5.4 Types of pre and post-test designs and related questions

Type of design	Questions that can be answered
1. Post-test only design	How well are the participants doing at the end of the programme? Are minimum levels of outcomes being obtained?
2. Pre-test – post-test design	Both questions above How much did participants change during their participation in the programme?

Source: Babbie and Mouton (2001, p348)

The logic of outcome evaluations is based on establishing that an intervention has caused certain effects – the logic of cause (intervention) and effect (outcomes). In the STEPS toolkit developed by the Margaret Sanger Centre International (2009, p2), this is referred to as the Causal Pathway – **causal** because it is based on the premise that the activities carried out should logically *cause* desirable results to occur, and **pathway** because it is based on the idea that the causal links form a technical and programmatically sound logical progression.

The most important question answered by an outcome evaluation is whether or not the participants have changed in the direction that the programme was planned. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p348-9) argue that the post-test only design **cannot** answer the question whether participants have changed during the programme because it only provides information of participants holding certain attitudes or skills after the implementation of a programme, but does not prove that the participants did not already hold such attitudes or skills at the

commencement of the programme. In order to establish whether participants changed their behaviour **during** the course of the programme, there needs to be both a pre-test and a post-test. The design involves observations and measurements before implementation of the intervention (pre-test), followed by the intervention and administering of observations and measurements again (post-test). “A ‘statistically significant difference’ means that any differences that are observed between a mean pre-test score and a mean post-test score is not due to chance factors but (most likely) indicate ‘true differences’”, they argue (2001, p348). Pre- and post- test observations and measurements in this research are designed to meet this criterion, and are reinforced by experimental and control groups as explained under ‘classical experiment’ earlier in Section 5.4.

5.7 Objectivity, validity and reliability in qualitative research

While objectivity, validity and reliability are regarded as the ultimate outcomes for any researcher, these concepts may not be fully attained, particularly when studying human behaviour. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p276) include three qualitative notions of objectivity which are juxtaposed to quantitative notions as given in Table 5.5 below.

Table 5.5 Quantitative and qualitative notions of objectivity

Quantitative	Qualitative
Internal validity	<i>Credibility</i>
External validity	<i>Transferability</i>
Objectivity	<i>Confirmability</i>

Adapted from Babbie and Mouton (2001, p276)

Credibility

Credibility is the compatibility between the constructed realities that exist in the minds of the respondents and those that are attributed to them, and is achieved through persistent observation and prolonged engagement in the field until 'data saturation' occurs. While circumstances did not allow me to stay with the participants throughout this research, enough time was spent with the participants to understand them at personal level. Also, to compensate for the time that I was not in Zimbabwe, I carried out interviews with community leaders to get independent opinion on changes they observed on the youths. Added to this were 'conflict diaries' that the youths themselves wrote which gave insight into how they reacted in conflict situations. The concept of conflict diaries was borrowed from Henerson et al. (1987) who call them 'self-reports'. Self-report procedures, they posit, represent the most direct type of attitude assessment and should be employed unless one has reason to believe the people whose attitudes he or she is investigating are unable or unwilling to provide the necessary information.

Transferability

Transferability refers to the extent to which findings can be applied in other contexts or with other respondents. In qualitative research observations are defined by the specific contexts in which they occur, a situation that does not guarantee relevance in one context and time frame with a different context. Guba and Lincoln (1984), quoted by Babbie and Mouton (2001, p277-8), assert that in qualitative research, transferability rests on those who wish to apply it to the receiving context, and this is enhanced when the researcher collects sufficiently detailed descriptions of data and report them in sufficient detail and precision to allow judgments about transferability to be made by the reader. This is also enhanced by purposive sampling, described in detail in Section 6.2 of this thesis. Transferability is one of the main aims that this study sought to achieve in two ways: first, to other youths in Zimbabwe, particularly the youth militias who are among the main perpetrators of violence in the country, and secondly, to the churches' programmes in grooming youths that have more non-violent options when in a

conflict as espoused by AVP. This, it was anticipated, would enhance the churches' efforts in building a peaceful Zimbabwe.

Confirmability

This refers to the degree of authenticity of the research to which the findings are the product of the inquiry and not the biases of the researcher. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p278), quoting Guba and Lincoln (1984) refer to a confirmability audit trail, i.e. an adequate trail should be left to enable the auditor to determine if the conclusions, interpretations, and recommendations can be traced to their sources and if they are supported by the inquiry. They categorise data into six classes: raw data such as recorded video tapes, written field notes, documents; data reduction analysis products such as summaries and condensed notes; data reconstruction and synthesis products that include research findings, conclusions and final report; materials relating to intentions and dispositions that would include inquiry proposal and expectations; and, instrument development information such as forms, questionnaires and surveys. For this study all these aspects are provided, some as annexure.

Validity

Jupp (2006, p311) defines validity as the extent to which conclusions drawn from research provide an accurate description of what happened or a correct explanation of what happens and why. He identifies three distinctive features: first, validity of measurement which asks whether a research instrument such as a questionnaire measures what it purports to; second, validity of explanation – also known as internal validity which involves asking whether the explanations and conclusions derived from research are the correct ones for the specific subjects or contexts that have been studied; and third, validity of generalisation – also known as external validity – which involves asking whether the conclusions drawn from a particular study can be generalised to other people and other contexts. This is very similar to transferability and dependability as espoused by Babbie and Mouton above.

An important procedure to increase validity is triangulation of data. Triangulation refers to the combinations and comparisons of multiple data sources, data collection and analysis

procedures, research methods, investigators and inferences in order to converge and cross-validate findings from a number of sources (Brewer and Hunter, 2006; Babbie and Mouton 2001; Greene, 2007; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2009; Flick, 2009). When simplified, this means observing the same issue from at least two different points to maximise the validity of research. Flick is among scholars who identify four different forms of triangulation: *triangulation of data* which combines data drawn from different sources at different times in different places or from different people; *investigator triangulation* which is characterised by the use of different observers and interviewers to balance the subjective views of individuals; *triangulation of theories* meaning approaching data from different theoretical angles which are used side by side to assess their usefulness; and, *methodological triangulation* which proposes a combination of different (quantitative or quantitative) procedures in order to transcend the boundaries of both methodological approaches. Of these, this study will utilise mainly two – triangulation of data as shown by the variation of sources, and methodological triangulation in employing mixed research methods. Triangulation of data is in line with what Flick (2009) refers to as systematic triangulation of perspectives where different research perspectives in qualitative research are combined with one another in a targeted way to compliment their strong points and to illustrate their respective limitations.

Reliability and dependability

Reliability refers to whether a particular technique would yield the same result each time when applied repeatedly to the same object. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p119-22) argue that reliability is a function of consistency, and give some techniques of dealing with problems of reliability to include:

- I. Test-retest method, where the same measurement is done more than once and the same response would be expected. If answers vary, the measurement methods may, to the extent of that variation, be unreliable. In the research, the pre-test post-test technique that will be done three times with the experimental group contribute will provide an important case to test validity. However, because attitudes are expected to change, the shift in attitude will prove or disapprove the effect of the stimulus. The pre-

test post-test in the control group will also test validity. The results of these tests are discussed in Part 4 of this thesis. A logical relationship between variables will be approximated, a system Babbie and Mouton refer to as 'construct validity'.

- II. Using established measures which have proven reliability in previous research. While there are not other measures that test attitudes towards violence, this research borrows from the Ron Kraybill Conflict Style Inventory (2005), as explained in Section 10.2.1.
- III. Where unreliability is generated by deficiency on the part of research workers, training and oversight systems can be used to improve reliability. Chapters Six and Seven of this thesis provide much detail on the data collection methods and analysis used, respectively.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter explored the research design on which the entire study was premised. It defined the qualitative nature of the research, and explained how the study borrows from the mixed research methodology as espoused by Creswell, Tashakkori and Teddlie and other scholars. The chapter also discussed the conceptual issues that concern an evaluation research, as well as how these concepts were applied in the course of the study.

CHAPTER SIX: DATA COLLECTION METHODS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the methods of data collection that were employed in this study. The research proffered strong characteristics of a qualitative research that also borrowed extensively from the mixed methods research as espoused by Creswell (2003, 2007), and Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009), among others. The chapter begins by highlighting the importance of sampling in this study. It goes further to explain the focus groups, survey questionnaires, interviews, observations and, personal documents as data collection methods that were employed in this study. In all these methods, a detailed background and understanding of each method is provided, as well its relevance in the study as a whole. Advantages and disadvantages are also discussed.

6.2 Choosing a sample

Sampling is defined as the process of selecting units of analysis, for example, people, groups, artifacts or settings in a manner that maximises the researcher's ability to answer research questions set in a study (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003, 2009; Silverman, 2010; Plowright, 2011; Remler and Van Ryzin, 2011). These scholars, along with many others, agree that there are two generic types of sampling on which specific techniques lean on. These are: *probability sampling* that is primarily used in quantitative-oriented studies; and, *non-probability sampling* that is primarily used in qualitative studies. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009) do not regard non-probability sampling as the obvious juxtapose to probability sampling, and recognise purposive sampling as the generic in qualitative research. Be that as it may, mixed methods research proponents have, in tandem with their aim to move from the strict quantitative/qualitative dichotomy, prescribed a third sampling typology which Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009) refer to as *mixed methods sampling*, while Plowright (2011) uses the phrase '*integrated sampling*'.

6.2.1 Probability sampling

Probability sampling is the process of randomly selecting a number of units from a population, or from specific sub-groups of a population in a random manner where the probability of inclusion for every member of the population is determinable (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). The aim, as Plowright (2011) puts it, is to enable the researcher to generalise findings from a sample to a wider population. This assertion seems to confirm Tashakkori and Teddlie's (2009, p170) position that probability samples "aim to achieve **representativeness**, which is the degree to which the sample accurately represents the entire population" [bold emphasis in original].

Random sampling is when each sampling unit in a clearly defined population has an equal and independent chance of being included in the sample. Babbie and Mouton (2001) and Plowright (2011) distinguish between simple random sampling (as described above) and systematic random sampling where selection is systematically chosen from a given list, for example, by first randomly choosing a figure on a list and then selecting every 10th element in the total list.

While it is widely accepted that random sampling techniques enhance representativeness because they allow the use of statistical sampling to project the results of a sample to a well defined population (Remler and Van Ryzin (2011), this research could not utilise random sampling due to a number of considerations. Chief among them was the fact that 80,000 youth militias in Zimbabwe are spread over a large geographic area, making it too costly to access all of them. Also important to consider was the tense political environment prevailing, in which every gathering was regarded with high suspicion, particularly in the post-violent conflict period after the June 2008 Presidential Run-off Elections when this research was conducted. Above all, the qualitative nature of this research required sampling techniques that would generate specific knowledge, and this could only be obtained from non-probability sampling.

6.2.2 Non-probability sampling

Non-probability sampling is when the choice of cases is not based on a randomised selection but on criteria that provides a sample that meets a particular need based on the aims of the research, particularly in qualitative researches. As mentioned earlier, various scholars group types of non-probability sampling differently. For example, on the one hand Babbie and Mouton (2001), Plowright (2011) and Remler and Van Ryzin (2011) identify at least four types of non-probability sampling as: purposive or judgmental sampling; convenience sampling; quota sampling; and, snowball sampling. On the other hand, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009) agree with the others on purposive sampling yet they do not go on to identify the other types as techniques. The impression that one gets is that to them non-probability sampling is purposive sampling. It is necessary to briefly look at the other three first, and then expand on purposive sampling, which this study employs, later. Remler and Van Ryzin (2011) also identify voluntary sampling and online sampling as emerging techniques especially with the growing popularity of Internet usage. At the core of non-probability sampling is the general acceptance that small non-probability samples can be used in experiments and qualitative research to produce generalisable knowledge, particularly about causation and when supported by strong theory.

Convenience sampling

According to Plowright (2011) and Ramler & Van Ryzin (2011), convenience sampling refers to a situation in which a researcher takes advantage of a natural gathering or easy access to people they can recruit in a study. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p166) refer to this type as “reliance on available subjects”. These scholars note that its main advantage is that it is quite easy and inexpensive, while little project management expertise is required. However, they recognise that its disadvantage is that it suffers from coverage bias because people who may happen to be available or convenient to the researcher may not represent the target population of interest.

Quota sampling

Quota sampling tries to address the issue of representativeness by identifying the specific characteristics such that the overall data will provide a reasonable representation of the total population. While this technique is ideal for use in a field research project, Babbie and Mouton note that it has inherent problems in terms of accuracy because personal and group information is not often updated. The idea of representativeness remains illusive particularly when studying people's behaviours or attitudes as in this study.

Snowball sampling

The process of snowball sampling, as Babbie and Mouton (2011, p167) state, is implemented by collecting data on few members of the target population, especially the most influential. The snowball effect is realised when the number grows as information is passed on and more people are introduced to the process. The technique involves using participants to identify additional cases who may be included in the study. Plowright (2011) calls this viral 'sampling', anecdotally likening it to an electronic virus passed on from one computer to the next. In this research, snowball sampling was not a planned technique. However, as AVP training workshops were conducted with the Experimental group, a snowball effect was realised with time as more youths began to volunteer to be part of the process, as is revealed in detail in Part Four of this study.

Purposive sampling

According to Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003, p713), purposive sampling (also referred to as judgmental sampling by Babbie and Mouton), involves selecting certain units or cases "based on a specific purpose rather than randomly." Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009, p173-4) further postulate that researchers using purposive sampling want to generate a wealth of detail from a few cases, and identify the following four critical characteristics:

- Purposive sampling addresses specific purposes related to research questions, therefore the researcher selects cases that are information rich in regard to those questions.

- Purposive samples are often selected using *expert judgment* of researchers and informants [italics as in original].
- Purposive sampling procedures focus on the 'depth' of information that can be generated by individual cases.
- Purposive samples are typically small (usually 30 or fewer cases), but the specific sample size depends on the type of qualitative research questions.

Silverman (2010, p141) posits that purposive sampling allows researchers to choose a case because it illustrates some feature or process in which they are interested. It demands, however, that researchers think critically about the parameters of the population they are studying to choose their sample carefully. In that regard, the issue of setting also comes to the fore. Researchers are likely to choose a setting which, while demonstrating the phenomenon that they are interested in, it should also be accessible and have the capacity to provide appropriate data readily. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009, p174) identify three 'basic' families of purposive sampling techniques, which this study adopts, as follows:

- i. Sampling to achieve representativeness or comparability, which involves two general goals: firstly, selecting a purposive sample that represents, as closely as possible, a broader group, and secondly, selecting a purposive sample to achieve comparability across different types of cases on a dimension of interest.

In this study, participants were deliberately and strategically selected to represent youth militias, church youths and youths representing the main antagonist political formations in Zimbabwe presently, ZANU PF and MDC. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009) note that while representativeness is most often associated with probability sampling, there are situations where the qualitative researcher is interested in the most typical or representative instances of a phenomenon of interest, such as violence as in this study.

- ii. Sampling special or unique cases, where a qualitative researcher focuses on an individual case or group of cases as a major focus for investigation. Such cases would include sampling of politically significant or sensitive cases as in this study. However,

research on sensitive topics may produce not only gains in knowledge but also effects that are directly beneficial to research participants.

In this study, it was assumed that the sample of youths would gain invaluable knowledge and skills in alternatives violence that would be beneficial not only to themselves but to the communities they live in.

- iii. Sequential sampling, which involves a gradual or sequential selection of units or cases based on their relevance to the research questions. Tashakkori and Teddlie point out that this principle is used when the goal of the research project is the generation of theory, or when the sample evolves on its own accord as data are being collected. With sequential sampling the researcher examines particular instances of the phenomenon of interest so that he or she can define and elaborate on its various manifestations.

In this study, there were instances that I would ignite discussions about the impact of politically motivated violence at social gatherings in the community, or started a general discussion on violence in order to get people's narratives of their experiences as individuals and as a community. This served the purpose of triangulation to corroborate information gathered either during interviews or focus group discussions. Findings of such narratives are discussed in Part Four of this thesis.

Mixed methods sampling

Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009, p178-9) provide a comparison between purposive and probability sampling before presenting mixed methods sampling techniques as combinations of quantitative and qualitative traits. They posit that a purposive sample is "typically designed to pick a small number of cases that will yield the most information about a particular phenomenon, whereas a probability sample is planned to select a large number of cases that are collectively representative of the population of interest." This leads them to conclude that purposive sampling leads to greater depth of information from a smaller number of carefully selected cases, whereas probability sampling leads to greater breadth of information from a larger number of units selected to be representative of the population of interest. This study

fits well into this description as a small number of youths will be carefully selected for both experimental and control groups. The other difference is that purposive sampling can occur before or during data collection, while probability sampling is pre-planned and, unless a serious methodological problem occurs, does not change during data collection. “Whereas probability sampling is often based on pre-established mathematical formulas, purposive sampling relies heavily on expert opinion”, they argue. They further postulate that purposive sampling frames are informal and are based on the expert judgment of the researcher or some identified resource identified by the researcher.

6.2.3 Characteristics of mixed methods sampling

Mixed methods sampling techniques are combinations of the quantitative and qualitative methods above, where probability and purposive techniques are employed. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009, p181) posit that the researcher’s ability to creatively combine these sampling techniques is one of the defining characteristics of mixed methods research. Combining the two orientations allows the researcher to generate complementary databases, as given on Table 6.1 below. In mixed methods research most sampling decisions are made before the study starts, but qualitative-oriented questions may lead to the emergence of other sampling issues during the study.

Table 6.1: Characteristics of Mixed Methods Sampling Strategies

Dimension of Contrast	Mixed Methods Sampling
Overall purpose of sampling	Designed to generate a sample that will address research questions
Issue of	Focus on external validity issues of some strands of a design; focus

generalisability	on transferability issues for other strands
Number of techniques	All those employed by both probability and purposive sampling
Rationale for selecting cases/units	Focus on representativeness for some strands of a design; focus on seeking out information-rich cases in other strands
Sample size	Multiple samples varying in size from a small number of cases to a large number of units of analysis; sample size depends on the research questions
Depth/breath of information per case/unit	Focus on both depth and breadth of information across the research strands
Time of sample selection	Mostly before a study starts, though qualitative oriented questions may lead to the emergence of other samples during the study
Selection method	Focus on expert judgment across the sampling decisions, especially because they interrelate with one another; application of mathematical sampling formulae required for some quantitative-oriented strands
Sampling frame	Both formal and informal frames
Form of data generated	Both numeric and narrative

Source: Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009, p181)

While Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009) accept that there is no widely accepted typology of mixed methods sampling strategy, they give a 'provisional' list that includes the following:

Parallel mixed methods sampling – which involves the selection of units of analyses through parallel use of probability and purposive sampling strategies, simultaneously or with some time lapse. This permits the researcher to triangulate results from the separate quantitative and qualitative components. From this strategy the researcher uses probability sampling techniques to generate quantitative data then uses purposive sampling techniques to generate qualitative data. These sampling procedures occur independently.

Sequential mixed methods sampling – which involves the selection of units of analysis through the sequential use of probability and purposive sampling strategies, (Quantitative – Qualitative) or vice versa (Qualitative – Quantitative). Information generated through one strand, say quantitative, would be necessary to select participants with particular characteristics for the sequential qualitative strand. This fits into Creswell's (2009) sequential explanatory design where quantitative data is collected and analysed. The quantitative data influences the qualitative data to be collected, and conclusions will be drawn from an interpretation of the entire analysis.

Sample size in case study research, just as in other types of qualitative research, often depends on the availability of research funds and researcher time. However, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009) say that a general rule, case studies involving individuals often range from 6 to 24 participants. In this research a total of sixteen youths were selected to participate in the experimental group. Another group of sixteen youths with similar characteristics were selected to participate in the control group.

Ethical considerations in sampling

Rosaline Barbour (2007, p131) alerts researchers to think very carefully about the unintended consequences of bringing together individuals with different experiences. She advises researchers to consider the potential impact of taking part in the research on individuals. As for this study, it took place when political tensions were very high, and the physical and psychological wounds of the violence had not healed not only in the community in which it was carried out but in Zimbabwe as a whole. Bringing together youth militias who perpetrated the

violence into the same room with their victims was a challenge that added to the dynamics that they brought.

6.3 Focus groups

Focus groups are defined by David Morgan, in Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2004) as a research technique that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher. From this definition he identifies three essential components – first, that focus groups are a research method devoted to data collection; second, locates the interaction in a group discussion as the source of the data; and, third, acknowledges the researcher’s active role in creating the group discussion for data collection purposes. Krueger (1994, p16) defines focus groups by their six characteristics: (1) people (2) assembled in a series of groups, (3) possess certain characteristics, and (4) provide data (5) of a qualitative nature (6) in a focused discussion.

6.3.1 Types of focus groups

Fern (2001, p5-9) identifies three typologies of focus groups that are distinguished in terms of the research purpose they serve, the types of information and knowledge they produce, their scientific status, and methodological factors. Firstly, he identifies the exploratory task research whose purpose is creating, collecting, identifying, discovering, explaining, and generating thoughts, feelings and behaviours. Fern postulates that in applied research, exploratory tasks include creating new ideas; collecting unique thoughts; identifying needs, expectations, and issues. He gives an example of attitude research exploratory groups which are used to uncover people’s salient beliefs, likes and dislikes, opinions and attitudes about policies or products. Exploratory focus groups are also used to uncover everyday knowledge and experiences as well as explaining causal relationships. The focus group discussions carried out in this study had

strong characteristics of being exploratory in nature. The purposes of the focus group discussions included youths sharing their beliefs, knowledge and experiences of the use of violence to resolve conflicts, actual or perceived. The discussions helped to identify needs as well as gaining deeper knowledge of youths' attitudes towards violence from the observations as group processes played out. These are revealed in Part Four of this thesis.

Secondly, Fern identifies the experiential focus group, which he says are used by applied researchers to observe the 'natural attitude' of focus group members from a predetermined population. He describes natural attitudes as learned behaviours manifest through life experiences, preferences, intentions and behaviours. He adds that focus groups are also used by researchers to gain a better understanding of individuals' language, knowledge and experience through either unstructured interviewing or by becoming a participant observer. This type of focus group discussion is also used for triangulation and theory confirmation where the information gathered from focus groups is compared with the researcher's prior beliefs. This study agrees with Fern's position as youths who participate in the focus group discussions will share their life experiences, beliefs and attitudes towards the use of violence when in a conflict. Individual participants' language and communication skills will also be critically observed, and the findings are explained in Part Four of this thesis.

Thirdly, Fern identifies the clinical focus group, which he says are based on two notions: a) The reasons for people's behaviours are unknown to them; and, b) The unknown reasons for people's behaviour can be understood only through clinical judgment. Clinical focus group tasks try to uncover individuals' motives, predispositions, biases and prejudices. Moderators of the focus groups help individuals to bring this information to the surface for discussion. Fern concludes that clinical focus groups have potential to uncover relationships, motives, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. The focus group output may be used for planning strategies and programmes. The objective of this research, that of trying to change people's attitudes towards violence resonate with Fern's conclusion in that the focus group discussions revealed some structural and cultural causes of the violence that are prevalent among the youths.

6.3.2 Considerations in focus groups

Size of focus group and selection of participants

There has not been a strict adherence to a specific number of participants that would constitute an accepted size of a focus group. Some scholars have suggested that focus groups should be composed of eight participants. In terms of the minimum number, it is possible to hold a focus group discussion with two, three or four people (Krueger, 1994; Fern, 2001; Barbour, 2007). Fern distinguishes between a smaller group and a larger group based on the needs of the researcher. Increasing the number to twelve would subsequently increase the likelihood that shared information would be discussed. However, Barbour points out that while many focus group texts put the ideal size at 10 – 12 people, she is quick to alert on the skill of the moderator to accord an equal voice to all participants during the proceedings. She warns that the requirements of the researcher to identify individual voices and seek clarifications and further exploration of any differences in views that emerge make larger groups exceedingly demanding to moderate.

Barbour (2007) makes a critical point that in social research we are generally more interested in exploring in depth participants' meanings and the ways in which perspectives are socially constructed. This is the approach that guided this study in trying to elicit how violence as a social construct is perceived and experienced by youths, and how one could find ways of changing their attitudes towards non-violent ways of dealing with conflicts.

In terms of selection of participants this research maintained the two groups of participants – the control group and the experimental group – to constitute two focus groups. Fern (2001, 164) posits that focus group respondents are selected “because they represent some population that is specified in the research purpose.” He adds that the number of groups does not have a direct impact on the process, but the number of group members does make a difference. He argues that increasing the number of groups will not necessarily increase the chances of uncovering unique information, but increasing the length of the focus group session may help. In this study, there was some temptation to break the participants into smaller

homogenous groups of fours, based on their affiliations, that is, youth militia, ZANU-PF, MDC and Church youths. The only advantage this had that homogenous groups increase the likelihood of uncovering shared information and common expectation in a short time period. Undesirably, this would keep perpetrators and victims apart and deepen the polarity already existing, the very barrier that AVP training sought to break. Furthermore, the youth militias would find an easy way to leave out discussing their violent activities. In fact, in such a set up one could easily predict the perspectives and outcomes of the group discussions. Fern (2001) concludes that homogeneity of group members restricts the range of issues and positions that focus group participants discuss. In this regard, the only homogeneity of the two focus groups was that they were youths, yet their political or social affiliations that characterised group heterogeneity increased the diversity and range of positions they took on issues that were discussed. What emerged from the focus group discussion is discussed in detail in Part Four of this thesis.

Setting and duration

Setting refers to the space in which the focus group sessions are conducted, and includes the ambient, human, and material aspects of the environment. According to Fern (2001, p18), settings for focus group encounters “may range from formal to informal, or artificial to natural”. In this study the focus group discussions took place at Chiguhune Roman Catholic Church, which was also the venue for AVP training sessions. Using the church building was considered the most suitable option given the overall objective that this research hoped to achieve through churches.

In terms of the duration, focus group sessions last between 60 and 90 minutes but Fern (2001) says they can go up to 2.5 hours especially when topics of discussion are intimate. In this study the levels of interest and participation during the discussions coupled by the desire to bring a topic under discussion to its logical conclusion led some sessions to prolong, with some short breaks in-between. This was also because the topics were politically sensitive with some revelations of the violence that engulfed the community expected from both perpetrators and victims.

Number of sessions

Fern (2001) notes that suggestions about the optimal number of focus group sessions range from two to eight. While too few sessions have the risk of missing some important information especially when discussing sensitive issues where participants may take time open up, too many sessions may have diminishing returns in terms of costs incurred. In this study four focus group sessions were conducted (two with each group). The extended length of time each session took, as stated above, compensated for the number of sessions that could otherwise be more.

Recording focus group process

Barbour (2007, p76-77) recognises two main ways of recording focus group data – the use of electronic recorders and simple note-taking. Unlike in the past, technological advancement has made huge strides and digital recorders are now easily available. She points out that while video recording has advantages of capturing all important non-verbal communication, it may result in participants being uncomfortable, especially when the topics for discussion are sensitive. On note-taking Barbour acknowledges that it is important to record immediate observations about focus group discussions, noting any salient features of group dynamics and impressions of the topics that most engaged participants. In this study a voice recorder and note-taking were both used as complementary tools.

The role of moderator

Fern (2001, p73) equates the focus group moderator to a “facilitator or discussion leader” equipped with desirable personal characteristics, professional qualifications and training needs, but also points out that “no single set of moderator characteristics is adequate for all focus groups.” As such, different research purposes require different moderators. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2004, p277) go on to distinguish between two types of moderators based on the level of involvement in asking questions during the discussions. One is the “less structured” in which the moderator allows the group to pursue its own interests regarding the topic, and participant talk as much or as less as they please. The other is the “more structured”, either with regard to

asking questions, so that the moderator controls what topics are discussed (directing attention to more important issues), or with regard to managing group dynamics so that the moderator controls the way participants interact. This enables the moderator to encourage those who might speak less while at the same time limiting those who might otherwise dominate the discussion. In this study the less structured involvement was not going to achieve the desired results considering the sensitive issues that were to be discussed. There was a very high probability that issues of violence might be relegated because victims and perpetrators were among the participants. The more structured involvement was the adopted option as it allowed the moderator to control group dynamics as well as directing the flow of discussions. Added to this was the need to provide a safe environment for all participants in which all issues could be discussed without fear of reprisals.

There is a general acceptance that different focus group tasks require moderators with different personalities and learned skills (Fern, 2001; Barbour, 2007). Fern (2001, p80-82) gives special attention to listening skills where he identifies two types of listening – non-reflective and reflective, which are also respectively known as passive and active by other scholars. He describes non-reflective listening as a physical and psychological process that requires minimum responses that are not coercive or threatening, for example, by just nodding one's head to show that he or she is paying attention. He posits that non-reflective listening sets the tone for an unstructured and empathetic style moderation that encourages respondents to participate in the discussion but does not influence the nature of the participation. The result, he says, is that on the one hand shy and reticent group members feel less threatened and participate more freely, while on the other hand dominant and disruptive participants may be less problematic if they sense that the moderator is really listening to them. Because of the non-judgmental nature of this approach, groups explore a broader range of issues.

Reflective listening, according to Fern (2001), is different from non-reflective because it seeks to clarify the accuracy of what is being said, albeit in a non-judgmental way as well. He identifies four types of reflective responses that increase accuracy as: clarifying, paraphrasing,

reflecting feelings, and summarising. Of these, reflecting feelings had a special effect in this study, as explained below.

In this research non-reflective and reflective listening skills were used to complement each other. Participants were given ample time to express themselves freely, and the non-reflective skills allowed the otherwise dominant youth militias to exhaust their energy without suppressing the chance of others to express themselves too. This is the reason why the focus group discussion sessions took long, as said earlier. On reflecting feelings, Fern (2001) says the moderator mirrors the feelings that he or she thinks were expressed. The content of the statement is secondary while the feelings behind the content are primary. During the discussions participants were asked to express their feelings relating to their experiences of violence either as a perpetrator, a victim or an outside observer. Section 9.3.1 of this thesis discusses the findings of the focus group discussions.

Advantages and limitations of focus groups

There is a general acceptance that all techniques for gathering information have advantages and limitations. Many scholars have identified some advantages and limitations of focus group method of collecting data. Among them is Krueger (1994, p34-37) who lists 6 advantages and 6 limitations.

Advantages of focus groups

- The first advantage is that it is a socially oriented research procedure which rests on interaction. Through interaction participants are influenced by the comments of others and make decisions after listening to the advice and counsel of people round them. This also allows access to the content that researchers are often interested in: the attitudes and experiences of participants. This was very insightful in this study where youths were both perpetrators and victims of violence.
- The second advantage is that the format allows the moderator to probe thereby allowing exploration of unanticipated issues. This will be put to maximum use in this study because issues of violence are often kept secret as people naturally want to

project themselves in good light. It is from such probes that youths participating were expected divulge how they reacted when they were involved in conflict situations.

- The third advantage is that focus group discussions have high face validity where information can easily be quoted and traced to its sources.
- The fourth advantage is that they can be relatively cheap both in terms of time and finance. In this research focus groups became cheaper in terms of reducing travel costs as well as the time it would have taken to interact with all the participants individually. Also, buying and preparing food for the groups was a cheaper way of feeding participants.
- The fifth advantage is that focus groups can provide speedy results. One is able to conduct discussions, analyse information and prepare a report in a relatively short time compared to other methods like mailing out questionnaires. Time is very important in this study because I was based in Zimbabwe fulltime during the period of research.
- The sixth advantage that Krueger (1994, p36) identifies is that focus groups increase the sample size of qualitative studies “without dramatic increases in the time required of the interviewer.” As such, it was expected that focus group discussions would add invaluable depth about behaviour and attitudes of participants in this research.

Limitations of focus groups

The first limitation identified by Krueger (1994, p36) is that the researcher has less control in the group interview as compared to individual interview. Because in focus groups participants influence and interact with each other, the result is that group members are able to influence the course of the discussion. This may result in some detours in the discussion as irrelevant issues may be deliberately elevated. This situation was expected during this study as some participants tried to sway discussions away from situations that would put them on the spot as perpetrators of violence. To limit the diversion I intervened and reminded them to keep them focused on the core issues.

The second limitation is that data can be difficult to analyse, especially when participants modify or reverse their first positions after interacting with others in the group. Great care was taken in this study so that comments were not interpreted outside their context.

The third limitation is that the technique requires expertise in interviewing and moderation. To guard against this, no unskilled interviewer was used in the focus group sessions.

The fourth limitation that Krueger (1994, p37) identifies is that groups can vary considerably as each group tends to have unique characteristics. This situation could not be escaped in this study. It was however neutralised by the fact that the participants come from the same community, and although they experienced violence differently at individual level, they were aware of the main incidents of violence prevalent in the community on which the main discussions were centred on.

The fifth limitation is that groups may be difficult to assemble or to come to a designated venue at a prescribed time to share perception with others. Participants were encouraged to come early, and extended the cut-off time to compensate for lost time, if need arises.

The sixth limitation is that the discussions must be conducted in an environment conducive for discussion. In this study, the use of the church buildings was very convenient as it was not only centrally located, but had an aura of respectability in a community that is largely religious.

Justification of focus group method in this study

According to Krueger (1994, p11), "Evidence from focus group interviews suggest that people do influence each other with their comments, and in the course of a discussion the opinions of an individual might shift." This assertion suits the main objective of this study – to contribute towards building a more peaceful society by shifting the attitudes and opinions from a violent one to one that is non-violent when confronted by situations of conflict. Krueger (ibid) goes on to say the intent of focus groups is to "promote self disclosure among participants." In this study, self disclosure was not only expected from the youth militia and other ZANU-PF and MDC youths who were at the forefront of politically motivated violence, but also from those who were victims of the violence. As Krueger (1994, p11) puts it, "the permissive group environment

gives individuals licence to divulge emotions that often do not emerge in other forms of questioning.” This is supported by Hennink (2007, p10) who asserts that the group context of a focus group makes it an ideal method when seeking a range of views on a topic, when debate and discussion on an issue is desired or for uncovering new insights or unanticipated issues. Hennink goes further to stress that focus groups are most suitable when seeking community-level information (as opposed to personal information), such as seeking information “about social behaviour, cultural values or community opinions.”

Another important consideration for the use of focus groups in this study was the use of agreed ground rules and the permissive environment created in order to break the personal, political and victim – perpetrator barriers among the youths through open discussions that encouraged comments of all types – both positive and negative. In other words, focus groups were necessary to break the polarity that existed among the youths.

Ethical considerations in focus groups

The main ethical considerations when using focus groups in this research included issues of payments and confidentiality. Barbour (2007) points out that paying focus group members can help with recruitment, and in some contexts ensures wider participation. She however notes that this option is not always appropriate and it may be wise to explore alternative means of recognising people’s input. This is the approach that was adopted in this research. Participants were provided with food and refreshments on the days when focus group sessions were held, just like what was offered during AVP training sessions.

To promote confidentiality (which also simultaneously promotes openness during discussions), the issue was raised and agreed as a ground rule for the focus group discussions. My assumption was that all participants would keep to their word as promised then. Unfortunately, there was no other guarantee beyond the participants’ promise to it.

6.4 Survey Questionnaires and In-depth Interviews

Understanding surveys

As outlined by Babbie and Mouton (2001), survey is a process of gathering information by asking a range of individuals the same questions related to their characteristics, attributes, how they live or their opinions. Surveys include cross-sectional and longitudinal studies using questionnaires or structured interviews for data collection, with the intent of generalising from a sample to a population and may be used for descriptive, explanatory and exploratory purposes. They are chiefly used in studies that have individual people as units of analysis where the original data will be used to describe a population too large to observe directly. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p232) proffer that “surveys are also excellent vehicles for measuring attitudes and orientations in a large population.”

Survey questions can either be open or closed (O’Leary, 2004; Oppenheim, 2001). Open questions ask respondents to construct answers using their own words. Respondents can offer any information or express any opinion they wish, although the amount of space provided will generally limit the response. The chief advantage of the open question is the freedom it gives to the respondents to express their opinions.

Closed questions force respondents to choose from a range of predetermined responses. They can be attitudinal as well as factual. Respondents are led in a particular direction, which may or may not correspond with their thoughts, which may be misleading. Nevertheless, they are easier and quicker to answer, require no writing and quantification is straightforward.

Survey Questionnaires

A questionnaire is a survey instrument or a tool used for data collection. Its function is to elicit particular communication between the researcher and targeted respondents, with the hope that respondents will supply certain information, ideas or attitudes on the subject of enquiry with a minimum distortion (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Oppenheim, 2001; Neuman, 2003; O’Leary, 2004).

Oppenheim (2001, p103) distinguishes between self-administered and group-administered questionnaires. The self-administered questionnaire is usually presented to the respondent by the interviewer/researcher or someone in an official position. The purpose of enquiry is explained and the respondent is left to complete the questionnaire which will be collected later. This ensures a high response rate, accurate sampling and minimum of interviewer bias. On the contrary, the group-administered questionnaire is administered to invited audiences or groups of respondents assembled together. While this may save time as many people can respond at the same time, there is a high risk of data contamination through copying, talking or asking for further clarifications.

Considerations when using questionnaires

Babbie and Mouton (2001, p43-44) agree with Oppenheim on key important considerations when using questionnaires. Oppenheim goes further to categorise these considerations into three: questionnaire design issues; order and sequence issues; and, format and layout issues. Below are some of the critical issues that they underscore that are guided by two key principles: avoiding confusion and keeping the respondents' perspective in mind.

Clarity – questionnaire items should be clear and unambiguous. There is need to sufficiently specify the intent of one's questions. This is closely linked to what these scholars call "double barreled questions" that have "complex questions" which confuse respondents, for example, where they are asked to either unequivocally agree or disagree with a statement yet respondents may have a different response.

Relevance – questions asked in a questionnaire should be relevant to most sampled respondents. Relevant questions will reduce the risk of respondents misleading the researcher because they will most likely give some thoughts to the issue, and may care about it.

Length of survey questionnaire – there is no absolute proper length, but much will depend on the sample of respondents. For highly educated respondents or a salient topic long questionnaires may be possible.

Organisation of questionnaire – questions should be sequenced to minimise the discomfort and confusion of respondents. Question topics should flow smoothly and logically, and should be organised to assist respondents' memory or comfort levels.

Questionnaire layout – questionnaires should be clear, neat and easy to follow. A formal and professional appearance improves accuracy and completeness, and helps the flow.

Strengths and limitations using questionnaires

Just like other methods of data collection, questionnaires also have strengths and limitations. One of the strengths of using questionnaires is that researchers can give questions directly to respondents who can read instructions and record their answers. This is generally cheap and can be conducted by a single researcher. Another advantage is that questions can be sent to a wider geographical area. This way, this method offers anonymity and avoids interviewer bias. Questionnaires are also very effective. The response rates may be high for a target population that is well educated or has a strong interest in the topic or the survey organisation.

The limitations include the fact that response rate may be low because people do not always complete and return questionnaires. Also, the researcher has no control on the conditions under which a mail questionnaire is completed. In this case, someone other than the sampled respondent may complete the questionnaire without the researcher's knowledge. In mailed questionnaires the researcher cannot visually observe the respondents' reactions to questions, physical characteristics or settings. No-one will be present to clarify questions or to probe for more information when respondents give incomplete answers. They are also ill-suited for illiterate or semi-literate respondents.

Justification of using questionnaires in this research

For this study, youths constitute 43 percent of Zimbabwean population (Zimstat, 2012), and figures show that 80 000 youths went through the national youth training programme from which the militias are drawn (New Zimbabwe, 24/11/2009). Besides the huge numbers, the prevailing political situation in the country was characterised by fear, suspicion, polarisation and post-violence tension (as stated in Chapter 1) provided challenges that make surveys an

integral part of the research in an attempt to understand issues. Surveys, comprising questionnaires and interviews were conducted either concurrently or separately and constituted a very important aspect of data collection, among other methods that were used in a complimentary way.

6.5 Interviews

Interviews are regarded among the most frequently used methods of gathering data in qualitative approaches. Schostak (2006, p10) defines the interview in terms of “individuals directing their attention towards each other with the purpose of opening up the possibility of gaining an insight into the experiences, concerns, interests, beliefs, values, knowledge and ways of seeing, thinking or acting of the other.” Miller and Crabtree, (2004, p185) emphasise the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee by defining the interview as a research-gathering approach that seeks to create a listening space “where meaning is constructed through an interexchange/co-creation of verbal viewpoints in the interest of scientific knowing.” In qualitative research, Babbie and Mouton (2001, p289), define interview as an interaction between an interviewer and a respondent in which the interviewer has a general plan of inquiry but not a specific set of questions that must be asked in particular words and in a particular order. They state that a qualitative interview is essentially a conversation in which the interviewer establishes the general direction for the conversation and pursues specific topics raised by the respondent. In a much similar way, O’Leary (2005) defines interviewing as a method of data collection that involves researchers seeking answers related to a number of questions, topic areas or themes.

Oppenheim (2004) distinguishes between two categories of interviews: the first one is the *standardised interview*, such as used in opinion polls, market research and government surveys. The purpose of a standardised interview is essentially data collection where a target group is asked the same questions and their responses are collected for analyses. The second category is *exploratory interview* which is concerned with trying to understand how ordinary people think

about the topics of concern to the research. These include basic individual interview, in-depth interviews and focus group interviews. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) refer to these simply as structured and unstructured interviews, respectively. O’Leary (2005) goes further and categorises types of interviews in three broad areas which are: the degree of formality; structure; and, the number of people involved. These are given in Table 6.2 below.

Table 6.2: Types of interviews

Interview type	Description
<p>Formal: The interviewer attempts to be somehow removed from the interviewee, and maintains distance and neutrality/objectivity. This is often done within a formal setting.</p> <p>Informal: Bends and ignore rules and roles associated with formal interviewing in order to establish rapport, gain trust and open up lines of communication. The style is casual and relaxed in order to minimise any gulf between the interviewer and the interviewee.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is a classic job interview. While formality can allow interviewers a high level of control, it can limit interviewee comfort, and possibly the free flow of information. • Settings are not limited to an office and might occur over a beer at a bar, or while having a cup of coffee at the local pre-school. The idea is to do what you can to get your interviewee chatting comfortably.
<p>Structured: Use of pre-established questions, in a pre-determined order, with a standard mode of delivery. Prompts and probes are also pre-determined and used under defined circumstances. Interviewers often call on a formal style to help them stay on track.</p> <p>Semi-structured: Use of a ‘flexible’ structure. Interviews can start with a defined questioning plan, but will shift in order to</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Best suited for interviews where standardised data is a goal. Inexperienced interviewers generally feel most comfortable with this high-level of structure. • The advantage here is being able to come away with the data you intended – but also interesting and

<p>follow the natural flow of conversation. Interviewers may also deviate from the 'plan' to pursue interesting tangents.</p> <p>Unstructured: Attempts to draw out information, attitudes, opinions and beliefs around particular themes, ideas and issues without pre-determined questions. The goal is to draw out rich and informative 'conversation'. Often used in conjunction with an informal structure.</p>	<p>unexpected data that emerges. This style of interviewing can take a bit of practice.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most interviewees enjoy this type of interview because it allows them to 'talk' and rally express their ideas in a way not dictated by the interviewer. Interviewer challenges here are to avoid leading the conversation and to keep it focused enough to get the data needed.
<p>One-on-one: An interaction between the interviewer and a single interviewee. It is thought that one-on-one allows the researcher control over the process and the interviewee the freedom to express their thoughts. One-on-one can also involve an additional person such as a translator or note-taker.</p> <p>Group Interviewing: Interviewing more than one person at a time. Can be done in a formal structure way, or may involve a more open process where the researcher acts as a moderator/facilitator. In this less structured approach, interviewees are often referred to as 'focus group'.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One-on-one interviews are generally face-to-face, but can also be done over a telephone in order to increase geographical range or capture a 'difficult to hold of' respondent. The lack of non-verbal cues in telephone interviews, however, can be a challenge. • Not only can a group interview save time and money – it can really get people talking. Some, however, might feel unheard or marginalised. Group interviews can be difficult to follow, so most interviewers attempt to preserve raw data by tape recording

Adapted from O'Leary (2005, p116)

This study employed these types of interviews selectively in trying to explore the behaviour and attitudes of youths towards violence (both as individuals and in groups) and when interviewing targeted community leaders, politicians and church leaders. As Oppenheim (2004) points out, in

exploratory interview the interviewer gets people to talk freely and with some degree of insight about their thoughts, feelings and formative experiences.

Phases in the interview process

The interview journey begins with a hierarchical relationship as the interviewer initiates the process and sets the opening scene with a question. In every interview there are also non-verbal and emotional interchanges that the researcher must be alert to. While many scholars have written on how an interview should be carried out, there cannot be a one-size-fits-all because there are just too many variables. Mertens (2009, p244-245) subscribes to four phases in the interview process. These are: the *pre-interview phase* where the researcher contacts potential interviewees to determine their interest in participating; *the tentative phase* which is the beginning of the interview itself and builds the trust; *the immersion phase* that goes into deeper information sharing; and, *the emergence phase* that brings closure to the interview by summarising and clarifying issues that emerged from the interview.

On in-depth interviews Babbie and Mouton (2001) concur with Oppenheim (2004) that the job of the interviewer is *not* that of data collection but *ideas* collection. In-depth interviewers are encouraged to listen 'with a third ear'. They must take note of not only what is being said, but also what is being omitted. The interviewer must pick up gaps and hesitations, and explore what lies behind them. At the same time, the researcher must strive to create an atmosphere which is sufficiently critical for the respondent to come out with ideas, hatreds or misconceptions of the topic under discussion in as comfortable way as possible.

Strengths and limitations of in-depth interviews

There is a convergence among researchers that interviews not only often have a higher response rate but they offer an opportunity to correct misunderstandings. The interviewer also has an added advantage of carrying out observations and draw from non-verbal attributes such as facial expressions and other body language. Another advantage is that interviewers often succeed with respondents who have reading and language difficulties.

However, interviews are considerably expensive and time consuming to conduct and to process. This is worsened if the sample of respondents is widely dispersed. Another limitation is that there are always risks of interviewer bias as discussed below.

6.6.5 Bias in interviews

Neuman (2006, p309) identifies six categories in which bias in interviews fall. They are:

- Errors by the respondent. These include errors as a result of forgetting, embarrassment, misunderstanding or lying by the respondent because of the presence of others.
- Unintentional errors or interviewer sloppiness. This is a result of contacting the wrong respondent, misreading a question, omitting questions, reading questions in a wrong order, recording the wrong answer to a question, or misunderstanding the respondent.
- Intentional subversion by the interviewer. This is purposeful alteration of answers, omissions or rewording of questions, or choice of an alternative respondent.
- Influence due to the interviewer's expectations about a respondent's answers based on the respondent's appearance, living situation or other answers.
- Failure of an interviewer to probe or probe properly.
- Influence of the answers due to the interviewer's appearance, tone, attitude, reactions to answers, or comments made outside the interview schedule.

Throughout this study I used these categories as 'red-flags' during interviews to guide on what should be avoided so that maximum objectivity would be maintained.

Justification of in-depth interviews in this study

As Babbie and Mouton (2001) suggest, interviews can be used for descriptive, exploratory and explanatory purposes. They are chiefly used in studies that have individual people as units of analysis where individual persons serve as respondents or informants. Survey interviews are regarded as among the best methods available to social scientists interested in collecting original data for describing a population too large to observe directly. They are also excellent vehicles for measuring attitudes and orientations.

In this study, interviews were conducted to fulfil a number of purposes. Firstly, interviews helped to gain deeper understanding of what transpired during the peak of politically motivated violence and how this affected youths individually and as a collective. In this regard, individual interviews were also necessitated by the sensitivity of the study, putting into consideration the political polarisation and tensions still prevalent not only in the community of study but in Zimbabwe as a whole. Secondly, interviews were used to explore attitudinal change towards violence after each level of AVP training among the experimental group. It is from their reflections that the achievements of the training or lack thereof were ascertained. Thirdly, interviews were conducted with community leaders to get a sense of their feeling and opinion as independent observers who lived in the same community with the youths. Fourthly, interviews, along with a survey questionnaire, were carried out with selected leaders of churches, religious institutions, non-governmental organisations and academics working in the area of conflict and peacebuilding to gauge their understanding, observations and experiences when doing such work in Zimbabwe in order to identify gaps that this research could contribute in addressing. Section 10.4 of this research provides the findings of the interviews carried out.

Ethical considerations

Oppenheimer (2004) stresses the basic consideration that no harm should come to the respondents as a result of their participation in the interview. Also, the respondents' right to privacy and the right to refuse to answer certain questions, or to be interviewed at all, should always be respected, and no undue pressure should be brought to bear. In case of children or minors, permission should be sought from their parents, guardians or teachers.

In this study, these ethical considerations were adhered to, bearing in mind the sensitivities of the issues that to be discussed. There were no minors among the participants, therefore there was no need for parents or guardians' letters of consent.

6.6 Observations

Two types of observations dominate in qualitative research, namely *simple observation* where the researcher remains an outside observer, and *participant observation*, where the researcher

is simultaneously a member of the group she or he is studying (Huysamen, 1994; Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Participant observation requires that for a period of time the researcher takes part in and reports on the experiences of the members of a group. Among the things that a researcher can observe include expressive movement (facial expressions, eye movements, posture, etc) and language behaviour, which would include topics of interest and one's choice of words.

One of the most important considerations that Babbie and Mouton (2001, p297) make is whether the observation should be overt (transparent) or covert (secret). They argue that even though covert observation brings up ethical dilemmas like negating on people's human rights (for example right to secrecy), there are certain issues which are impossible to study overtly. This study could not escape this controversy because it took place in the aftermath of violence and involved both perpetrators and victims. The volatile political situation therefore remained a potential impediment. Nevertheless, from the onset I agreed with all the participants that all the activities would be only for research purposes, and that no one should be endangered because of what they said. As time passed, the fear that gripped some participants subsided as trust among the groups grew and everyone felt comfortable to open up.

The other considerations were the setting in which the observation took place and the duration of observation. These were important in that people tend to behave differently at different times and places. In this research I had the privilege to observe all the participants during the AVP training sessions and focus group discussion sessions. Added to that, I observed the participants socialising with other members of the community on many occasions after our formal activities. The observations were recorded as notes while some conversations were audio-recorded. Consent for this was sought prior.

There are no strict guidelines on defining the roles of the observer as different situations ultimately require different roles. The researcher is forced to rely on his or her own good judgment, guided by both methodological and ethical considerations so that one's role does not limit the study. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p293) distinguish two types of observers whose role is guided by the level of participation. They identify a complete participant who observes

the subjects of study from within a setting. The assumption is that the data will be more valid and reliable as the subjects will be natural and honest. However, the disadvantage is that if the people being studied know that they are being studied they might modify their behaviour to project a more respectable image. In this study this was expected to be real because of the issues of violence that were central to the study, especially as perpetrators and victims were involved. Perpetrators would always try to give a good image, while victims would exaggerate their victimhood, all for the purpose of gaining sympathy.

At the other extreme is the complete observer, one who is divorced from the daily social processes of the subjects. The participants may not know that they are under any scrutiny. In this study I adopted Babbie and Mouton's (2001, p293) advice and strove to balance between a complete participant and a complete observer by objectively devoting my attention to the limited aspect of the social setting to match my research aims. This was also in line with Huysamen's (1994, p170) proposition that the observer must "decide the degree of participation that may endanger" his or her role. Participants were aware that I was observing them and taking down notes. They were also aware that some of their conversations were recorded. I also observed the behaviour of the participants outside our formal meetings, and got further clues from community members on what they had observed among the youths who were trained in AVP.

Strengths and limitations of participant observations

Probably the main advantage of participant observation fits into the adage that action speaks louder than words. People's actions are more telling than their verbal accounts. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p294) conclude that participant observation reveals some personal attributes that would otherwise be ignored. Added to that is the prospect of the researcher getting a deeper understanding of the subjects from which more valid conclusions can be drawn. Another advantage is that observations can be done anywhere, as was the case in this study where I could observe the behaviour of the participants outside our planned activity schedule.

The main limitation of participant observation is when participants change their behaviour to project only their good images, as alluded to above. Closely linked to this is the prospect of

participants shifting their attention on the research project rather than on the natural social processes. In this study this was dealt with by assuring participants that they were all going to be treated equally regardless of their background or level of participation.

Justification of participant observations in this study

In this study participant observation was relevant to trace the immediate outcomes of AVP training. Although participants filled-in questionnaires before and after each training level, it was important to observe their actions and also listen to their choice of words to find out if there would be changes. The other reason to use observation was to gain closer understanding of participants' actions and behaviour outside our scheduled activities which acted as natural deterrents. This served the purpose of getting to know the youths at personal level in as normal setting as they experience in their daily lives. Through the eyes of the community I also discovered what the community observed among the youths when I was not in the community. I found this to be very authentic given that there was always the possibility of the youths to behave in a particular way whenever they heard I would be present for AVP training sessions or interviews.

Ethical considerations in observations

The ethical considerations that Babbie and Mouton (2001, p297) identify are linked to the observer's level of participation which inevitably has a direct influence on the behaviour of the participants. There always remains the danger of participants acting to 'please' the observer in one way or the other. The other ethical issue regards openness. It would be unfair for participants to discover that they are being observed for research purposes. To avoid this, I explained the purpose of the observations prior, and the participants signed consent forms to that effect. I also maintained maximum objectivity throughout the duration of the study. The research objectives and methods discussed in this chapter were approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

6.7 Personal Documents (Conflict Diaries)

Diaries are sources of life history data. As Babbie and Mouton (2001, p301) note, in the diary, the author may express feelings which otherwise would never be made public, and in its ideal form, “the diary is unsurpassed as a continuous record of the subjective side of a person’s life.” They argue that the diary represents the immediate recording of experiences, unimpaired by the reconstructions and distortions of memory.

Strengths and limitations of diaries

The strength of diaries, as alluded above as a justification, is that it is difficult to observe the daily activities of participants, especially when the research is not ethnographic like this one. Diaries therefore serve the purpose of alerting the researcher of those events that would be very important for the research but happen in the day to day lives of subjects. The recording of events immediately after they happen is important to limit distortions through natural memory loss in time. The most common limitation is that people generally want to portray themselves in good light, so the risk of participants only recording those conflicts in which they were victims or played a peace-making role always exists. To reduce this limitation, participants will not be requested to give a judgment of what happened. They will only be asked to record personal encounters with conflict and a narrative of how the conflict plays out. It will only be during subsequent interviews that an analysis could be made.

Justification of using diaries in this study

In this study conflict diaries were used as supplements to cater for the difficulties in observing the daily pattern of activities of the participants. Personal characteristics and personal views of events were recorded in diaries for analysis. They were used to compliment the observations and the information that was obtained from interviews. In the period between AVP training levels (for the experimental group) participants were given small booklets in which they recorded the main conflict situations they encountered. Participants were subsequently interviewed individually and in confidence on the specific incidents where they personally experienced conflict. The narratives were used to help participants in the experimental group

to reflect if they would have reacted differently if they had not been trained in AVP. Part Four of this study reveals some of the experiences that were diarised by participants.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter identifies the various methods of data collection that will be employed in this research. It begins by highlighting the importance of sampling, which is often overlooked by researchers yet it remains a critical aspect whenever a researcher engages in fieldwork. It also brings out the challenges associated with sampling unique and sensitive cases as the case in this study that takes place in an environment characterised by fear in the aftermath of violence. The chapter also presented focus groups, survey questionnaires, interviews, observations and personal documents as the data collection methods that will be employed in this study, including their strengths and limitations.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DATA ANALYSIS

7.1 Introduction

This study employed qualitative methodologies to gather most of the data, but also borrowed from the mixed methods research paradigm as espoused by Creswell (2003; 2007), and Vicki et al. (2008), as discussed in detail in Chapter Five that deals with the research design. Vicki et al. (2008, p365) posit that the value of a mixed method approach arises partly from the multiple perspectives that can be reached by combining qualitative and quantitative data in a study, for example, the researcher can combine statistical results and overall trends along with in-depth individual perspectives and the context in which they occur. Mixed methods studies, they argue, can produce more persuasive accounts of the phenomenon of interest because they combine statistical results with qualitative quotes and stories which make them appeal to a broader audience.

Vicki et al. (2008, p368) further argue that mixed methods enhance experimental studies. They say that experimental designs are by definition quantitative procedures for testing a theory or measuring the effects of a treatment. However, a single data set may not be sufficient to address the objectives of some studies. This study falls into this category because it employs a pre and post-test experiment with an experimental group that underwent training in AVP, and a control group that did not participate in AVP workshops. AVP was the treatment administered to the experimental group, and its effects were compared to the control group, as discussed in detail in Section 5.4. The trends that were observed only provided basic quantitative results that were combined with qualitative data to come up with a richer analysis.

7.2 Qualitative data analysis

The data collected and analysed in this study was mainly qualitative – from interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation and participants’ personal diaries – therefore, qualitative data analyses methods were employed. Punch (2009, p171) postulates that the wide variety and diversity in qualitative approaches underlines the fact that there is no single methodological framework of data analysis. He highlights the framework for qualitative analysis espoused by Miles and Huberman (1994) which is based on three main components: data reduction; data display; and, drawing and verifying conclusions. These are given as concurrent activities that interact throughout the analysis, as shown in Figure 7.1 below.

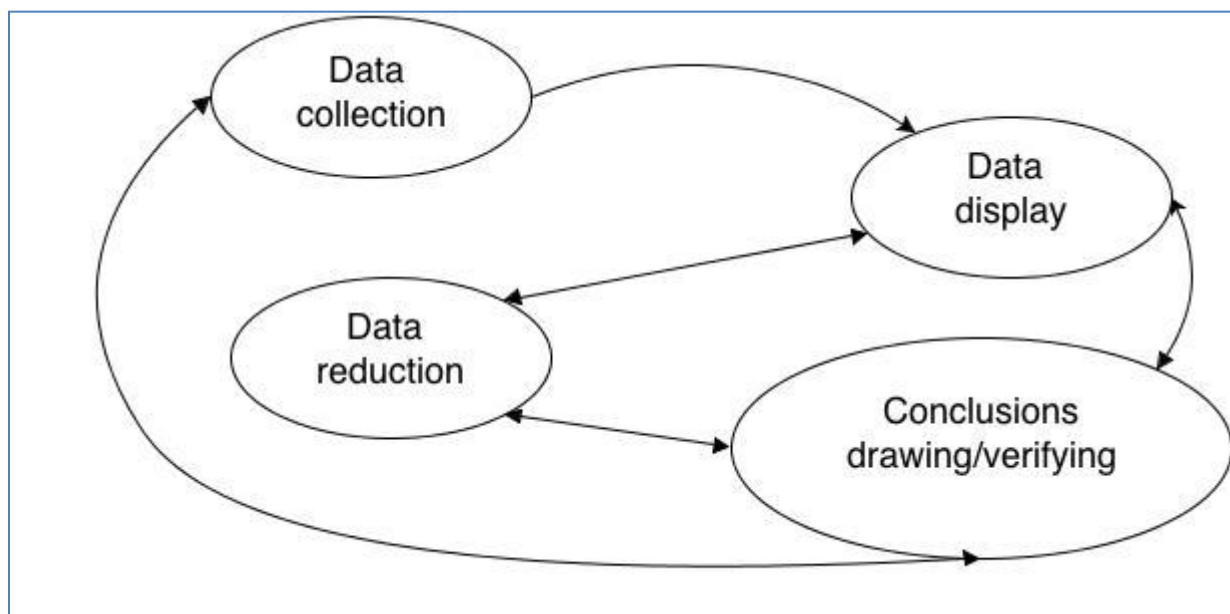


Figure 7.1: A framework of qualitative analysis by Miles and Huberman (1994), adapted from Punch (2009, p171).

Based on the diagram and the explanation above, and in specific reference to findings and analyses discussed later in this chapter, **data collection** included the data that I collected during focus group discussions and the personal diaries submitted by the participants.

Punch (2009, p174-5) explains that ***data reduction*** occurs continually throughout the analysis. In the early stages, it happens through editing, segmenting and summarizing the data. In the middle stages, it happens through coding and 'memoing' [the writing of memos as explained by the author], and associated activities such as finding themes, clusters and patterns. In the later stages, it happens through conceptualizing and explaining. ***Data display*** shows the organization and assembling of information in various ways that include graphs, charts, networks or diagrams of different types. ***Drawing and verifying conclusions*** involves developing propositions from data drawn from the earlier processes into meaningful and coherent picture of the data. I borrowed from this framework to analyse the data from focus group discussions and participants' diaries.

7.2.1 Analyses of Focus Group Data

There are several approaches to analyzing focus group data. Stewart et al. (2009, p603) posit that indeed, there is no one best or correct approach to the analysis of focus group data. They argue that as with other types of data, the nature of the analyses of focus group interview data should be determined by the research question and the purpose for which the data are collected. Added to this, Vicsek (2007, p23; 2010, p133) emphasizes the importance of taking situational factors into account, arguing that if we factor into our analysis that our data are not independent from the actual situation, but are embedded in it, our conclusions can be richer and more illuminating. Such situational factors would include the effect of the environment, time factors, content, characteristics of the participants and style of the moderator. Similarly, Parker and Tritter (2006:31) conclude that the nature of the discussion (the data) is dependent on the participants and is time and context specific. According to Vicsek (2007, p23; 2010, p134), the situational analysis is followed by and integrated with a thematic analysis. Vicsek's framework (2007, p23-30) includes six situational factors that are summarised by Orvik et al. (2013, p341) as shown in Table 7:1 below.

Situational factor	Description
Interactional factors	Psychological and social psychological mechanisms: social influence, conformity, minority influence, individual influence, conflict avoidance, interactions between the moderator (researcher) and the participants.
Personal characteristics of the participants	Demographic backgrounds of the participants; group members' knowledge of the theme discussed, how they behave, and how they feel about being there; roles assumed during the FDGs.
The moderator	The moderator's style, control in the group, professionalism, power, and knowledge of the issue; moderator roles assumed in the session: the expert, the challenger, and the unfamiliar seeking for enlightenment.
The environment	Physical characteristics of the environment where the FDGs take place, its latent influence on the outcome, characteristics of the furniture in the room, how peaceful and separated the environment is from others, its degree of formality.
Time factors	The time of the day for conducting the FDG: how long it lasts, how far the participants are able to concentrate on specific questions, for example questions arising at the end of the day.
Content	Elements introduced in the guide or by the moderator in the session; information to participants, language, order and style of questions; the use for techniques; how personal the theme is, expectations among participants and in society.

Table 7.1: Summary of Vicsek's Situational Factors, adapted from Orvik et al. (2013, p341).

While some of the specific situational factors identified by Vicsek above are described earlier in this thesis, I continued to use them as guidelines to discuss the contextual environment in which this research took place and its impact on my findings in the latter chapters as well. This research therefore conformed to the conclusion made by Orvik et al. (2013, p254), that Vicsek's analytical framework is useful during the research process and can be applied in research from the beginning stage of focus group design all the way through to a discussion of research findings. In their study to elucidate the extent to which contextual aspects of focus groups methodology are expressed and analysed in 10 articles that collected data by means of FDGs, they conclude that descriptions of situational factors within research also help to enhance the trustworthiness of studies by helping people to decide whether the findings are transferable to other settings.

In analyzing the focus group discussion in this study, I employed the thematic, content and narrative analyses approaches. These approaches were not used separately, but they were interwoven in a way that revealed their complementarity.

7.2.2 Content analysis

On content analysis, Druckman (2005, p257) quotes what he refers to as a ‘general definition’ provided by Holsti (1969) who defines it as “any technique of making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages.” Krippendorff (2004, p18) defines it as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use.” He posits that content analysis is a scientific tool, and as a research technique, it provides new insights, increases a researcher’s understanding of particular phenomena, or informs practical actions. In elaborating on his definition, he argues that reference to *text* is not intended to restrict content analysis to written material. Instead his definition includes the phrase ‘*or other meaningful matter*’:

...in parentheses to indicate that in content analysis works of art, images, maps, sounds, signs, symbols and even numerical records may be included as data – that is, they may be included as texts – provided they speak to someone about phenomena outside of what can be sensed or observed (Krippendorff, 2004, p19).

Krippendorff’s definition of content analysis makes the drawing of inferences the centerpiece of this research technique, and requires that content analysts be able to validate their results, whether those results are used to predict something, to inform decisions, or to help conceptualise the realities of certain individuals or groups (ibid, p25). This is similar to Palmquist (1993) cited by Babbie and Mouton (2001, p491), who defines content analysis as a research method that:

...examines words or phrases within a wide range of texts, including books, book chapters, essays, interviews and speeches as well as informal conversation and

headlines. By examining the presence or repetition of certain words and phrases in these texts, a researcher is able to make inferences about the philosophical assumptions of a writer, a written piece, the audience for which a piece is written, and even the culture and time in which the text is embedded.

According to Druckman (2005, p257), content analysis is a flexible approach to analysis that can be applied to a wide variety of written or oral communications allowing analysts to compare the content of communication across a variety of settings. He points out the distinction between texts and interaction process as an important criterion in content analysis. While texts are written documents that describe activities that happened in the past and can be read and re-read at the convenience of the analyst, process analysis consists of on-the-spot coding of statements made during interactions. Although accuracy may be a problem, Druckman (ibid: p258) argues that on-the-spot coding can enrich interpretations by taking expressions and the interaction context into account for purposes of description or inference. He postulates that analyses that address questions of *what was said, who said it and to whom it was said* describe the interaction, a situation he likens to a blow-by-blow account of a boxing match that captures the moment-by-moment actions and reactions. Analyses that address questions of *why something was said, how it was said and with what effect* provide interpretation [italics emphasis by author].

Krippendorff (2004, p21) adds another dimension, arguing that describing message characteristics only in terms of “what,” “how,” and “to whom,” fails to acknowledge the analyst’s own conceptual contributions to what constitutes the appropriate reading of the analysed texts and the relevance of this reading to a given research question. He urges analysts to reflect on their involvement in the process and to be flexible in taking into account new concepts that emerge during their involvement with texts. Over and above that, he also acknowledges the possibility that researchers’ theories can play a role in how analysis proceeds. In this study the conceptual contributions included Galtung’s theory of direct and indirect violence discussed in Section 4.3.1 and the concept of AVP in Section 3.2 that were central to all the research proceedings with the youths in Gutu as well as my role as the

moderator during the focus group discussions that generated some of the data analysed in Section 9.3.

Janis (1965, p57), as quoted in Stewart et al. (2006, p119) identified three distinct types of content analysis based on the purpose of investigation. They are:

1. *Pragmatical content analysis*, which includes procedures for classifying signs according to their probable causes and effects. In this type of analysis the emphasis is on why something is said.
2. *Semantical content analysis*, which seeks to classify signs according to their meanings. This type of analysis may take three forms: (a) Designation analysis, which determines the frequency with which certain objects (or persons, institutions or concepts) are mentioned. This type of analysis can be a rather simple counting exercise. (b) Attribution analysis, which examines the frequency with which certain characterizations or descriptors are used. Again, this can be a simple counting exercise, but the emphasis is on adjectives, adverbs, descriptive phrases, and qualifiers rather than the targets of these parts of speech. (c) Assertions analysis, which provides the frequency with which certain objects (persons, institutions etc) are characterized in a particular way. Assertions analysis involves combining designation analysis and attribution analysis. Such an analysis often takes the form of matrix, with objects as columns and descriptors as rows.
3. *Sign-vehicle analysis*, which classifies content according to the psychophysical properties of signs (counting the number of times specific words or types of words are used). For example, the degree to which a topic is emotionally evolving for respondents may be revealed by examination of the number of emotion laden words used.

Many scholars concur that at the core of the content analysis approach is the fact that data used in content analysis include human speech, observations of behavior and various forms of non-verbal communication. They also concur that content analyses involve data making after observations have been obtained and the data have been generated rather than before (Babbie and Mouton, 2008; Druckman, 2005; Krippendorff, 2004; Punch 2009; Stewart et al., 2009;

Vicsek, 2010). In this study I employed content analysis along with thematic analysis as my main approaches to analyse the focus group discussions comprising youths in the experimental group that underwent AVP training and the control group that did not.

The narrative of content analyses of data gathered during focus group discussions in Section 9.3.1 and from participants' personal diaries in Section 9.3.2 was heavily influenced by the conceptual framework offered by Krippendorff (2004, p29-30) which I employed to facilitate a critical examination and comparison of the experimental and the control groups in this study.

The framework uses the following components that, according to Krippendorff (2004, p83), the analyst would require to proceed from texts to results:

- **Unitizing** – which is the systematic distinguishing of segments of text – images, voices and other observables that are of interest to an analysis. [In this study I used this concept to differentiate between the Experimental and Comparison Groups].
- **Sampling** – which allows the analyst to economise on research efforts by limiting observations to a manageable subset of units that is statistically or conceptually representative of the set of all possible units, the population or universe of interest. [In this study I used this to deliberately focus on youth militias among the participants. These were allegedly the main perpetrators of violence and were my main motivation to introduce AVP].
- **Recording/coding** – which bridges the gap between unitized texts and someone's reading of them or between separate observations and their situational interpretations. [In this study this composes of the field notes I recorded during AVP training, focus groups and personal diaries].
- **Reducing data** – which serves analysts' need for efficient representations of large volumes of data. [In this study this included the summaries of the original data recorded].
- **Inferring** – which bridges the gap between descriptive accounts of texts and what they mean, refer to, entail, provoke or cause. [In this study this included identifying quotes from texts and engaging in triangulation to support my research findings].

- **Narrating** – making results comprehensible to others by explaining the practical significance of the findings or the contributions they make to the available literature. [In this study these include the effectiveness of AVP in changing the attitudes of youths towards violence (which also continues in Chapters Ten and Eleven).

The diagram below shows the components of content analysis as espoused by Krippendorff (2004, p86).

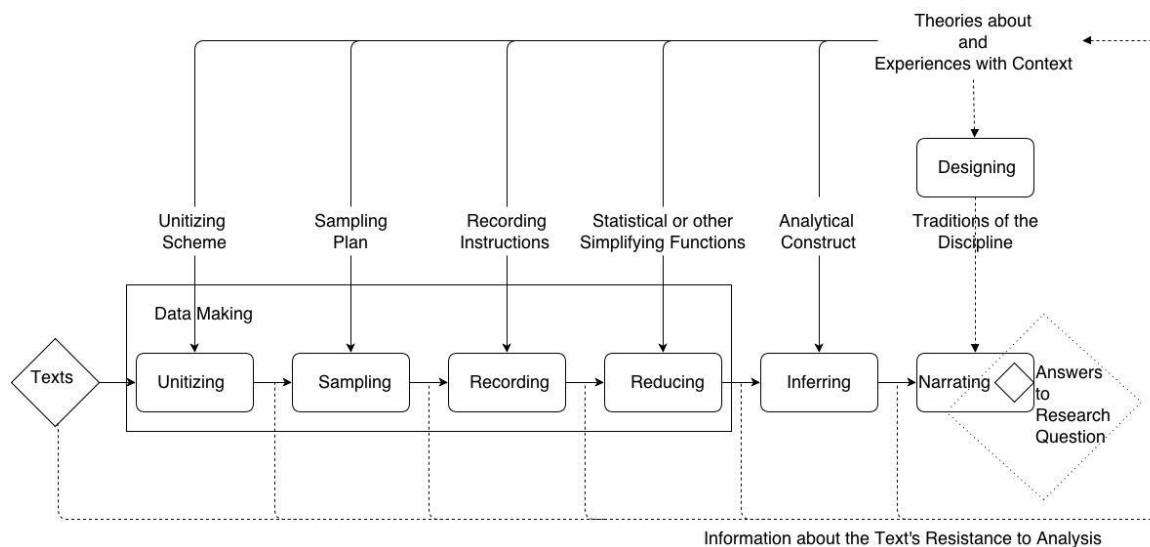


Fig 7.2 Components of content analysis, adapted from Krippendorff (2004, p86)

Krippendorff (ibid, p85) advises that there is no single 'objective' way of flowcharting research designs, so the components of content analysis given above do not necessarily need to be organized as linearly as suggested. A content analysis design, he suggests, may include iterative loops – the repetition of particular processes until a certain quality is achieved. Similarly, Hennink (2007, p207) posits that analysis of textual data is not conducted in a linear sequence of stages, whereby one stage is completed before the next is undertaken. Instead, data analysis is a circular process whereby stages of analysis may be repeated, overlap or are conducted simultaneously.

Druckman (2005, p259-60) dismisses some criticisms made against content analysis, among them the argument that the analysis is restricted to micro-level interactions and, as a result, misses the broader structural context in which those interactions occur. In defence, he argues

that the insights provided by the analysis at that level must be bolstered by complementary analyses of events that occur in the larger context within which the interactions occur. Similarly, Krippendorff (2004, p33) asserts that in content analysis, the context explains what the analyst does with the texts in that it embraces all the knowledge that the analyst applies, whether in the form of scientific theories, plausibly-argued propositions, empirical evidence, grounded intuitions, or knowledge of reading habits. He concludes that the context “specifies the world in which texts can be related to the analyst’s research questions.”

Stewart et al. (2006, p122) concur with Druckman’s argument when they posit that it is seldom practical or necessary to try to unitise all of the discussion that arises in a focus group. They argue that most content analyses of focus groups involve some sampling of the total group discussion for purposes of analysis. The analyst seeks to identify important themes and sample statements within a theme or use some other approach such as examining statements made in response to particular questions or at particular points in the conversation. It is from such assertions and recognition that a thematic analysis becomes not only imperative but can work to reinforce content analysis. This research employed the two together.

7.2.3 Thematic analysis

From the onset, it is important that I clarify terminology. Some scholars including Babbie and Mouton (2008, p492), refer to thematic analysis as *conceptual* analysis, arguing that the former is no longer favoured among qualitative researchers. However, in this study I used thematic analysis as it has traction in recent scholarly work as discussed below. For the sake of consistency, at no time did I use them interchangeably.

Hennink (2007, p221) describes themes as “topical markers or focal issues of various parts of the discussion.” She clarifies that themes can be topics, issues, concepts, influences, explanations, events, ideas or other things which mark the central focus of a part o the discussion. She posits that some themes will be raised by participants themselves, while others

may have been prompted by the moderator using topics on the discussion guide. This dovetails with Ryan and Bernard's (2006, p88) assertion that themes come both from the data (an inductive approach) and from the investigator's prior theoretical understanding of the phenomenon under study (an a priori approach).

This also conforms to the broad definition proffered by Braun and Clarke (2006, p79), who refer to thematic analysis as "a method of identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" [which] "organizes and describes data set in (rich) detail." They posit that thematic analysis can be an essentialist or realist method which reports experiences, meanings and the reality of participants, or it can be a constructionist method, which examines the way in which events, realities, meanings, experiences and so on are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society. Therefore, they suggest, thematic analysis can be a method which works both to reflect reality, and to unpick or unravel the surface of 'reality' (ibid, p81). They proceed to clarify that a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning with the data set. Among the tenets provided by Braun and Clarke (ibid, p82) is the fact that "the 'keyness' of a theme is not necessarily dependent on quantifiable measures – but in terms of whether it captures something important to the overall research question."

As stated earlier, Hennink (2007, p221) proposes two broad approaches in identifying themes. The first, which is borrowed from the principles of Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967), involves identifying the issues raised by participants in the discussion inductively, that is, from the issues raised by participants themselves. The greatest advantage of identifying themes inductively, she argues, is that it allows the analyst to identify the issues of importance to the participants which may also highlight issues that the researchers had not anticipated. Themes can be refined by noticing particular metaphors or anecdotes used by participants and identifying meaning attached to these phrases in the discussion. The second approach involves using the explicit topic areas from the discussion guide to highlight the parts of the discussion devoted to each specific topic. However, she warns that one of the shortcomings of relying on specific topics is that the analyst is tempted to impose themes onto the data and may lose sight

of the unique issues raised by participants themselves. She advises researchers to use a combination of the two approaches i.e. from both the participants' issues and from the topic areas on the discussion guide. I followed this advice to analyse the focus group data and the participants' diaries, as discussed in Section 9.3.

To identify themes, Ryan and Bernard (2003, p88-100) come up with eight observational techniques – things to look up for in texts – and four manipulative techniques – ways of processing texts. Although not exhaustive, these are summarised in Table 8.2 below.

Observational technique	Description
Repetitions	The more the same concept occurs in a text, the more likely it is a theme. How many repetitions are enough to constitute a theme, however, is an open question and only the investigator can decide.
Indigenous typologies or categories	These are local terms that may sound unfamiliar or are used in unfamiliar ways.
Metaphors and analogies	People often present their thoughts, behaviours and experiences with analogies and metaphors.
Transitions	Naturally occurring shifts in content may be markers of themes. In written texts, new paragraphs may indicate shifts in topics, in speech, pauses, changes in voice tone, or the presence of particular phrases may indicate transitions.
Similarities and differences	This involves searching for similarities and differences by making systematic comparisons across units of data, for example, taking pairs of expressions – from the same informant or from different informants and asking: How is one expression different or similar to the other? The abstract similarities and differences that this question generates are themes.
Linguistic connectors	This involves looking carefully for words and phrases such as 'because' 'since' and 'as a result' which often indicate causal relations. Words and phrases such as 'if' or 'then,' 'rather than,' and 'instead of' often signify conditional relations. Time-oriented relationships are expressed in words such as 'before,' 'after,' 'then' and 'next'.
Missing data	Much can be learned by what is not mentioned. Instead of asking, What is here? One can ask, What is missing? Searching for missing information is not easy. People may not trust the interviewer, may not wish to speak when

	others are resent, or may not understand the investigator's questions.
Theory-related material	This includes researchers' interests in understanding how qualitative data illuminate questions of importance to social science, such as interviews for evidence of social conflict, cultural contradictions, informal methods of social control, things that people do in managing impersonal social relationships, methods by which people acquire and maintain achieved and ascribed status, and information about how people solve problems.
Processing technique	Description
Cutting and sorting	This involves identifying quotes or expressions that seem somehow important and then arranging the quotes/expressions into piles of things that go together.
Word lists and Key Words in Context (KWIC)	This is based on the assumption that if one wants to understand what people are talking about, he or she looks closely at the words they use. To generate word lists researchers first identify all the unique words in a text and then count the number of times each occurs.
Word co-occurrence	This approach, also known as collation, comes from linguistics and semantic network analysis and is based on the idea that a word's meaning is related to the concepts to which it is connected.
Metacoding	This examines the relationship among a priori themes to discover potentially new themes and overarching metathemes. The technique requires a fixed set of data units (paragraphs, whole texts, picture etc) and a fixed set of a priori themes. For each data unit the investigator asks which themes are present and, possibly, the direction and valence of each theme.

Table 7.2: A summary of observational and processing techniques, adapted from Ryan and Bernard (2003, p88-100).

While this research borrowed from the observational and processing techniques pronounced above, Ryan and Bernard (ibid, p103) concede that looking for repetitions, similarities and differences, and transitions and linguistic connectors that occur frequently in qualitative data will probably produce more themes than looking for indigenous and indigenous categories that occur less frequently. Of all the scrutiny techniques, searching for theory-related material or for missing data will likely produce the least number of new themes. Of the process techniques they find that cutting and sorting and word lists yield an immediate number of themes, while

co-occurrence and metacoding produce only a few metathemes. This brings out the centrality of coding in data analysis, explained in Section 7.3 below.

Braun and Clarke (2006, p87) come up with six phases of thematic analysis that start when the analyst begins to notice, and look for, patterns of meaning and issues of potential interests in the data during data collection. The end point is the reporting of the content and meaning of patterns (themes) in the data, as shown on Table 8.2 below:

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with the data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking in the themes work in relation to the coded extracts and the entire data set generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells; generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back to the analysis research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Table 7.3: Phases of Thematic Analysis, adapted from Braun and Clarke (2006, p87)

As with Krippendorff's (2004) and Hennink's (2007) proposition on content analysis explained earlier, Braun and Clarke (ibid, p86) advise that thematic analysis is not a linear process where one simply moves from one phase to the next. Analysis, they say, involves a constant moving back and forward between the entire data set, the coded extracts that one is analysing, and the analysis of data that one is producing. Over and above that, they say writing is an integral *part* of analysis, not something that takes place at the end as it does with statistical analyses [italics by the authors]. Therefore, writing should begin in phase one, with the jotting down of ideas

and potential coding schemes, and continue right through the entire coding/analysis process (ibid, p86).

7.2.4 Narrative Analysis

Coffey and Atkinson (1996, p57) postulate that the storied qualities of qualitative textual data, both “naturally” given or research driven, enable the analyst to consider both how social actors order and tell their experiences and why they remember and tell what they do. They go on to say how social actors retell their life experiences as stories can provide insight into the characters, events, and happenings central to those experiences. They argue that precisely because it is a form of discourse that is known and used in everyday interaction, “the story is an obvious way for social actors in talking to strangers (e.g., the researcher) to retell key experiences and events (Coffey and Artkinson (1996, p56). They further posit that social actors remember and order their careers or memories as a series of narrative chronicles.

In this study, youths shared their stories before and after attending workshops. Their ‘before’ and ‘after’ stories was compared and analysed to assess the impact of AVP. This was in line with Halfman and Couzij’s (2008, p24) proposition that encourages evaluators to focus on the changes in participants’ experience by having conversations with participants themselves, as discussed in Section 3.8. Halfman and Couzij’s (2008, p53) evaluation of AVP in South Africa and the Netherlands led them to suggest a model where people tell a conflict story before they participate in a workshop and retell the same story after the workshop. The difference in the narration, they argue gives insights into what has changed in the narrator’s understanding of conflict. That way, they assume, insights into what the participant would have gained in the workshop are also revealed. In this study, participants in the experimental group who participated in AVP workshops provided self-reports about how the programme had impacted on their lives before and after their participation. This self-introspection helped to assess whether there were significant changes in attitude towards violence.

7.3 Coding

The concept of coding emerges prominently in discussing content and thematic analyses above because of its centrality in data analysis, thus, it is imperative that I give it some attention to briefly explain how I coded the data generated in this study. According to Punch (2009, p176), codes are tags, names or labels, and coding is the process of putting tags, names and labels against pieces of data which may be individual words or small and large chunks of the data. Saldana (2008, p3) defines a code in qualitative inquiry as “a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language based or visual data.” He further qualifies it by asserting that “coding is the transitional process between data collection and data analysis” (ibid, p4). He affirms that codes are essence-capturing and essential elements of the research story that, when clustered together according to similarity and regularity – a pattern – they effectively facilitate the development of categories and thus analysis of their connections (ibid, p8).

In this study, I employed edge-coding (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p415) to identify salient issues in the content supplied by participants in their submitted diaries. I wrote notes on the outside margin of each page, and where the space was limited, wrote on separate sheets of paper that I used as page markers in participant diaries. I then selected and categorised the specific words and phrases related to issues of conflict and violence that they encountered (as reported in the diaries) to gain in-depth knowledge from the data supplied and arrived at conclusions.

For focus group discussions, I employed the scissor-and-sort technique, which is sometimes called cut-and-paste method (Stewart 2006, p116-7) for both as a coding and a guideline for analysis. I identified the sections that contained major themes and issues relevant to the research questions (given earlier in this chapter) from the transcripts that were developed from recordings of the focus group discussions as well as from my observation notes jotted during proceedings. This is similar to what some scholars, including Punch (2009, p184-5), refer to as “open coding”, which involves putting descriptive or inference labels on pieces of data. He

posits that open coding is about using data to generate conceptual labels and categories for use in theory building. Its function, he argues, is to “expose theoretical possibilities in the data.” In the discussion and analysis of findings in Chapters Nine and Ten, I used quotations from the focus groups and self reports to infer and make a comparative analysis between the experimental group and the control group. Ultimately, this informed my evaluation of the youths’ behaviour in a conflict situation and the conclusions I reached on the potential of training youths in AVP.

To hide the identity of participants I coded and numbered the youths according to their two groups – EG1 to EG16 for the experimental group, and CG1 to CG16 for the control group. Their coding follows their affiliations as given in Table 7.4 below.

Affiliation	Participants in Experimental Group	Participants in Control Group	Reason for selection
National Youth Service Graduates	EG1 – EG4	CG1 – CG4	These were the main target group on which most of the allegations of politically motivated violence was blamed.
ZANU-PF Youths	EG5 – EG8	CG5 – CG8	Representing the ruling party, also linked to the National Youth Service but did not undergo training.
MDC Youths	EG9 – EG12	CG9 – CG12	Representing the opposition and often the first targets of politically motivated violence.
Church Youths	EG13 – EG16	CG13 – CG16	Drawn from various Christian denominations in the community who were perceived as neutral.

Table 7.4 Showing the coding of youths according to their affiliation that will be used to maintain anonymity.

During focus group discussions, some people who were not in the groups were mentioned by name when participants clarified issues or referred to specific incidents. I referred to these as ‘NP’ for Non-participant to conceal their identities in this research.

This codification shown in Table 7.4 above was adopted to maintain the confidentiality of the participants (and non-participants whose names will be mentioned) in line with the ethical measures prescribed by UKZN code of ethics. 'Anonymising' focus group data, as Hennink (2007, p218) refers to it, ensured that ethical principles were maintained during data analysis. This involved removing from the transcript any names of people, locations, places of employment and services, or any additional information which may reveal the identity of any particular participants in the group discussion. This was in consideration of the political situation prevailing in Zimbabwe.

Although computer-assisted approaches to content and thematic analyses, often referred to under the rubric of Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) packages such as N-Vivo, are increasingly being applied to focus group data because they maintain much of the rigor of traditional content analysis while greatly reducing the time and cost required to complete such analyses, the number of participants in this study is small and the methods that I opted to use were biased more towards the interaction process and inference from texts. Therefore, while I valued the role that computer programmes play, I noted the limitations inherent in computer text analysis as espoused by Krippendorff (2004, p23), who says that computers can be programmed to manipulate character strings in amazingly complex ways, but "their operations remain confined to the conceptions of their programmers." He adds that without human intelligence and human ability to read and draw inferences from texts, computer text analysis cannot point to anything outside of what it processes, apparently because they "have no environment of their own making; they operate in the contexts of their users' words without understanding those contexts." Similarly, Stewart et al. (2006, p126) note the capabilities of CAQDAS, but accept their limitation when meanings of words lose the context in which they occur because they are context dependent.

This study had an investigative process where I made sense of a social phenomenon by comparing and contrasting the behaviour of youths in a specific context. The field observations, interviews, focus group discussions, conflict diaries and participants' self-reports were captured and interpreted contextually without having to use computer-generated programmes.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the various ways in which data were analysed in this study. It begins by providing the background to analysing qualitative data before exploring the approaches that will be employed in this study. It goes on to briefly discuss coding as well as the importance of anonymising participants. The chapter ends by recognising the growing importance of computer generated analyses but also points out the limitations depending on the context.

PART FOUR: DATA COLLECTION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Part Four, comprising Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten focuses on data collection process and discussion of findings.

Chapter Eight provides detail of the profile of the community and how AVP training sessions were conducted. It also highlights how the workshops were conducted, including the direct involvement of community leaders that made the overall study possible.

Chapter Nine discusses and analyses data collected from focus groups and participant diaries, while **Chapter Ten** discusses and analyses data collected from pre and post-test experiments from the experimental and control groups, as well as the in-depth interviews that followed. It also discusses self-reports by participants in the experimental group as they share their introspections to their lives before and after participating in AVP.

CHAPTER EIGHT: PROFILE OF THE COMMUNITY AND REPORT OF THE TRAINING PROCESS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by describing the community and how the selection of participants was done. The issue of selection of community and the actual participants for this research was guided by the ethics and politics of social research as espoused by Hennink (2007), Babbie and Mouton (2008) and Mertens (2009). The chapter goes on to give a full description of how the AVP Basic, Advanced and Training for Facilitators workshops were conducted, guided by the AVP training manuals and the innovation of the facilitators. My own role as both facilitator and participant observer to fulfil my research objectives is also clarified. The chapter also describes how opportunities to involve the community were utilised throughout the training process.

8.2 Profile of the community

This study was conducted in Wards 1 and 2 of Gutu District in Masvingo Province, Zimbabwe. Based on the 2012 population census, Zimbabwe has a total population of 13 million (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, 2012). The Census 2012 Preliminary Report (2012) confirms that Gutu District has a total population of 203, 533 people. Ward 1 has 10,369 people while Ward 2 has 3,407 people. In line with the demographic structure of most developing countries generally, 43% of the total population in Zimbabwe is regarded as youth. Officially, at least according to the Ministry of Youth Development, Indigenisation and Empowerment that formulated the Zimbabwe National Youth Policy in 2000 (as a policy document towards the introduction of the National Youth Service (NYS) that trained the youth militias) youth are those in the age group 10 – 30 years. This was officially the group that was targeted for training (National Youth Policy Document, 2000, p7, The Solidarity Peace Trust, 2003). However, according to information provided on the website of its successor, the new Ministry of Youth

Development, Indigenisation and Empowerment, the NYS targets youths aged 18 – 35 years (<http://www.mydie.gov.zw/index.php/en/welcome>). In a publication on youth and violent crime, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) defines youths as individuals aged between 15 and 24 years (UNDP, 2006, p12). It notes that while defining youth is problematic, it is to a large extent socially constructed as it has less to do with age than with status and behaviour. According to the UNDP, the concept of youth is intrinsically linked with the idea of transition from childhood to adulthood – from a phase of life in which the individual needs protection, sheltering and guidance to one of self-determination, maturity, independence, responsibility and accountability for decision-making.

8.2.1 Recruitment of participants

The recruitment of participants for this study was guided by the advantages of purposive sampling which are detailed in Section 6.2.2 of this thesis. Unlike quantitative research, which typically has large randomly selected samples, qualitative research typically focuses on a smaller number of participants who are selected non-randomly. Hennink (2007, p93) refers to it as ‘purposive recruitment’, which is a selection of participants according to criteria specific to the research objectives, influenced by the characteristics of the study population and the context of the research. Participant recruitment, then, refers to the process of identifying individuals with certain characteristics and inviting them to take part in a particular research.

Hennink also comments on community recruitment in developing country contexts which needs the endorsement of local ‘gatekeepers’ to gain access to community members. This involves making appropriate use of the close-knit social structures which can be beneficial in quickly identifying appropriate participants. Participants are therefore first approached indirectly by the community gatekeepers to announce the presence of the researcher before the process can be taken forward. This is typically how communities are approached in Zimbabwe.

In this study, recruitment of participants took place in three steps that resonate with Hennink's recommendations. The first step was to approach the local government authorities – the Ward Councillors for Ward 1 and Ward 2 who are the 'community gatekeepers' – and explain to them my intentions and the objectives of the study. With them we discussed the issue of prevailing politically-motivated violence perpetrated by youths as a growing phenomenon that threatened to destroy the community's social fabric as well as its development projects. I explained to them the nature of the training that the process would undertake and the fact that three facilitators would be brought in from South Africa to carry out the training. Engaging the local Councillors served two purposes related to the three stages of recruitment process. On the one hand, the Councillors would be my emissaries to the local Chief so that he would 'allow' his 'subjects' – the youths to be trained – to take part in the study in which foreigners (the three South African facilitators) would be involved. On the other hand, the two Councillors, themselves being political figures, would reach out to youths in political formations without much suspicion. In a polarised country like Zimbabwe, politically active youths only participate in an activity in which they have permission from their leadership.

The second step of recruitment was the selection of potential participants from which I would select the final thirty-two – sixteen for the experimental group and the other sixteen for the control group. This was done through the local Councillors.

The third step was to make the final selection by seeking the consent of the participants and agreeing on the training process and time that they would spend in it. The issues of voluntary participation as a pre-requisite of all AVP training was discussed and agreed upon (AVP 2002; Hennink 2007; Barbie and Mouton 2008; Mertens 2009). Considering that even though they are regarded as youths in their affiliations, the participants selected were all adults aged between 18 and 39 years so parental consent for their participation was not necessary. They all signed consent forms (as required by the UKZN Ethics Committee). On the issues of confidentiality, anonymity and informed consent, the parameters of this study were set by the UKZN ethics as well as academic standards recommended by scholars, including Mertens (2009, p221). On confidentiality, Mertens stresses that the privacy of individuals should be protected, meaning

that the data they provide will be handled and reported in such a way that it cannot be associated with them personally. Anonymity means that no uniquely identifying information is attached to the data so no one should be able to trace the data back to the individual who provided it. On informed consent, he suggests that it is a process, not just a form. Information must be presented to enable persons to voluntarily decide whether or not to participate as research subject. It is a fundamental mechanism to ensure respect for persons through provisions of thoughtful consent for a voluntary act. The procedures used in obtaining informed consent should be designed to educate the subject population in terms they can understand. The written presentation of information is used only to document the basis for consent and for the subjects' future reference. These guidelines were followed in obtaining consent from all the youths participated in this study. A sample letter of consent form is provided as Annexure V.

One important factor that Hennink brings out is whether the study participants are members of a general community or represent specific sub-groups of the population. The sample of participants in Table 8.1 below shows their profile in this study.

8.2.2 Sample of the participants

From among the types of sampling discussed in Section 6.2, I employed purposive sampling as espoused by Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003, 2009), which is also referred to as judgmental sampling by Babbie and Mouton (2008). Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009, p173-4) postulate that researchers using purposive sampling want to generate a wealth of detail from typically small samples. Table 8.1 below shows the sample of participants and their affiliations. Each category was then divided into two so that two groups emerged – one that became the experimental group and the other the control group. The age of the participants ranged from 18 – 39 years. While 39 would be deemed outside the age of youth described above, the two participants who were over 35 years were not only graduates of the NYS training, but were still active leaders of the local ZANU-PF wing and had been implicated in the 2008 violent elections. They therefore fitted the targets for rehabilitation and reintegration envisaged by the AVP training.

Affiliation	No. of participants	Reason for selection
National Youth Service Graduates	8	These were the main target group on which most of the allegations of politically motivated violence was blamed.
ZANU-PF Youths	8	Representing the ruling party, also linked to the National Youth Service but did not undergo training.
MDC Youths	8	Representing the opposition and often the first targets of politically motivated violence.
Church Youths	8	Drawn from various Christian denominations in the community who were perceived as neutral.

Table 8.1: Sample of Participants

In each of the groups represented in the table above there were two females. Thus, in total, there were eight female youths out of the 32 who participated.

8.2.3 Profile of the AVP facilitators

Three AVP facilitators – Mustuffa Nxumalo (35), Sifiso Dladla (28) and Neo Chaka (24) – were the trainers. All three are South Africans who travelled to Zimbabwe for the first time for the purpose of facilitating the AVP workshops. Nxumalo and Dladla come from KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) province of South Africa where they are active members and lead facilitators in the KZN AVP Network – a network of more than 100 accredited facilitators whose work I coordinated in 2008. Chaka is a leading member for AVP activities among the youth at Phaphama Initiatives, an organisation promoting AVP in Gauteng Province. I first met Chaka while attending the AVP International Gathering that was held in Kenya in September 2008. They all gave me permission to use their names in this thesis.

A number of factors determined the selection of these facilitators. Firstly, the three are leading facilitators of AVP workshops in their communities and have much experience, both individually and collectively, in promoting non-violence through AVP. Secondly, until the time this study began, there had not been a properly structured AVP programme in Zimbabwe, and there were no local facilitators. Thirdly, South Africa is regarded as one of the most violent countries in the world (Reeler 2007), so the three have gained their experience to train AVP in a volatile environment. Fourthly, all three are still youthful in age, and participants would feel comfortable to interact with their age-mates. This was important considering that in African culture age differences matter. The dynamics would be affected if older people were trainers as youths would be culturally obliged to be respectful and to always agree. Fifthly, and most importantly, the three were strangers to the participants. Although some researchers firmly believe that trainers or moderators should be known to the participants, Hennink (2007, p118) argues that using a stranger enables a greater depth of information to be drawn from the group. This is because participants may perceive the need to describe certain social and cultural issues which influence their opinions, and this justification may be taken for granted with a trainer of the same background as the participants. Although familiarity between trainers and participants may make respondents feel at ease, it can also influence the nature of group dynamics in that a familiar person may be identified with particular beliefs or opinions that influence participants' responses and reactions to topics discussed. Hennink cites a situation where a trainer or moderator may be known to have strong political, environmental or religious views and that participants may feel the need to mirror those views or be reluctant to voice their own opinions. With strangers, he says, participants feel more freely to contribute to discussions as there is a sense of confidentiality. Also, no information is taken for granted, so greater detail is often provided. Considering the levels of polarisation prevailing in Zimbabwe, this choice of facilitators seemed highly appropriate.

8.2.4 Ethical considerations

In recruiting participants and facilitators for this study, I was aware of the general agreements among researchers about what is proper in the conduct of social inquiry, as espoused by Hennink (2007) and Babbie and Mouton (2008). Among the tenets that they emphasise is voluntary participation. Social research often represents an intrusion into people's lives, and sometimes invites people to reveal personal information about themselves. In this study this value was strictly observed for two reasons. Firstly, it is an accepted norm that all participants of AVP should voluntarily agree to take part in the training (AVP, 2002, pA-4; 2013, p3). Secondly, the political volatility in Zimbabwe during the time of the research was such that it would have been extremely difficult for anyone to participate simply because he or she has been seconded. The study was carried out soon after violence had engulfed the country from March to September 2008, and among the targeted participants were both perpetrators and victims of the violence.

8.2.5 Choice of venue

The training workshops took place at Chiguhune Roman Catholic church premises in Ward 1, Gutu District. The participants, local church parishioners and the community leaders consented to the choice of venue. Seeking the consent of the participants was crucial because not all participants were Catholics or Christians. It was therefore important to reach an agreement that we would use the venue for the purposes of AVP workshops only, with no other religious intentions. A number of factors were considered when selecting the venue. Firstly, a church building is generally considered neutral for activities that promote peace. As stated earlier in Section 2.4, Zimbabwe is a predominantly Christian country even though other faiths exist. The local schools were not considered as alternative venues because they are often used for political activities such as campaign rallies and as polling stations during elections and I considered that some participants would not feel comfortable to share experiences that may have happened at such venues. This would make them susceptible to post-traumatic stress or

even vicarious trauma (Staub 2006). Secondly, the venue was offered free of charge. Thirdly, the venue is centrally located such that participants could get to the venue on time with no transport costs required. Fourthly, and probably most important, the venue would not raise suspicions among passers-by who would wonder why youths were gathering, particularly those that are known to be political activists. This was an important consideration because of the level of political polarisation prevailing in Zimbabwe at the time.

8.3 The training process

AVP has expanded to many countries worldwide and has evolved over the years. However, it is recommended that the essence of AVP is maintained while being sensitive to how the programme can be adapted for cultural differences (AVP, 2013, p6). It is accepted practice that session agendas of any workshop are revised by facilitators in light of the group's experience, mood and needs. AVP manuals provide sample agendas as useful foundation to build on as they illustrate the structuring of the programme to give groups the four basic learning experiences of AVP – affirmation, community building, communication skills and conflict resolution (AVP 2002:A-7). Table 8.2 below shows an example of a sample six-session agenda.

Session One	Session Four
Opening talk	Agenda preview and gathering
Agenda preview	Role plays
Introduce team	Light and livelies as needed
Introduce everyone: go around circle with name and one thing I hope to get out of this workshop	Trust lift
Adjective name exercise	
Affirmation in Twos	
Light and lively: Big wind blows	
Brainstorm and discussion: what is violence?	

Listening Evaluation Closing	
Session Two Agenda preview and gathering Concentric circles Sharing: a conflict I solved non-violently Light and lively: Human Pretzel Broken squares Cooperative construction Evaluating Closing	Session Five Agenda preview and gathering Strategy or building a new society Evaluation Closing
Session Three Agenda preview and gathering Transforming power talk Principles and queries Light and lively: hand pushing; hassle lines Light and lively: choose one requiring inter-dependence, quick decisions or empathy Evaluation Closing	Session Six Agenda preview and gathering Reflection or Who am I? Unanswered questions Write own queries Affirmation posters or shields Evaluate whole workshop Graduation Closing

Table 8.2 An example of a six-session AVP agenda, adapted from AVP Manual (2002, pD-8)

Along with the expansion into new cultures and countries has been the incorporation of new exercises that provide ways for AVP workshops to acknowledge and affirm particular practices. For example, some cultures have prohibitions against touching between genders. The games that are played during the course of the training, also known as ‘light and livelies’ in AVP jargon,

that require touching or body contact must therefore be adapted to respect this cultural norm. The concept of taking personal responsibility for communicating feelings (“I” Messages) has taken various forms in AVP workshops in different cultures, while music and dance are very important in some parts of the world and have become an integral part of the workshops (AVP, 2013, p7). All these issues were put into consideration during the training sessions with youths in Gutu.

The agenda guideline above provided the general guide that we used, but where necessary adjustments were made in a way that maintained the core values of AVP and maximised the benefits that youths would gain from participating.

8.3.1 AVP Basic Workshop (Level 1)

The AVP Basic Workshop training session was held from 10th – 11th January 2010. The two-day training introduced all the five pillars of AVP – Affirmation, Communication, Cooperation, Community Building (with emphasis on respect) and Transforming Power (also referred to as Creative Conflict Transformation), as guided by the AVP manuals (AVP 2002; 2013). The five pillars are the core values of AVP that contribute to creating ‘safe space’ for participants so that they feel confident to open up to the members to other group and share personal and emotional experiences. Below is a detailed explanation of how the training sessions were conducted. The morning sessions started at 0830hrs up to lunch time at 1300hrs. The afternoon sessions started at 1400hrs up to 1730hrs. There were short ‘tea breaks’ in each session. After the training sessions we (myself and the facilitators from South Africa) socialised with the participants, and the issues discussed continued to rotate around AVP. The workshop started with all participants completing a pre-test and ended with a post-test questionnaire that tested their attitudes towards violence before and after AVP training. An analysis of their responses is discussed in Section 10.3 of this thesis.

Day One, Session One (Morning): Introducing AVP

Introductions

Introductions took the first one and half hours of the first morning session. I introduced the facilitators to the group. I gave a brief background of my relationship with the facilitators as stated earlier in this chapter. I also briefed the participants on the issues of violence prevalent in the facilitators' environment and how they were leading some initiatives and processes to ameliorate the problems among the youths in South African communities where they reside. After that I clarified my roles in the process as follows: firstly, that I was also a participant and a co-facilitator, albeit with other roles to play within the whole training process. This served the purpose of making everyone comfortable with my presence as one of them participating in all activities throughout the training process. Secondly, that I was a participant observer, and I would be taking down some notes where I felt it was necessary. This was done to reiterate what had already been agreed earlier when the consent of the participants was sought. Thirdly, that I was in charge of all the logistical arrangements pertaining to the whole training process. While AVP workshops stress the importance of a non-hierarchical structure (AVP, 2002, pA-5), it was important that a sense of who is in charge was established, just in case there could be need for consultations or decision-making. The reason I resorted to this arrangement was that in this group there were political antagonists who had fought a number of violent battles during the peak period of electoral violence in 2008. I wanted to create a clear structure through which any issues affecting anyone, or that could affect the training process itself would be raised and dealt with me directly. This was very important especially during the first stages when tensions were high because of suspicions.

The participants introduced themselves and shared their expectations which were written on flip-charts. They were also requested to say the gifts that they think they possess which they wanted to share with others. This gave all participants a chance to share what they felt was positive in them. Such self **affirmation** is one of the five pillars of AVP training (AVP, 2002, pE-5; 2013, p8) which made participants to begin to soften and open up by saying things that they felt comfortable about themselves.

Ground rules

The facilitators encouraged the group to agree on a set of ground rules that guided proceedings during the training sessions. Ground rules (also referred to as 'Community Agreement' in AVP jargon) helped to create a safe space to build community and trust. The AVP (2013, p6) is specific on minimum guidelines which include: affirming oneself and one another; avoiding put downs; respecting confidentiality; respectfully listening to one another; self volunteering; and, giving each other the right to pass if an activity is uncomfortable for a person. The following are some of the agreed ground rules that were agreed:

- Right to pass would be observed
- Respect for each other's opinion
- Raise hand and be allowed to speak
- Freedom to express ideas in the vernacular language
- Volunteer oneself
- Feel free to express oneself without shame or embarrassment
- Everyone is equal
- Feel free to ask questions and request clarification
- Confidentiality of shared information should be upheld

In this particular case ground rules helped to neutralise the baggage of organisational hierarchies that the participants brought, particularly those coming from political party structures and the youth militia where power structures are expected to be maintained. The other important aspect of the ground rules was to reassure participants that they would not face persecution arising from information shared during the training sessions because the group agreed that everything would be in confidence.

Brainstorming violence and non-violence

The group had a brainstorming session to share their understanding of violence. Table 8.3 below shows their views about what constitutes violence:

Violence	Humiliation; blood; brutality; torture; homicide; cultural distortion; lack of medical care; no peace and tranquility; devaluation; immorality; jealousy; human rights abuse; greediness; disobedience; no division of labour; rudeness; lack of development; no charity; hatred; financial instability; chaos and disorder; no rules; no humility; lack of education; transport problems; power hungry; divisions; racial discrimination; lack of security; political violence; dictatorship; segregation; individualism; conflicts; inflation.
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Table 8.3: Table showing participants' perceptions of violence

It is important to note that all these issues of violence raised can be categorised into Galtung's A,B,C triangle and his model of Direct, Structural and Cultural forms of violence as explained in detail in Sections 4.2.2 and 4.3.1, respectively.

On non-violence, the group came up with the following, as shown on the radial chart on Figure 7:1 below:

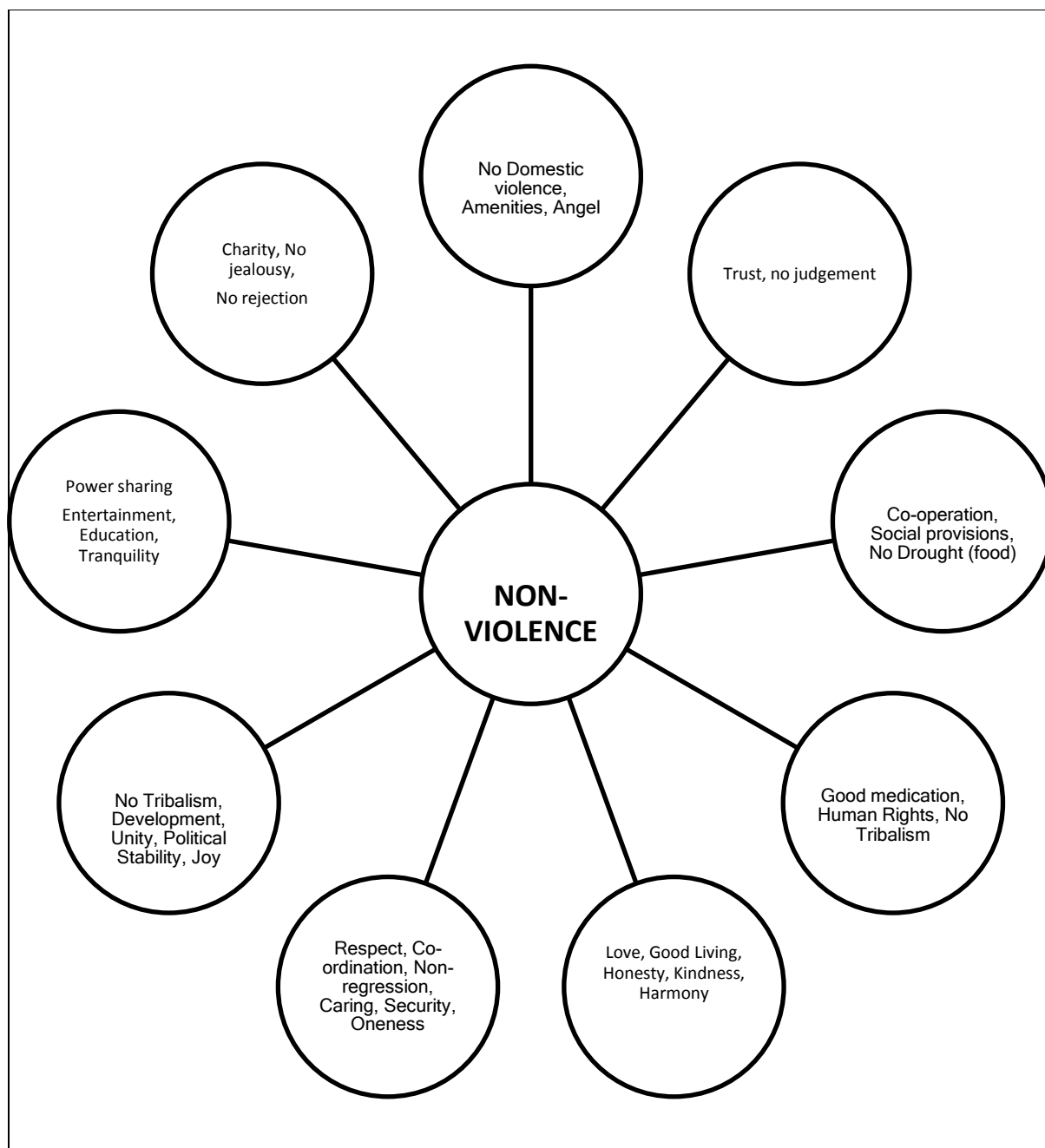


Figure 8.1: Chart showing participant's perception of non-violence

The issues that the youths envisage as what would constitute a non-violent society in the chart above such as love, cooperation, development and respect, among others, resonate with Galtung's model of positive peace that was explained in Section 4.6.1. The same issues are also at the centre of the ethos of AVP training as discussed in Section 3.3.

Session Two (Afternoon): Building community through communication

Session two introduced an exercise that promoted **communication** skills (another of the five AVP pillars) in the form of concentric circles. This exercise required that participant talk to each member of the group. Participants were requested to share what they liked about their families. This one-on-one exercise was followed-on the positive affirmations that they had shared during the introductions. More importantly, this exercise gave an opportunity for some perpetrators and victims of violence to speak to each other directly for the first time in years. The tension in the room could easily be observed. However, our sitting arrangement stuck to the requirements of AVP training (AVP, 2013, p6) where facilitators are spread around the circle and also participate with the rest. This sitting arrangement gave a sense of comfort and security to all participants, along with the ground rules that everyone had committed to. Also, the fact that in this exercise participants shared what they felt were positive aspects of their families led them to positively affirm themselves and made the focus of their sharing much easier.

Day Two, Session Three (Morning)

Building a community of trusting and cooperating members

In line with the five pillars of AVP, Session Three introduced exercises that promoted **community building (trust)** and **cooperation**. While the exercises focused on these attributes, they also reinforced affirmation and communication that had been introduced in Sessions One and Two. The exercises were followed by discussions that allowed the youths to reflect on what they had just done and link it with their own life experiences. Because AVP encourages exercises to be done in pairs or groups, quite often the youths found themselves having to do the exercises with participants who previously would be regarded as their enemies in real life because of belonging to opposing political groups. One popular exercise in AVP training which generated excitement during training sessions and helped to build trust in the group was 'blind folding' where, in pairs, one member is blind folded and is assisted to walk-about with some guidance. The exercise helped to break down barriers existing among some group members as they soon realised the importance of trusting each another. The other exercise that helped the youths to realise the importance of cooperation was working with broken squares to create a

whole shape. This AVP exercise known as ‘broken squares’ (AVP, 2002, pE-9; or ‘puzzling’ (AVP, 2013, p133-4) uses the concept of pieces of a puzzle. Through this exercise participants eventually realise that unless individuals or groups cooperate and exchange some of the pieces, it is impossible to create the required shape. Such exercises make AVP training unique because it encourages learning by doing. It is when participants ‘experience’ difficulties in finding solutions individually that they realise the importance of cooperation and inter-dependence. Teamwork has potential to build friendship, and the youths expressed this ‘realisation’ during the discussions that followed.

Session Four (Afternoon)

Transforming power: Introducing non-violent conflict resolution

In Session Four, the facilitators introduced the concept of **transforming power** which is regarded as the most important in AVP philosophy. In fact, according to the AVP Manual (2013:6), “Any workshop that does not specifically include Transforming Power is not an AVP workshop.” Transforming power speaks to one’s spirituality (which is found in all spiritual beliefs) and is a concept that acknowledges that everyone possesses individual power to change one’s attitude and behaviour. The facilitators introduced this concept using a circular diagram commonly referred to as the *Mandala* (this is explained in detail in Section 3.3.3). To underscore the concept of transforming power, participants completed tasks and exercises in which they practiced and demonstrated ways of creatively transforming conflicts. They were requested to reflect on their personal life experiences which reflected the key concepts in the Transforming Power *Mandala*, which are: respect for self; caring for others; expect the best; think before reacting; and, ask for a non-violent solution. This reinforced the core values of experiential learning and reflection in AVP. As a follow-up participants were requested to write stories of their life experiences with conflict in their personal diaries. An analysis of these stories is discussed in Section 9.3.2.

Training highlights for the Basic Workshop

- The introduction session took long to complete, taking one and half hours for a total of 20 participants – comprising 16 youths, 3 facilitators and myself. Two factors contributed to this. Firstly, more time on introductions helped to thaw the existing tensions and suspicions created by the violence that characterised how some participants related in their recent past. In trying to make them open up and be comfortable, they were given more time to introduce themselves in the way that they felt most comfortable. This is not usually the case in AVP training, where participants quickly choose adjective names that they prefer to be called by in their new ‘family’ which is referred to as the ‘gathering’ (AVP, 2002, pF-2). In some circumstances personal introductions do not take more than 15 minutes. Secondly, participants were curious to know more about the facilitators and their background. This was partly related to the suspicions raised by the youths related to ZANU-PF who later confessed that their leadership had expressed its reservations because they did not know the nature of the training and how it would affect their political fortunes. Another reason why the participants sought more information about the facilitators was probably curiosity because some of them were interacting with foreigners for the first time.
- AVP exercises, also referred to as ‘light and livelies’ (AVP, 2002, pE1-63; 2013, p130), helped to break the barriers among the youths in that during the training sessions they randomly found themselves having to work-out something together. Light and livelies (also known as energisers) are short activities undertaken during an AVP workshop to lift the energy of the participants, especially after practice and feedback sessions. They are highly regarded in AVP workshops, and in many instances they are also used to reinforce some of the skills acquired during the sessions, for example, games that emphasise the importance of active listening. Light and livelies are fun opportunities that also help participants to interact. During the training the facilitators introduced a number of light and livelies, but soon requested the participants to also come up with their own. This allowed the workshop to incorporate activities which the participants felt familiar with, thereby ‘localising’ the AVP processes.

- Community involvement occurred at three levels of the social hierarchy. At one level, which can be described as the neighbourhood level, six women from the village volunteered to prepare and serve food to the youths undergoing training for free. Although I later paid them some money to appreciate their labour, to them the monetary value was secondary because labour is shared among community members when there is a gathering that has been accepted by the community hierarchy. It would almost be obligatory when there are visitors to the community, in this case the three South African facilitators. At community level our first day programme delayed to start because our group was invited to attend the Catholic Mass since it was on a Sunday. As a practicing Catholic myself, and because we were using the church premises while there were church members among the youths to be trained, it was agreed that those who wanted to attend would freely do so. It was clarified to participants that attending the church service would be voluntary. Interestingly, everyone volunteered to participate. At the end of the service, the priest announced that there was an important training taking place (AVP) among youths whose aim was to promote peace in the community. All AVP participants were requested to stand up and were formally welcomed by the church minister while the congregants, numbering more than two hundred, clapped their hands and ululated in appreciation.
- At a higher level, community leadership came and addressed the youths at the end of the training and expressed their gratitude that the youths had received invaluable training that would help society. The traditional chief of the community, Chief Denhere, awarded the AVP certificates to the youths who completed Level One. He used the occasion to reiterate the need for peaceful co-existence among his subjects. "It is my hope that the training you have received will make my community peaceful, and the stories of people fighting, burning each other's homes or attacking each other using axes, spears, knives or any other weapons is now a thing of the past," he said. There is no doubt that the direct involvement of community leadership had a huge impact on the outcome of this training in particular, and this study generally.

8.3.2 AVP Advanced Workshop (Level 2), 21 – 22 January 2011

AVP Advanced Workshop was held from 21st – 22nd January 2011, exactly twelve months after the Basic Workshop. The same South African facilitators led the process while I continued with my extra roles of co-facilitating and observing. The same venue was used and all of the participants turned up except two who dropped out. One female youth had just got married and we could not establish her contacts. The other, a male, had just joined the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) and was still undergoing military training. Despite the shortcoming, a turn-out of fourteen out of the expected sixteen was equally acceptable. What was impressive was the excitement among the youths who were progressing to Advanced Workshop. As was done during the Basic Workshop, the participants completed a pre and post-test questionnaire that tested their attitude towards violence before and after the workshop. Results of these are discussed in detail in Section 9.3.2.

Day One, Session One (Morning)

Personal awareness and experience of AVP

The morning gathering focused on reflections by the youths as they shared their life experiences regarding their personal conflicts since the AVP Basic Workshop. As a way to recapitulate they also shared what they remembered from the AVP Basic workshop. Exercises that promoted team-building were prioritised as a way to restore the elements of reconnection and co-operation since a year had passed.

Session Two (Afternoon)

‘I’ Messages: Communication and decision making in conflict resolution

The session reinforced the value of good communication skills, which is an essential part of finding alternatives to violence and learning to resolve conflict by introducing the concept of non-judgmental communication, commonly referred to as “I” messages or ‘responsible messages’ in AVP training (AVP, 2002, pE29-36; 2013, p111-115). “I” messages were presented as a way of helping the youths to speak honestly, positively and assertively when they are in

conflict, or when they observe the potential of conflict developing because of another person's behaviour. This approach provided a safe and comfortable space for participants to speak and to be heard without being defensive. It was explained that the concept of "I" messages invites communication which brings people together in harmony and mutual respect.

During the session, facilitators engaged participants in exercises that would help them to speak in a non-judgmental way. This was very critical particularly in politically polarised communities as in Gutu where mudslinging by opposing actors was common in a bid to score political points. Reflecting after the exercises on "I" messages, one of the participants had the following to say:

"I am realising that this training is teaching me more of how I should behave and talk to others than how I should react to what they say. It is more about myself."

Many others nodded in agreement. At this stage, the facilitators reiterated the importance of good communication skills when resolving conflicts, linking this to what was discussed in the first level.

Day Two, Session Three (Morning)

Transforming power: Introducing conflict resolution

The AVP approach to workshops underscores the fact that the "building blocks" of an AVP workshop experiences are the exercises, while the "mortar" that holds it together is the concept of Transforming Power – a power that averts violence or transforms it into a win-win situation that can be channeled through any human being who is open to it (AVP, 2013, p77). By linking the experiences of some exercises as well as role-plays, participants grow in their understanding of this powerful concept. This session built on the introductory exercise of Transforming Power that was done in the Basic Workshop training. The AVP *Mandala* was again used (placed at the centre of the circle), and participants were invited to share stories of conflicts that they solved non-violently (some of these stories had been recorded in their personal diaries and are analysed Chapter Eight). The facilitators discussed the stories with participants to help them to locate concrete examples of Transforming Power, with the aid of the *Mandala*.

Session Four (Afternoon)

Role plays: Practicing conflict resolution

In groups, participants role-played conflict scenarios that they were familiar with. Through this exercise the youths practiced conflict resolution skills and reinforced the 'I' messages and listening skills that had been acquired in previous sessions. The participants selected stories that they had shared earlier in the day for their role-plays, with some coming from their personal diaries. It was interesting to note that in this exercise none of the participants opted to role-play the political violence that they had experienced. My conclusion was that they kept on the side of caution, not sure of what would happen if they had role-played being such a person in real life experience. The facilitators monitored the role-plays, and would call for a 'freeze' of play to keep the situation under control.

After each role-play participants reflected on what they felt while either acting the roles or as observers. One issue that frequently emerged from the observations was non-verbal communication. A good example of the reflection was: "I could see that John [not real name, only used for role-play purposes] was angry because he was constantly frowning at the accusations made at him", said one participant. To ascertain if this observation was correct, the male youth who played John's role concurred. He revealed that he felt he was not given enough chance to respond to the accusations (while in role-play). Facilitators used the example to explain why it is important to de-role, and at the same time encouraged the role-players to discharge the negative energy related to acting some roles. To reinforce the skills acquired participants were asked to reflect and discuss how the situation could have been dealt with differently using AVP skills.

Highlights of Advanced Workshop training

- Participants interacted more openly with each other right from the beginning of Day One, unlike during the Basic Workshop when there was tension. I attributed this to two things: firstly, the time they had spent together in training sessions had broken the barriers and set forth a conducive atmosphere for continuation; and, secondly, unlike

during the Basic Workshop when graduates from National Youth Service and their ZANU-PF counterparts were afraid of the consequences that would befall them from their superiors, this time they were given the green light to participate freely.

- Continued community involvement, especially at leadership level, gave a sense of positive societal expectation among the participating youths. As in Level One, Chief Denhere again awarded the AVP certificates at the end of the training, and used the opportunity to reiterate the call for peaceful coexistence among his subjects. Many other community leaders accompanied the Chief to officiate the end of Level Two training, which took place under the indigenous *muchakata* tree (Botanical name *parinari curatellifolia*) outside the church buildings where the actual training had taken place. The importance of this ceremony under a specific tree is that it is regarded as sacred in the Shona traditional customs in Zimbabwe. All important traditional gatherings take place under the muchakata tree. For participants to receive a certificate under this specific tree added to its value. This is one of the many ways by which AVP can be contextualised in Zimbabwe.
- Participants played volleyball at the end of the training. The teams were randomly selected, and the youths enjoyed the sporting activity and openly shared jokes. To the on-lookers, it was both a huge surprise and a sigh of relief to see victims and perpetrators openly enjoying the game.

[While there is realisation of the importance of sports to foster peace-building, and there is a growing body of academic research and literature in that regard, in this study sporting activities were for recreational purposes only. Whilst I recognise that such sporting activities complemented the role of this study, it was inadvertent].

8.3.3 AVP Training for Facilitators Workshop (Level 3), 16 – 18 April 2011

From the original experimental group of 16 youths who attended basic workshop training 16 months earlier, only 10 participated at AVP Training of Facilitators Workshop, also referred to as T4F in AVP jargon (AVP, 2013, p vii). According to the Manual, the theme of the training for facilitators workshop is ‘empowerment’, which resonates with AVP’s overall goal of empowering individuals as facilitators and leaders. Since AVP emphasises ‘experiential learning’ a T4F workshop is typically designed to bring about an understanding of what it means to facilitate by having participants experience facilitating in a supportive environment. This principle guided the training that we held with the youths.

The workshop focused on developing facilitation skills and working in teams, and participants received feedback on their facilitation and teamwork. Unlike AVP basic and advanced workshops where training took place over two days, T4F was intentionally designed to spill into third day to coincide with the 18th of April which is Zimbabwe’s Independence Day. This was done to allow deeper community involvement and appreciation as explained below as a highlight of this training. Again, as in the basic and advanced workshops, the participants completed a pre and post-test questionnaire that tested their attitudes towards violence, whose findings are explained in Section 9.3.2.

Day One, Session One (Morning)

Building community and understanding training for facilitators workshop

This session reiterated the importance of community-building and cooperation by reinforcing the concepts acquired in Basic and Advanced workshops. As espoused in AVP (2013, p19-25), Basic and Advanced workshops are about personal learning, growth and dealing with violence in one’s own life, while T4F is about learning how to facilitate an AVP basic workshop to give others the learning opportunity one experienced in his/her Basic workshop. The need for community building and cooperation is important for T4F as participants would be working together in facilitating teams for the first time. They needed to feel the support of their teams

and the whole group from the onset as they were encouraged to take risks by trying new things while learning to facilitate.

The workshop introduced the core values of being an AVP facilitator to prepare the youths for what lay ahead. It stressed the notion that to become an AVP facilitator is a commitment to both deepening of understanding the concept of Transforming Power and 'walking the talk' of AVP. In that regard participants learnt that the T4F workshop was just an introduction to AVP facilitation. Completing the workshop did not automatically make them AVP facilitators. Rather, they would become apprentice facilitators who would continue to learn to be facilitators by doing and experiencing facilitation. This is in line with the AVP model of 'learning by experience'. The AVP learning style uses facilitators who 'guide' or 'hold the space' for the participants to explore their own learning, this is different from the teaching style where teachers direct the students' learning (AVP, 2013, p54). As the workshop was a skills training opportunity, the youths were encouraged to open themselves to give and receive feedback in a respectful and affirmative way.

After this background discussion, the participants brainstormed qualities and skills of an AVP facilitator with a commitment to practice such skills if they would be effective facilitators themselves. One important output of this first session was that the participants began to acknowledge the need for a change of attitude and personality in their own lives as they discussed the qualities of a good facilitator.

Session Two (Afternoon)

Team building and learning to facilitate in teams

This session focused on team facilitation (also referred to as co-facilitation) which is an essential element of an AVP workshop. AVP (2013, p6) emphasises the importance of team facilitation as it "ensures that the programme does not develop around one charismatic person and gives the teams the opportunity to model and demonstrate cooperation, affirmation and positive conflict resolution." It goes further to suggest that when the team is seen by the participants to be comfortable and inclusive of the diversity of its various members then AVP would be a model of

inclusiveness, thereby enabling all present to be more likely to want to be fully part of the experience ahead. This aspect was more important for this study and its potential impact as I intended to create teams of facilitators comprising of youths from different political persuasions who previously had antagonistic relations. Having a team comprising ZANU-PF and MDC youths co-facilitating an AVP workshop would help create possibilities for tolerant communities and potentially a peaceful Zimbabwe.

The AVP exercises for this session reinforced the advantages of working cooperatively that were done in the basic and advanced workshops and ended with participant forming three facilitation teams in which they would practice facilitation the following day. AVP basic manuals were distributed to each participant for use as a referral text in their own facilitation as well as to familiarise themselves with the manual layout.

Day Two, Session Three (Morning)

Preparation for practice teams: facilitation skills

In this session participants were given the information they would need to prepare for their basic session presentation. They worked in teams on selected aspects (agendas) of the basic Manual to prepare for their facilitation practice sessions. They also chose the exercises that they would use from among those that they had learnt in the basic and advanced workshops.

Session Four (Afternoon)

Practicing team presentations and feedback

During this session each of the three facilitation teams had an opportunity to experience the role of a facilitator by practicing and presenting an AVP basic session. They also experienced and practiced giving and receiving feedback. Giving feedback is an important part of the learning, coaching and mentoring processes regarded as essential in AVP style of learning. AVP recognises that giving and receiving feedback can also be a potential source of conflict, disagreement and hurt in a workshop team so there is emphasis on “acknowledgement

feedback”, which gives information about a person’s personal skills, qualities and achievements in a non-judgmental way (AVP 2013, p164).

The concept of transforming power was revisited, and each practice team was tasked to present how they would facilitate it. The *mandala* was again placed at the centre of the circle for reference. This emphasis was deliberate because the concept is the foundation of AVP that every facilitator is expected to pursue and utilise. Facilitators provided feedback after each team’s presentation.

The day ended with a session on the importance of role-play debriefing and de-rolling. A short role-play scenario was created to provide an opportunity for the group to discuss its importance and practiced debriefing and de-rolling.

Day Three: Session Five (Morning)

Where do we go from here?

This ‘gathering’ took the form an open-talk session in which the participants shared their experiences of their AVP journey while waiting to ‘graduate’ and receive their certificates later in the day. The group used the session to discuss their aspirations as AVP facilitators and how they would use the acquired skills to build peace in their community. The trained youths provided valuable feedback as well as suggestions of how they thought AVP could be spread to their peers in other parts of Gutu district and beyond. The facilitators from South Africa shared their experiences of AVP in their country context to inspire the new facilitators. I also used the opportunity to restate my personal continued support of their AVP activities to promote peace in the community.

The AVP trainings session officially ended with the awarding of certificates by Chief Denhere during the Independence Day celebrations in front of more than one thousand community members. The Chief reiterated his call for tolerance and peace, and promised to support any initiatives that would promote peaceful co-existence across the political divide. After the presentation of certificates, there was soccer and netball matches with teams comprising the youths from Ward 1 and Ward 2 of Gutu District, among them AVP trainees. The day’s

proceedings ended with another social gathering under a *muchakata* tree where the Chief presented soccer balls that I had brought to promote recreational activities in the community.

Highlights of the Training of Facilitators Workshop

- Creation of a group of facilitators who included members of the youth militia trained under the auspices of the ZANU-PF government initiated National Youth Service. This was a milestone because these were my main targets and, to the best of my knowledge, no other programme of rehabilitation has taken place to reintegrate these youths into normal community lives after the atrocities committed during the 2008 presidential run-off election and other alleged human rights violations in previous elections.
- Continued community involvement at both leadership level, with Chief Denhere awarding the AVP certificates and calling for peace during the occasion, and at lower levels when community members witnessed the event. This gave a huge expectation among the youth to exercise the values of non-violence that they had acquired from AVP training.
- The awarding of certificates during Independence Day celebrations which itself is a political day was a significant gesture to show that political violence can be tamed. Among the graduating youth were leaders who had political duties to fulfil on the day. As a community expectation they were now bound to exhibit attributes of non-violent leaders in performing their duties.
- The sporting activities created a platform for youths from rival parties to socialise publicly, which was unheard of previously. The social gathering under the *muchakata* tree that was also attended by community leaders took place under a very friendly atmosphere that was cherished by all who were present.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter describes how the recruitment of participants and facilitators took place. It goes further to give detail of how the whole training process unfolded stage by stage, capturing the highlights of each training workshop. One of the key highlights was the continued involvement of community leadership throughout the process. This had not been anticipated prior to the training. Another highlight was the social gatherings that were held at the end of each training level. The direct involvement of the community brought invaluable insights into how AVP can be utilised in an African community set-up.

CHAPTER NINE: DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSES: FOCUS GROUPS AND PERSONAL DIARIES

9.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses collection and analyses of data from focus group discussions and participants' diaries. It begins by recapitulating the conceptual and practical aspects of conducting focus group discussions that were introduced in Section 6.3. This is followed by a synopsis of how the focus group discussions were conducted. A theoretical framework of content analysis that guided the analysis of focus group data and the thematic analysis of data from personal diaries was provided in Section 7.2. Direct quotations from focus group discussions and participants' diary entries are provided as excerpts in boxes that are later analysed in terms of their relevance to AVP and the overall aims of this study. Specific examples of the differences in attitude and perception towards violence between the experimental group and the control group are highlighted. On top of that, data obtained from focus group discussions is also corroborated with the data from participants' diaries.

9.2 Focus Group Discussions

9.2.1 Composition of groups

According to Hennink (2007, p115), there are two aspects of group composition which are likely to impact on the group dynamics – the level of acquaintance between participants and the level of homogeneity in participant characteristics. Gronkjaer et al. (2011, p26) consider it advantageous to ensure both homogeneity and heterogeneity in focus groups in order to obtain data with sufficient variety. They concur with Barbour (2007, p81) who highlights the importance of creating a delicate balance in composing groups that have enough in common to make discussion seem appropriate yet ensuring sufficient variation in characteristics,

experiences and perspective that allows for divergent data to emerge through differences of opinion and debate. Barbour adds that rather than viewing disagreement as a problem, the researcher needs to turn this into an advantage and use it as a resource in the analysis. In this study, having perpetrators and victims of violence belonging to opposing political formations in the same focus groups was seen as an advantage.

The groups in this study were unique in that they were neither strangers nor homogenous. Besides those that had been recruited from churches, these were youths from the same community who were deeply divided along political affiliations, and whose relationships had soured because of politically-motivated violence. With such group composition, the levels of suspicion and fear among participants were naturally high. As such, and in line with Hennink's suggestion (2007, p116), it was vital for me as moderator to create an environment for group discussions where participants felt comfortable to discuss their opinions, feelings and experiences without fear of judgment.

To decrease the level of suspicions, I avoided dividing them into their sub-groups which I had initially intended. Meeting them separately would have maintained boundaries along political affiliations while at the same time it would have given room for uniform responses to questions. It was also against the purpose of reintegration that this study aimed to foster.

9.2.2 Number of groups and group size

(Hennink, 2007, p135) suggests that the optimum size of a focus group discussion is determined by the topic of discussion, the type of participants and the level of detail required in the discussion. The number of group discussions also varies by research project and is influenced by the nature and scope of the research topic. Hennink concludes that essentially, the number of groups to conduct is a balance between the resources available and gaining the information necessary to adequately address the research question. For the reasons explained above, in this study I maintained the two groups of participants – the experimental group and the control group – for the purpose of focus group discussions.

On group size, scholars generally agree that a focus group discussion comprises between six and ten participants, with an average of eight. Group sizes have their own advantages and disadvantages. Hennink (2007, p136) argues that although small groups are advantageous for some circumstances, as a general rule small group discussions are limited in identifying a wide range of issues around the discussion topic. A group of six participants, regardless of how engaged in the discussion, will contribute a smaller pool of experiences than ten participants, she argues. On the contrary, large group discussions (i.e. 10 participants) are more appropriate when the discussion topic is of a more general nature, when participants are more likely to have less experiences of the research topic or when conducting exploratory research to identify the range of issues amongst the target population. She further postulates that some research topics require detailed information on participants' behavior or experiences to respond to the research question while in other topics a broader range of ideas or opinions of less detail is sufficient. This research falls in the earlier category where participants' behavior in a conflict and experiences of violence was critical. The two groups in this study were large – with ten participants in the experimental group and twelve participants in the control group taking part in focus group discussions. This allowed broad perspectives on the issues of conflict and violence to be discussed, beginning with the general until such time that they were open to share how they had experienced these, either as perpetrators or victims as detailed later in this chapter.

9.2.3 Number of group discussions

Scholars generally agree that the number of group discussions to conduct in a research project is influenced by a number of factors that include the objectives of the research, the type of participants and the nature of the information gained in the group discussions (Fern, 2001; Hennink, 2007; Babbie and Mouton, 2008). The rule of the thumb seems to be that conducting only one group discussion per sub-group is risky as it is difficult to predict what will happen during the group discussion. In the event that group dynamics are problematic or there are

external distractions which lead to the information being discarded, then there remains no data from the same sub-group. In addition, group discussions are influenced by numerous factors and it may be difficult to determine whether the issues raised in the discussion reflect the characteristics of the sub-group or reflect the group dynamics in the sub-group. According to Fern (2001, p226), in some thought-elicitation tasks, one group may be sufficient, while for theory-confirmation purposes a single group will 'almost never suffice'. Along the same lines, Hennink (2007, p148) suggests that conducting at least two focus group discussions per sub-group allows for stronger grounds from which to identify the core issues amongst a particular sub-group of the study population.

In this study, I followed Hennink's suggestion of at least two focus group discussions per sub-group. Focus group discussions were conducted with both the experimental group and the control group. Besides the factors that influenced the number of groups to conduct that are listed above, the decision to limit the discussion to the two groups was also influenced by the prevailing situation in Zimbabwe as discussed in Section 2.3.3. Political polarization and high levels of suspicions did not allow many group meetings of politically active youths to be conducted without attracting attention that could potentially stop the activities.

9.2.4 Duration of group discussions

As discussed in Section 6.3.2, some scholars suggest that focus group discussions should last for one and half hours on average. In this study, the groups met twice, thus I sought the indulgence of the participants for the discussions to be long. Each meeting lasted two and half hours, with a 15 minutes break after the first hour. Although discussions continued during the social gatherings explained later in this chapter, that time is not included in the two and half hours of the official discussions.

9.2.5 Ethical considerations

In addition to the ethical considerations discussed in Section 6.3.2, as well as those that were observed in Section 8.2.4 during the course of AVP training sessions, I discussed with the participants the potential risks that might arise from their participation in focus group discussions to minimize these risks as far as possible. This was important considering the prevailing political environment in Zimbabwe at the time. Political polarisation and suspicions were very high, and no process of healing had taken place after the incidents of politically motivated violence that happened in 2008. Although I could not give a guarantee, it was important to assure the participants of the confidentiality and anonymity of their comments. This was done by carefully considering which issues would be discussed in the groups, by constantly reinforcing the confidentiality of the discussions and by promising to protect respondents' identity in the documentation and reporting of the study findings, in line with the ethical values expected by the UKZN Ethics Committee.

9.2.6 Conducting the focus group discussions

This study followed this five-stage process of conducting the focus group discussions as espoused by Hennink (2007, p171-6). They are the pre-discussion stage; the introductory stage; the central discussion stage; the closing stage; and, the post-discussion stage. Stage One was the **pre-discussion stage** which involved the recruitment of participants that is explained in Section 8.2.1, as well as making sure that all the logistics were in place well ahead of time.

Stage Two was the **introductory stage**. This stage involved, among other things, personal introductions by the participants and informing them the purpose and use of the information that they would share. I used this stage to develop rapport with the group and to establish a permissive environment by outlining, with their consent, the guidelines for group conduct. I also sought their consent to record the discussions. It was also at this stage that I emphasized

that there were no right or wrong answers and that I wanted to collect everyone's opinion even if it differed with the views of other discussants.

Stage Three was the **central discussion stage**. This stage encouraged discussions between participants and sought a wide range of their opinion and experiences. As the moderator, I guided the discussions while at the same time observed and monitored their contributions and managed the group dynamics. I took note of verbal non-verbal signals and used them to probe extensively around the key questions of conflict and violence. Discussions were conducted in both English and the vernacular Shona language to allow the participants to express themselves uninhibited. They were audio-recorded while I also scribbled notes. On the first day the discussion question was general. They each responded to the question: "Describe your personal life history highlighting the highs and lows of your life." This was deliberately aimed at allowing participants to open up and share about themselves with the group while fellow group members listened and later asked questions for clarification.

On the second day the discussions were specific on the theme of violence. Participants responded to the question: "How did the 2008 political violence affect you and your community?" The follow-up question was more specific to the individual: "What role did you play either individually or in the group during the period of political violence?" The next question sought descriptions of what exactly transpired during the period of political violence. This was succeeded by a discussion on the attempts and measures that were taken to stop the violence at community level. The follow-up discussion sought participants' suggestions on what could be done communally and individually to encourage peaceful coexistence. A full list of the focus group discussion questions is provided as Annexure I.

Stage Four was the **closing stage**. At this stage, I summarised the key discussion issues and the re-confirmed the confidentiality of the data. In summarising the main issues raised during the focus groups at the end of each session. I gave room for participants to confirm or alter my observations to ensure an accurate summary of the discussion and also responded to participant queries.

Stage Five was the **post-discussion stage**. As was the case after AVP training sessions explained in Chapter Eight, this took the form of social gatherings at the end of each day during which I provided drinks and snacks while winding down time. While this was an informal debriefing meeting, the discussions continued around the issues that had emerged during the focus group discussions. These discussions were important in their own right because in some cases they gave further clarity to some of the issues discussed in focus groups.

9.3 Discussion and analysis of findings

In discussing and analysing findings, I was guided by Vicsek's (2010, p135) method of selecting quotations where expressions that are relevant and interesting in terms of the purpose of the study are voiced by participants of the groups themselves. Expressions that I viewed as irrelevant were left out, and where necessary I included add-ins in brackets to make the text understandable. Where useful, I also include descriptions of some kinds of meta-communication and other non-verbal forms of communication such as nodding or frowning. In addition, I deliberately included other observations that I witnessed and recorded during interaction as well as how the participants reacted to each other's comments. In that regard, moments of laughter or silence are equally noted. As Barbour (2007, p140) notes, what is *not* said can be as important as what *is* said during focus group discussions, and indeed, in all qualitative research encounters.

The five AVP pillars of affirmation, cooperation, respect, communication and conflict resolution provided the conceptual lens from which I listened to and observed the focus group discussions, as well as when I read the participants' diary entries. The analyses below also attempt to deal with the research question: Can training in non-violence influence behavior change to a person who would otherwise react to a conflict in a violent way?

9.3.1 Analysis of the focus group discussions

The discussions that took place on the first day, based on the question: “Describe your personal life history highlighting the highs and lows of your life” had one common effect on both groups in that it enabled them to open-up. Participants were asked to draw graphs and mark the moments they personally enjoyed their lives as ‘highs’ and those moments when life was difficult as ‘lows’. Each participant was given time to share these moments to the group while others listened. Soon after, the rest of the group would ask questions and seek clarifications on incidents that were of interest, usually related to the extreme highs and extreme lows.

From their life journeys and the interactions that followed, I noted that there were many similarities in their perceptions of what they viewed as important and what would be viewed as trivial. All participants viewed the period they were in school as their most interesting. I attributed this to two reasons: first, education is valued very highly in Zimbabwe. Second, and probably more realistic, they did not have much burden as they were young children then whose basic needs were catered for by either parents or guardians.

There were also similar views when it came to period of ‘lows’ in their lives’ journeys. These included moments when there was death in the family. All participants also considered periods when the community experienced drought that threatened the community’s food security in a similar view. This was when their families were exposed to hunger and extreme poverty. More importantly for this study, many participants pointed to 2008 as the year when their lives hit the lowest point, and several reasons were given for it, as discussed below. As a way of starting focus group discussions, the process of sharing journeys of life succeeded to thaw the pre-existing tensions common among a group of that included political rivals and served its purpose to create an enabling environment in which everyone could talk. Box 9.1 below shows some of the comments by participants regarding the session.

Box 9.1 Participants' comments after sharing their life journeys

Excerpt One

CG4: The session provided us with a platform to share the highs and lows of our lives in a helpful way because we were able to ask questions and help each other on issues that are very personal. I have never experienced this in my life to share with people who are not my friends and get good advice....I think we should share everyday to help each other. I feel relieved that I have bared my life to everyone who is here, and I am looking forward to receiving more advice even after this meeting.

Excerpt Two

CG1: I am blessed to participate in this. There is a high probability that I would not be this free even to my relatives. I did not expect this kind of 'learning'. I feel like I have already changed my behavior towards my wife and family from the advice I got from all of you here. I have just discovered that when an issue is discussed you build each other.

Excerpt Three

CG8: This is the first time I have learnt this type of sharing and reflecting because most of you here are strangers to me, but because of the stories we have shared I can say you are now all my friends. We were not friends before meeting today. But I am happy because we never create time to meet as youths to share our problems and how we can solve them.

From the deliberations on personal life journeys the importance of communication emerged, which is one of the pillars of AVP. The impression that one gets from what participants said is that there are not enough platforms to communicate personal issues. When **CG4** says "...I think we should share [personal stories] everyday to help each other....", while **CG8** says "...because of the stories we have shared I can say you are now my friends", it points to a community that does not maximize fully the value of communication. The need to learn and practice good communication skills, which is central in AVP training (through '*I*' messages) was therefore exposed in this exercise. As pronounced in the AVP (2002, pE29) using '*I*' messages helps people to express feeling that surround a problem, thus, can be a means of transforming a conflict situation by arousing empathy in the other party.

One observation that I made on their graphs which depicted the highs and lows of their lives is that while most participants showed 2008 as a 'low' year, there were differences in what they attributed the situation to. While all participants who belonged to MDC attributed this directly to politically motivated violence in which they regarded themselves as the main victims, four NYS graduates blamed the year on the weather conditions by just mentioning 'drought' as the reason. The coincidence of the reasons given by the youth militias could not be coincidental and I was left convinced that this was well rehearsed. This was one of the impact of group dynamics that I came across in this study which I attributed to fear of condemnation among the militias who were most accused of perpetrating the violence. The rest did not give the year as a major pointer in their lives, and I did not want to speculate much on it, though fear could not be ruled out as it generally engulfed the country during this period.

This sense of fear was prevalent on the first day of the focus group discussions as participants did not mention incidents of politically motivated violence directly. I later realized that whenever the phrases "Like the things happening these days" or just "You know these days" were used, participants (and the community at large) would be referring to the aftermath of the violence experienced in 2008 and the repression that surrounded it, both at the behest of the state security agencies and the youth militias – some of whom were among the participants. Participants opened up more on the second day when the discussion narrowed down to the 2008 violence, as shown and described below. There was no doubt that politically motivated violence was experienced by the participants in one way or another, or they had at least heard about its prevalence in the community. The excerpts in Box 9.2 below capture the participants' views of the violence in 2008.

Box 9.2 Participant's views on how they and the community were affected by violence in 2008

Excerpt One (Control Group)

CG9: During the 2008 elections, I was beaten up because of politics. We had nowhere to report. Police did not help because they even feared for their own lives. It was painful. If it comes back no law will stop these beatings. That is the problem.

CG11: So you were put to size?

CG13: To his real size [LAUGHTER].

CG9: [Shaking his head side-ways] No no no gentlemen! This is not a laughing matter [SILENCE]. I always see those who beat me up since 2008, so if elections come we will be beaten up again, I don't know.

CG13: We know it's not a laughing matter, but I think that is the reason why this programme of AVP is here. I don't know. But do you think we will experience all that guys? Isn't it that the 'base' was closed so it's over?

CG9: Over? So you really think it's over? Open your eyes! What stops the 'base' from being opened again? Tell me. The 'base' is not just the place. It is the people who create it, and what will stop them if elections come again?

Excerpt Two (Experimental Group)

EG1: So many things happened in 2008, and I think it was out of ignorance. Yes, it was ignorance because we did not have programmes like this AVP which has helped us now.

EG9: Well, I don't know, but some of us had very bad experiences in 2008. Our friends sometimes behaved like they were really possessed. So many things happened at the 'base'. And everyone is still afraid when there is talk of another election coming. Yes AVP has come, but it did not reach out to everyone.

EG1: That is what I mean when I say it was out of ignorance. Even if elections come, isn't it that we now see things differently – all of us?

EG2: Those things are over. After this training... in actual fact, these training sessions have made us realize our big mistakes....you cannot force a person to like your organization or party, you have to talk to him to convince him. We are not enemies anymore. In fact we were never enemies, it was only that time...election time when we had sharp differences, and we all did things wrongly.

When participants referred to the 'base', they meant a secluded meeting place (near Ward One) from where the youth militias operated from between May and July 2008 – at the height of the violence. It was modeled along a military base and it emerged that youth militias, under

the tutelage of war veterans, would gather actual or suspected MDC activists for political reorientation meetings. 'Reorientation' included beating and torturing the activists to 'teach them the way'. This is where the phrase "beaten to size" or "put to size" became the lingua franca of the day. What participants revealed to me was that the harshness of one's 'reorientation' – torture and beatings – varied depending on the perceived importance of the roles one played in the opposition political parties. And this was at the discretion of the youth militias and war veterans manning the 'base'.

One theme that emerged from the excerpts above is fear combined with lack of security. Participants were afraid of the possibility of another wave of violence if elections were held, while they felt vulnerable and insecure because they did not hope for any protection from the police. A bigger picture of their sense of insecurity came up when CG9 alluded to the fact that even the police feared for their own lives, while EG9 felt AVP had not reached out to everyone.

Another important aspect that came up when participant EG2 said "we all did things wrongly" was to give a hint that the violence was not necessarily one sided. This later emerged to be a correct emphasis.

When I compared the way participants responded to the question between the experimental group and the control group, I observed that youth militias who had undergone AVP training were more open to discuss what had happened in 2008 compared to their counterparts who were not trained. While I recognized that the experimental group had met at least three times during training and a lot of tension had dissipated, I would still attribute their confidence to accept that they were wrong, as EG2 expressed, to the values espoused in AVP that they had been exposed to. I reached this conclusion because even after holding two focus group sessions with both groups, this trend continued. Meeting during focus group discussions thawed tensions but did not make militias in the control group open up as much as their fellows from the experimental group who trained in AVP when discussions focused on the exact roles they had played, either as individuals or as members of a group during elections in 2008 or before. Box 9.3 below contains some excerpts on the role they played.

Box 9.3 Participants' revelations on the role they played individually or as group members

Excerpt One (Control Group)

CG9: I am excited that everyone came again [to another focus group discussion], and I want my story to start because I was, and I am still the leader of MDC youths in this whole area. Everyone knows that I was taken to the base and was beaten and tortured for a week. I was called the chief sell-out, and forced to chant slogans for another party that is not of my choice. My party t-shirt was burnt and I was forced to put on a ZANU-PF t-shirt and forced to sing their songs which I did not know because we also have our own songs in our party.

CG11: Yeah, that was the main strategy. Remember we arrived at the base two days later and you were tasked to teach us the new slogans denouncing our leaders. We experienced hell there. But it may be good to ask some of our friends who did it. At least we all agree it is in the past and this platform is the best for us to resolve everything. [LONG SILENCE]

CG1: It is difficult....I would say speaking for myself as a leader of the youths in our party, these things that happened were wrong. [SILENCE]

CG9: Yes, everyone knows it was wrong, but we have been asked here to say what we did. I think I have said what happened to me. Those that were not there want to know from your side as well. Did you write the list of the targeted people? Did you also beat?...What did you do? There is no revenge here, we are being taught, and we have forgotten about it.

CG1: Yes, I know. That is why we are also here to talk about these things. And as you know I would not be here if this programme's benefits had not been accepted by our leaders. That time was time for politics, and whenever we felt that there was an enemy we had to fight....that was a period to fight and win. That's why all these things happened. [SILENCE]

Excerpt Two (Experimental Group)

EG1: Certainly there was a lot of violence, but these things happened because we did not know. I say we did not know because this AVP programme has opened our eyes, at least for myself, I now know what to do...to talk to my opponents.

EG13: So have you repented...[LAUGHTER].

EG10: Let us focus on what we did as has been asked, or at least I can speak for myself as a person who was beaten to size. We were all doing politics, only that our friends believed in force and violence.

EG1: That is why I am saying we did not know. Yes, people were beaten up... we beat our enemies... people who did not like our party to win. And I also did it, everyone knows. But like I said earlier, perhaps it was because we did not think or know of other ways like we have now been taught through AVP.

One difference I observed between the control group and the experimental group was that in the latter, those who were perpetrators were more open to discuss what transpired during the period of violence than their counterparts. As alluded to earlier, the main difference could be that the AVP training sessions where some of these issues had already been shared. While at this stage the difference in perception and attitude to violence could not be established, the fact that AVP training brought people together – victims and perpetrators – to share ideas on non-violent ways of dealing with a conflict could have made the difference. In other words, while one cannot easily establish the exact impact of AVP by comparing the atmosphere in which the discussions took place, vis-à-vis openness or secretiveness, it seems that AVP instilled the confidence to engage with issues at personal level. Through such pillars as communication skills and cooperation AVP can, to some extent, help to catalyse conflict resolution strategies because of the openness that it encourages.

One theme that emerged from the conversations in Box 8.3, particularly in the control group, is that of shared victimhood. On the one hand, those who were at the receiving end gave an impression that they were victims because they were vulnerable, while on the other hand those accused tried to give an excuse of circumstantial victimhood by blaming it on the political situation. Those in the experimental group even went further to try to hide behind their lack of knowledge of alternatives. From their deliberations above, one can assume that had they trained in AVP before the outbreak of the violence they would have acted differently.

Another critical observation I made was the participants' effort to blame the violence that took place on the political environment prevailing. This validated Vicsek's (2007, p23; 2010, p133) assertion on the importance of taking situational factors into account alluded to earlier in this chapter. The political situation was taken advantage of by both parties, as was revealed by one MDC youth when discussing what exactly transpired during the period of political violence. This is captured in Box 9.4 below.

Box 9.4, Participant's description of what exactly transpired during the period of political violence

Excerpt One: Control Group

CG10: Guys, let me tell you something that we in the MDC have not been revealing, especially for those who do not know. We agreed that we tell each other the truth isn't it.... [SILENCE]....Yes we were beaten by the ZANU-PF guys, but we are also guilty...[LONGER SILENCE]. Let me set the record straight here as we agreed yesterday that no consequences will follow. The truth is that when our party MDC won the first round of elections in March 2008, we started celebrating our victory. And as a part of our celebrations, we started hunting down the ZANU-PF youths who used to terrorise us when we were still in opposition. It was now our turn and we beat them up thoroughly. They all went up and lived in the mountains....Yes, it was now our turn and I am just saying the truth here. It was only after some weeks, towards the presidential run-off elections set for 27 June 2008 when the war veterans came to set up the base. That is when we sensed danger. These youth militias came back from the mountains and went to the base. I am sure that is when a list of names to be targeted was compiled. My name was there, of course with....(CG9) as well. Of course these guys were cruel. As soon as we heard that they were looking for us it was now our turn to run onto the mountains to hide. Now I say they were cruel because this fight was originally among us the youths, but they started beating up our parents and grandparents asking them for our whereabouts, which they did not know. One very old woman suffered a broken arm, while another granny had a deep cut on her head. They used an axe. Because I was the only one with a cell phone in our group, I got a text message which informed us how bad the situation was... [SILENCE] That is when we said to ourselves: 'Guys, our parents are dying. Let us rather go and die ourselves'. So we came back from the mountains to surrender ourselves at the base. That is when we found out that our leader (CG9) was already there but in a terrible state, putting on a ZANU t-shirt. That is when we were also 'put to size'. We were thoroughly beaten, but at least I have said the truth. Am I lying gentlemen?...[SILENCE] This is what happened. We are also guilty to some extent.

Participant CG10's confession above, which vividly captures what transpired, was one of the highlights of both the focus group discussions and this research as a whole. Although I had read about these allegations in the state controlled media, it was the first time that I came across the role of MDC activists as instigators and perpetrators of violence against ZANU-PF. Three critical issues emerged as a result of this revelation. Firstly, the youths from political parties participating in the research were both perpetrators and victims of violence, only that the losers were playing the victim card all along, and at least that was the impression given to the world through the mainstream media. Secondly, the role of war veterans was clarified. It gave credence to Kalyvas' (2006, p383) theory of supra-local and local actors explained in greater detail in Section 4.3, whereby the former supply the later with external muscle, thus allowing

them to win decisive advantage over local rivals. In this case, the war veterans, who are a reserve force of the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA), were the power behind ZANU-PF youths and militias who had otherwise been vanquished by their MDC rivals. Thirdly, and probably most important, was how the political violence morphed to engulf the whole community which resulted in primary and secondary victims whose rights were violated in extreme proportions in such a short space of time, whose true extent and repercussions would require a thorough investigation and a separate research on its own.

From the focus group discussions one may conclude that participants generally practiced the values espoused in AVP in their lives. From the discussions there was evidence that AVP five pillars of affirmation, cooperation, respect, communication and conflict resolution were known and practiced in life. They are accepted and practiced social norms. What however was noticeable was that when they were in a conflict, most youths did not consciously make the decision to choose to be non-violent. This is revealed in Box. 8.3 above when participant EG1 said, *“...these things happened because we did not know... AVP programme has opened our eyes... I now know what to do.”* It is the conscious decision to choose and practice non-violent ways of dealing with conflict that AVP training inculcates. This provides important insights to the research question on the potential of AVP to influence behavior change to a person who would otherwise react violently when in a conflict.

Besides focus group discussions, further insights into the participants' attitude towards violence were provided as written texts in their diary entries in which they described the conflicts they experienced in their daily lives and how they reacted, as discussed below. Selected excerpts from diaries are given in boxes which I later analyse.

9.3.2 Analysis of findings: Participants' diaries

All participants were requested to write diary entries of the conflicts that they encountered and how they reacted. Out of a total of a possible 32, 15 diaries were returned, with a cumulative total of 98 entries. The personal diaries served three main purposes: firstly, to identify the

forms of violent conflicts that were common in the community as evidence to corroborate the prevalence of violence; secondly, to validate some of the allegations and revelations that had emerged from discussions during the AVP training sessions and focus groups; and, thirdly, to provide an indication of the participants' attitudes when in conflict situations, which validated the need for a programme like AVP to enhance the building of a more peaceful society. Selected excerpts from the diary entries which serve these purposes are provided below.

While several important themes emerged from the diary entries fit into Galtung's theory as discussed in Section 4.3.1, this analysis mainly focused on the theme of 'direct violence' as experienced by the participants, although other related issues that are relevant to this study were also given attention. Table 9.1 below shows forms of direct violence that was experienced by participants as reflected in their diaries.

Theme - Forms of direct violence	Frequency (out of 98 entries)
Fist fight	16
Use of weapons	12
Torture	4
Beating as corporal punishment	7
Murder	3
Gender based or sexual violence	4
Abductions	2
Use of force to achieve goals	13
Verbal threats	11
Arson	6
Destruction of property	3

Table 9.1: Forms of direct violence from participants' diaries

Participants' diary entries indicated that fist fighting was the commonest form of direct violence. Reasons for fist fights ranged from defending a friend or relative under threat to stamping one's authority in a family or community. While alcohol abuse was mentioned as a contributing factor, participant CG12 revealed that this practice was embedded in socially accepted norms that are passed on among boys as they grow up. The excerpt in Box 9.5 below captures the cultural phenomena

Box 9.5: Participant's revelation of how violence gets embedded in society

Excerpt One

CG12: When we were growing up heading cattle with other boys it was common for older boys to take advantage of us. In fact, they forced us to do all the work while they were relaxed. After that they would make mounds from the soil which would represent our mothers' 'breasts'. We were then tasked to challenge one another by destroying each mother's 'breast' and a fist-fight would ensure. The elder boys would only stop the fight either when one starts to ooze blood or has fallen down and the victorious boy is sitting on your chest beating you up, or when their favourite is losing the fight.

Participant CG12's revelation above is a common custom among boys who grow up in Zimbabwe's rural areas, along with other activities that are communally accepted such as boxing, bull-fighting and dog fighting that perpetuate a culture of violence. The prevalence of these acts of violence validates AVP's assumption that the high level of violence among people is in part a response to the violence imbedded in our institutions and our values (AVP, 2002, pA-2). This resonates with what Galtung (1996) calls cultural violence in so far as it is used as the justification or excuse for direct physical violence, as discussed in Section 4.3.1.

The diary entries also revealed that the use of force or the threat to use violence (which in some cases was verbal) was a common experience not only in situations of political adversary but in their families or when they were playing social sporting games. This is reinforced by the use of corporal punishment as a way to discipline children both at home and at school. Two entries also revealed that the police used corporal punishment. Excerpts in Box 9.6 show how violence was prevalent in the community.

Box 9.6 Prevalence of violence in community

Excerpt One – soccer referee beaten up for allegedly favouring one team

EG3: The game was between Chitubu football team versus Chauke football team. Chauke players started beating up the referee when they lost the match. Players from Chitubu started to fight back to defend the referee. The violence went on until the police intervened.

Excerpt Two – The use of force and violence

EG7: In 2007, I was very active in ZANU-PF. We were called up by our leaders and were instructed to go round the villages collecting those people suspected to be MDC supporters. The aim was to bring them back to our party, and in many cases we would beat them up until they publicly renounced their MDC membership. But one day I refused to go because we were sent to collect my uncle. When I refused our leader was very angry with me. He ordered that I be beaten first. For the fear of being punished, I had to join the others. When we arrived at his homestead we found him holding an axe, ready for war. However, when he saw me he relaxed. He thought he was safe until one of the guys shouted, “Yeah, today we got you an MDC member, today you are going to die!” My uncle eloped and ran so fast that we could not catch him. In 2010 his children came to the rural areas for holidays. They beat me up thoroughly, accusing me of intending to kill their father. Our relationship has remained sour ever since the 2007 incident.

Participants’ diaries revealed how political violence happened in the community. Some of their revelations corroborated the information that was shared during focus group discussions. While others like participants EG9 and EG11 in box 9.7 below tried to give an impression that the violence was one-sided, others were frank to reveal a balanced account of the events.

Box 9.7 Diary entries of politically motivated violence

Excerpt One

EG9: Our troubles started after the March 2008 elections in which our party MDC defeated ZANU-PF. That is when they began to beat us, torture us and chase us from our homes. What still hounds me is the fact that these things were being done by people whom we know and live with, and some of them are even our relatives and friends. It was pointless to report to the police because they also feared for their lives against these marauding youths.

Excerpt Two

EG11: Things changed towards the run-off elections of June 2008. ZANU-PF youths came from the new resettlements [as beneficiaries of the fast-track land reform programme] in groups to beat up everyone suspected to be MDC. They operated at night. They arrived at our homestead at night while we were fast asleep. They called out my name but I refused to come out. They broke the door but I jumped out through the roof [of a thatched hut]. That is how I escaped. When they failed to abduct me they burnt down our homestead.

Excerpt Three

EG12: I was a strong MDC supporter and I was working as an advisor. Elections were held peacefully but problems started when the results were announced and ZANU-PF lost. Their supporters were not happy with the results as they feared that under a new MDC government they would lose their newly acquired farms. They started mobilizing and introducing torture camps. Here in Chiguhune ZANU-PF youths introduced what they called door-to-door operation, beating MDC supporters. These patrols were carried out during the night. The MDC youths reacted to this by also doing likewise, destroying homes belonging to ZANU-PF supporters, setting some of them on fire. But truly speaking, I did not take part in this operation although I was one of the most important people in the party. This is how it all started. We ended up sleeping in the vegetable gardens. I latter decided to surrender myself to my enemies because some family members were threatened as a result of my political activism.

It also emerged from the diary entries that weapons were commonly used to assault opponents. These included axes, knives, burning logs, big sticks, rocks and sjamboks. There was also use of alcohol to intoxicate the youths while acts of arson were also a common way of punishing opponents.

On the whole, the diary entries proved that violence was a common feature not only during the 2008 elections but was embedded in the way of life among the youths of Gutu district in Zimbabwe. The AVP mission of “offering experiential workshops that empower individuals to liberate themselves and others from the burden of violence” and its goal to “reduce the level of violence by reducing the need that people feel to resort to violence as a solution” (AVP, 2013, p3) aptly pronounce a valid reason for intervention in situations like that prevailing in Gutu. The information revealed by participant EG12’s diary entry above also corroborated with the facts provided by CG10 during the focus group discussions. These reignited the first hint given by EG2 who claimed they “all did things wrongly” referring to the violent behavior among the youths.

Their comments also validate the fact that violence was not one-sided as was previously alleged. Violence was used by both parties as a way to force, control or as revenge for past incidents. From this, one may conclude that violence is a widely accepted norm when people in Gutu are faced with conflicts. It was therefore important to include both the alleged perpetrators and victims in AVP training to empower them with knowledge and skills of non-violence that the programme inculcates.

There were few cases of sexual violence or gender based violence reported, with only four diary entries referring to the issue. Regardless of the cases being few, they confirmed the claims by media and human rights activists that alleged prevalence of these human rights abuses in Zimbabwe in 2008, including rape as a political tool (Chitsike, 2012:9-13). However, this study did not specifically focus on the issue. It remains an area that may require a separate research to explore the extent of its prevalence.

9.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed how focus groups were conducted and how narrative content and thematic approaches were employed to analyse the data obtained from both the focus group discussions and participants' diaries. Specific quotations which emerged from the focus group discussions that highlighted issues of violence are provided as excerpts in boxes, and where necessary, comparisons between experimental group and control group are made. The theme of violence that emerged from participants' diaries is also discussed, with examples and direct quotes provided as excerpts in boxes as well. In some cases, the data that was obtained from the diary entries is used to corroborate the issues that emerged during the focus group discussions.

CHAPTER TEN: DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSES: PRE AND POST-TESTS; IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

10.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses and analyses the data collected from pre and post-test experiments conducted with the youths in both experimental and control groups, as well as the in-depth interviews that followed. It also discusses and analyses the interviews carried-out with community leaders in Gutu and with leaders of church-related civil society organisations (CSOs) working to promote peace in Zimbabwe.

The chapter begins by giving the theoretical framework that guided the pre and post-test experiments. This is followed by data collection procedures that I employed after which the experiments with the youths are explained and analysed. A comparison of the findings from the experimental and control groups is presented. This is followed by self-reports by youths from the experimental group as they reflected on their lives before and after being exposed to AVP. After that, the chapter discusses findings from the in-depth interviews that I conducted with the youths as well as with community leaders from which I gather insights that influence my conclusions on the effectiveness of AVP. Towards the end, I discuss the survey and follow-on interviews that I carried out with leading church-related CSOs dealing with issues of peace-building in Zimbabwe where I sought their perspectives and discussed ways of building their capacity, based on my experiences with AVP in Gutu.

10.2 Conflict handling styles – a theoretical framework

It is important to state from the onset that scholars and researchers have developed a number of conflict management inventories or styles over the years, some of which this study has benefitted from. While it is not the aim of this study to provide an overarching inventory or a critique of these strategies, there is general acceptance among scholars that the 1974 Thomas-

Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument to assess conflict management styles paved the way, and several variations have evolved from it in recent years (Slabbert, 2004, p83; De Dreu et al., 2001, p647). The instrument is designed to assess an individual's behaviour in conflict situations. Thomas and Kilmann describe 'Conflict Situations' as situations in which the concerns of two people appear to be incompatible, from which a person's behaviour can be described along two basic dimensions – assertiveness and cooperativeness De Dreu et.al, (2001, p646). They define assertiveness as the extent to which the individual attempts to satisfy his own concerns, while cooperativeness refers to the extent to which the individual attempts to satisfy the other person's concerns. These two basic dimensions of behaviour can be used to describe five specific methods of dealing with conflicts. These five "conflict-handling modes" are shown in Figure 10.1.

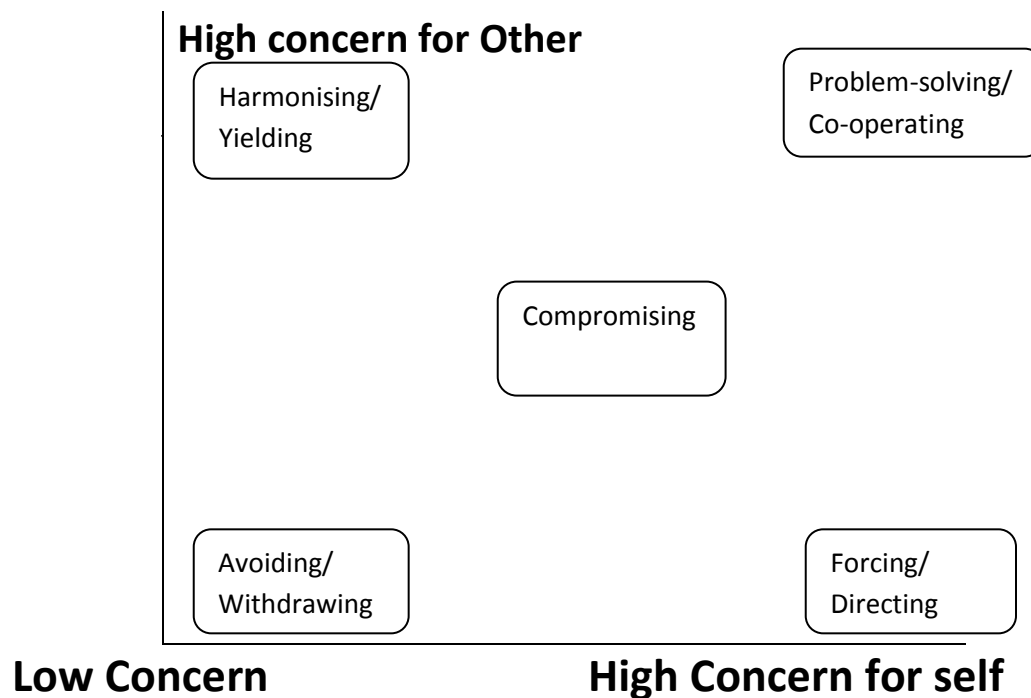


FIGURE 10.1 Theoretical representation of the five conflict handling modes (adapted from De Dreu et.al 2001, p646).

The conflict handling modes in Figure 10.1 are explained as follows:

- high concern for self, combined with low concern for others results in a preference for *forcing*, focused on imposing one's will on others. Forcing involves threats and bluffs, persuasive arguments and positional commitments.
- Low concern for self and high concern for others results in a preference for *yielding*, which is oriented towards accepting and incorporating others' will. It involves unilateral concessions, unconditional promises and offering help.
- Low concern for others results in a preference for *avoiding*, which involves reducing the importance of issues, and attempts to suppress thinking about the issues.
- High concern for self and others produces a preference for *problem-solving*, which is oriented towards an agreement that satisfies both own and others' aspirations as much as possible. It involves an exchange of information about priorities and preferences, showing insights, and making trade-offs between important and unimportant issues.
- Immediate concern for self, paired to intermediate concern for others results in a preference for *compromising* (De Dreu et al. 2001, p646-7) [Italics by the authors].

There is convergence among scholars that the Dual Concern Model borrows from earlier work, including that by Morton Deutsch who developed the Theory of Cooperation and Competition in 1949. Deutsch's model argues that cooperative relations in which goals of the parties involved in a conflict are positively interdependent show positive characteristics that include effective communication, friendliness, respect and collaboration (Deutsch 2006, p26-7). He goes on to conclude that cooperation induces and is induced by perceived similarity in beliefs and attitudes, readiness to be helpful, openness in communication, trusting and friendly attitudes, sensitivity to common interests and orientation towards enhancing mutual power rather than differences, among others (ibid, p30). These are values that resonate with the five core AVP values of affirmation, respect, cooperation, trust and community-building that underpins this study (AVP, 2002; 2013). The AVP approach is explained in detail in Section 3.3, while Section 8.3 provides detail of the training process that selected youths in Wards One and

Two of Gutu district completed in this study. Some of the outcomes of the training process were revealed during focus groups discussions elucidated in Section 9.3.1.

Deutsch's model argues that competitive relations in which goals of the parties are negatively interdependent show the opposite characteristics inspired by the view that the solution of a conflict can only be imposed by one side on the other. As a result, he concludes, competition induces and is induced by use of tactics of coercion, threat or deception; attempts to enhance the power differences between oneself and the other; poor communication; minimisation of the awareness of similarities in values and increased sensitivity to opposed interests; suspicious and hostile attitudes; rigidity and other associated negative values (ibid:30). These negative attributes resemble the situation prevailing in Zimbabwe during the 2008 presidential run-off elections and in earlier elections in which politically-motivated violence was experienced. Zimbabwe's culture of political violence is explained in detail in Sections 1.2.1 and 2.3. It is this culture of violence that has permeated down to rural communities like Gutu.

Thus, the main purpose for conducting pre and post-tests as well as follow-on interviews that I carried out in this study was an attempt to answer the research question: Can training in non-violence influence behaviour change to a person who would otherwise react to conflict in a violent way? To try to answer this question, I subjected youths in the experimental group to a pre and post-test experiment where they responded to a conflict quiz before and after each of the three AVP training sessions as explained in Section 8.3. For comparative purposes, youth in the control group who were not trained in AVP answered the same set of questions.

10.2.1 The conflict quiz questionnaire as the research instrument

From among the several conflict inventories that have been developed by researchers, this study employed the Kraybill Conflict Style Inventory (2005) which is rooted in the Thomas-Kilmann conflict mode instrument (De Dreu et.al, 2001:246-7), Deutsch's theory of cooperation and competition (Deutsch, 2006:26-7), and Johnson's conflict strategies (Johnson and Johnson (1990, Section 3:8). In that regard, Kraybill's inventory also adopts the five distinct styles

described above, though with slight variations in describing them. For example, where other scholars use the term *force* he uses *directing* while he prefers *cooperating* to *problem solving*. However he explains them in the same manner as De Dreu et al. (2001) referred to above.

Three reasons influenced my choice: firstly, many strategies have tended to focus more on field research in organisations and in experimental research in psychological laboratories (De Dreu et al., 2001, p647), while Kraybill's inventory goes a step further to give specific, practical help for dealing with differences including in community settings (Kraybill, 2008, p2); secondly, the Kraybill inventory can be accessed electronically freely and easily at the Riverhouse press website (www.RiverhouseEpress.com); and, thirdly, while conducting this study (and also through my work) I was introduced to Ronald Kraybill who assisted me with insights into his work and responded to some questions that arose during my research.

I combined questions from the Kraybill inventory with insights from other conflict handling inventories to come up with a conflict quiz with 20 statements corresponding to the five distinct styles (avoiding, forcing, problem-solving, compromising and harmonising) presented in a random order. The 20 statements aimed to elucidate each participant's conflict handling styles from among the five, from their most used strategy to their least preferred strategy. The conflict quiz and score sheet are provided as Annexure II.

It is important to state that although the conflict quiz employed asked what the youths would do when in a conflict, their responses reflected their behavioural intentions rather than actual behaviour. It was not certain that such intentions would automatically translate into their behaviour in real life circumstances. Given this, the classical experiment in this study (Barbie and Mouton, 2001, p219, as explained in detail in Section 5.4) limited itself only to monitoring possible changes before and after training in AVP, particularly among the experimental group. If any significant changes could be observed, one could assume that training in AVP would have been the stimulus for change. However, such changes can only be regarded as immediate results as they were specifically linked to the training itself while their behaviour in later life might be different.

The data collected from the pre and post-tests, then, could not give a scientific explanation as to why AVP could produce change beyond a comparison of attitudes before and after AVP. In an attempt to gain more insights into the impact of AVP on the participants, as well as devising a way to validate the findings, participants in the experimental group were asked to write self-reports of how training in AVP had impacted on their attitude to conflict in particular, and their lives in general. I borrowed the idea of focusing on the narrative aspect of the impact of AVP from the work by Halfman and Couzij (2008), as referred to in Section 7.2.4. Another hint was by Kraybill (2011, p5), who encourages users to “take numbers lightly” even though Style Matters [his inventory], like the Thomas-Kilmann Mode Instrument, has been found valid and reliable in research. He proposes that numbers should be thought-provoking but not the final word, and invite people to trust their own honest self-reflection as a guide, and to use the inventory to think about options for the future rather than as a statement of who they are. In view of this, selected excerpts of the participants’ self-reports from the experimental group are provided below in boxes. The information provided was triangulated with follow-on interviews with the participants themselves as well as with community leaders who shared their views and observations. Again, excerpts from these interviews are given later. Self-reports were not requested from participants in the control group because they did not have the same stimulus (AVP) to which they could compare their attitudes before and after.

10.3 Data collection procedure and analyses

10.3.1 Pre and post-test experiments with experimental group

All sixteen participants in the AVP Basic Workshop (Level One) that was held from 10th – 11th January 2010 responded to the conflict quiz. Participants were provided with instructions on arrival and each received the questionnaire which they responded to by encircling their choices among the 20 statements. Out of the 20 statements, each of the five conflict handling styles had four statements that corresponded to it. This was done before the start of any workshop proceedings, and they responded to the quiz individually (no discussions were allowed). I

translated the questionnaires into the local vernacular (Shona) to make sure that everyone would understand the statements. At the end of the training session they were again provided with the same instructions and they individually responded to the same questionnaire. Table 10.1 below shows the total scores on each of the five conflict handling styles by the 16 participants who responded to the conflict quiz before and after AVP basic workshop.

Conflict Handling Style	Before AVP Basic Workshop	After AVP Basic Workshop	Number of Participants
Avoiding/Withdrawing	3	5	16
Forcing/Directing	4	4	
Harmonising	17	23	
Compromising	26	25	
Cooperating/Problem Solving	29	45	

Table 10.1 Participants' responses to the conflict quiz before and after AVP Basic Workshop.

Table 10.1 above reveals that although in some instances there was no change or the change was minimal, there are a number of important differences which suggest the immediate outcome of training participants in AVP. A comparison of the participants' responses to the conflict handling styles before and after AVP revealed that even though there was already a strong inclination towards problem-solving among participants (a score of 29), it grew even higher after the AVP training, jumping to 45. While this shift is worth noting and exhibited the desired change, it was too early to conclude that the AVP basic workshop had given them enough exposure to be able to influence them. This was probably why there was no change on the inclination towards the use of force, while the other changes such as avoiding and compromising were very minimal. While the results they may reflect the interest that grew because of the training and may not have been put into practice in real life. The results of the advanced training in Table 10.2 below were potentially more insightful because the participants had had a year to put into practice as well as reflect on the AVP skills acquired as they used

them in real life situations. The table shows the total scores on each of the five conflict handling styles by the 14 participants who responded to the conflict quiz before and after AVP advanced workshop.

Conflict Handling Style	Before AVP Advanced Workshop	After AVP Advanced Workshop	Number of Participants
Avoiding/Withdrawing	10	6	14
Forcing/Directing	2	1	
Harmonising	15	13	
Compromising	23	20	
Cooperating/Problem Solving	44	47	

Table 10.2 Participants' responses before and after AVP Advanced Workshop.

The pre and post-test results after the advanced workshop can be viewed as a progression from the results shown in Table 10.1 since the training programme itself built on the earlier workshop. It was interesting to note that the participants' preference to employ problem-solving strategies was very high before the AVP advanced workshop at 44, virtually the same as that achieved after AVP basic level despite two participants having dropped out. There was a slight increase to 47 after the advanced workshop, which again reflected the desired change. It seems that problem-solving as an option when in conflict captured the interest of the participants who acquired the AVP skills, practiced them and found them attractive and effective during the period between the two workshops.

Another interesting observation was the decrease in the number of participants who were inclined to the use of force – from 4 at the end of the basic workshop down to 2 before the advanced workshop, and subsequently to only 1 after the advanced workshop. Although it is possible that the two participants who dropped-out could have been the ones with the propensity to use violence when in a conflict, what is important is that no increase was

recorded. In fact, in their self-reports reflecting how AVP had impacted on their lives some participants revealed that they now make non-violent choices when in a conflict.

While the participants' propensity to harmonise or compromise was marginally lower than in Table 10.1, as well as after the advanced workshop, they still remained high. However, one observation of interest was the increase in the instances where participants would opt to avoiding conflict that doubled from 5 at the end of AVP basic workshop to 10 at the beginning of the advanced workshop. Although the figure went down to 6 at the end of the advanced workshop, this trend where people avoid conflict could be regarded as a negation in AVP philosophy which holds that conflicts provide opportunities for non-violent ways to deal with issues towards a win-win situation. There was however a notable reduction towards this inclination during the AVP training for facilitators workshop that followed, the results of which are shown in Table 10.3 below which shows the total scores on each of the five conflict handling styles by the 10 participants who responded to the conflict quiz before and after AVP T4F workshop.

Conflict Handling Style	Before AVP Training for Facilitators Workshop (T4F)	After AVP Training for Facilitators Workshop (T4F)	Number of participants
Avoiding/Withdrawal	3	3	10
Forcing/Directing	0	0	
Harmonising	10	9	
Compromising	7	7	
Cooperating/Problem Solving	31	32	

Table 10.3 Participants' responses before and after AVP Training for Facilitators workshop.

Even though six out of the sixteen participants who took part in the AVP basic workshop did not take part in the training for facilitators workshop, important insights were gained from

comparing the pre and post-test results of the latter, both on their own as well as compared to the two previous workshops. It was interesting to observe that problem-solving maintained its high preference as a conflict handling strategy among the participants. Again, this is an indication of moving in the direction of the desired change which is validated by the participants' self-reports in Section 10.3.4. The inclination towards problem-solving was positively complemented by the fact that of the 10 participants who attended the training for facilitators workshop, none indicated that they would choose to use force. It seems reasonable to conclude from this that attending basic and advanced workshops helps people understand how they would behave when faced by conflict. This conclusion comes from Table 10.3 where there is no change before and after training in three (avoiding, forcing, compromising) out of the five options, while the shift in the other two (harmonising, problem-solving) is so marginal. As such, a person who attends all three AVP training levels seems to be empowered to take positive action in their personal lives, which is increased at each level. Empowerment is the overall theme and goal of AVP T4F training (AVP, 2013, p19).

10.3.2 Pre and post-test experiment with the control group

The control group completed the first questionnaire in January 2010 as part of their recruitment process. We arranged to meet at the church venue two days before the AVP workshops commenced. The post-test questionnaire was completed on 14th April 2011 at the same venue just before the first focus group discussions which they participated in. Although sixteen participants completed the first questionnaire, twelve attended the focus group discussions and the statistics shown on Table 10.4 below shows the total scores on each of the five conflict handling styles by the 12 participants who completed both the pre and post-test questionnaires.

Conflict Handling Style	Pre-test	Post-test	Number of Participants
Avoiding/Withdrawing	11	8	12
Forcing/Directing	6	5	
Harmonising	18	20	
Compromising	10	11	
Cooperating/Problem solving	31	35	

Table 10.4 Pre and post-test responses by the control group.

As Table 10.4 above shows, there were no major changes between the pre and post-test surveys of the control group regardless of the period of 16 months that lapsed. Despite the changes being minimal, it was interesting to note that the participants' inclination towards problem-solving was high at 31 and close to that of the experimental group, and it even went higher to 35. While this may just be a reflection of their true inclinations in real life, a toolkit developed by the Margaret Sanger Centre (2009, Module 5. p18) warns of such possibilities where participants in the control group mix and mingle with those in the experimental group. They argue that in close-knit settings programme influences may filter into and benefit the control group too. Such could have happened to the participants in this study considering that the youths in the control group mingled with those in the experimental group since they live in the same community and interact in their daily lives. There was also a possibility that some participants in the control group assumed that if one is viewed as 'transforming' they could be considered in the following intake for AVP training which may have influenced the changes.

Be that as it may be, the inclination towards the use of force among participants in the control group also changed marginally, from the six recorded in the pre-test questionnaire to five. Therefore, even though there was also a slight shift in the inclination to problem-solving in the control group as discussed above, when compared to the far-reaching changes observed in the experimental group during the same period, it can be reasonably concluded that it is the

exposure to AVP that may account for the difference in the latter. On top of that, one can observe that the responses by participants in the control group remained high even on those attributes such as avoiding that do not seem to seek a 'win-win' solution. One may conclude that the participants in the control group did not make the shift towards a win-win situation because they had not been exposed to AVP.

10.3.3. Comparison between experimental and control groups

Because the number of participants did not remain constant throughout, which is one of the limitations of this study, the comparison discussed here is based on the pre and post-test trends as reflected in the tables above. The tables show that a number of important differences in the way participants said they would handle conflict occurred between the experimental and control groups from the period when they responded to the first questionnaire to the final post-test.

The most important difference for this study was that in the experimental group there was a total shift away from force among the participants. The shift was gradual from four at the end of the AVP basic level down to zero the time the participants completed the training for facilitators 14 months later. In the same period, there was no significant change among the control group which remained at five from the original six. Although there is a possibility that among the participants who did not complete all three AVP levels could be some who might have remained inclined towards the use of force, the observed shift seems valid because the number of those who completed all three levels is far higher than that of drop-outs. And the only obvious reason for the difference between the experimental group and the control group was the attitude change induced by AVP as the stimulus. This was validated by experimental group participants' self-reports discussed in Section 10.3.4 below.

The other significant shift was how training in AVP bolstered the experimental group's inclination towards problem-solving strategies. Even though the trend increased in both groups, that of the control group was just minimal from 31 to 35, while that of the experimental group

rose from 29 to 45, and remained very high among the experimental group throughout the training period. From this trend one can reasonably conclude that it was the AVP stress on seeking a non-violent solution when in a conflict which gave the impetus to shift and maintain the resolve to use problem-solving methods.

Another important difference was on the participants' inclination towards avoiding conflict. Although there was an increase from the basic workshop to the advanced workshop in the experimental group, this eventually fell and remained low including after the T4F workshop. On the contrary, conflict avoidance remained high among participants in the control group. Again, this difference can be attributed to training in AVP which teaches that non-violence is not passivity but a method that involves respect for the worth of every person and actively seeks justice for all. On top of that, AVP does not encourage allowing some people take advantage of others, but teaches that everyone's rights are worthy of respect and that they are entitled to be appropriately assertive (AVP, 2002, pB-2). A sustained reduction in the experimental groups' inclination towards conflict avoidance was therefore a desired change in this study, directly influenced by AVP as the stimulus. A similar trend was also observed with the inclination towards compromising which went gradually down among the experimental group but increased among the control group. This is because AVP trains people to be able to transform hostility and destructiveness into cooperation and community (AVP, 2002, pA-2). As such, one can conclude that training in AVP taught participants in the experimental group that compromising may not be the best option.

Comparing the pre-and post test results of both the experimental group and the control group was the main strategy from which I expected to get important insights into how AVP could influence changes in attitudes towards conflict, as discussed above. However, I realised that more important insights could be learnt from the participants themselves reflecting and sharing their feelings and experiences before and after training in AVP. To achieve this, participants in the experimental group were requested to write self-reports and share their life experiences and reflections before and after training in AVP. Selected self-reports are discussed below.

10.3.4 Experimental group participants' self-reports

The pre and post-test experiments for both experimental and control groups gave some important insights into the participants' attitude towards conflict and the style they would most likely opt for. The positive changes observed among participants in the experimental group can be attributed to the immediate impact of training in AVP, as discussed above. However, as alluded to earlier, not a great deal can be read from the numbers that show the participants' shift in inclination. Deeper insights were, instead, learnt from the participants' own narratives of how AVP had impacted on their attitudes towards conflict in particular, as well as in their lives in general. In the boxes below are excerpts from selected narratives, followed by a discussion of the observations that I noted throughout the training process.

Box 10.1 Impact of AVP on participant EG3	
Before AVP	After AVP
<p>Before participating in AVP I was a person who was generally cruel. My only solution to anyone who would have wronged me was to beat him/her up. Also, when I was with the other boys I would so much encourage violence.</p> <p>I would not allow anyone to go against my wishes. My life was full of arguments and use of force.</p>	<p>AVP is a programme that has changed my life and how I relate with my neighbours. It has led me from a life of violence to a life that is good. I feel like AVP has had a born-again effect on me, getting me out of bad habits. I now have a forgiving heart. Today as I walk people now see my humane side as I now agree with other people's wishes as well.</p>

Box 10.2 Impact of AVP on participant EG1**Before AVP**

Since I was a ZANU-PF party youth leader in Gutu West Constituency I used to torture people who did not belong to my party. I did not care about the social position of anyone who was not supporting my party. I developed a spirit of individualism. People used to call me 'Boss' and I was very proud of that. It could not take me time to beat or fight if someone did something that I regarded as wrong. I also fell in love with married women.

Before AVP I could not share anything or ideas with others. I could not let anyone argue with me. I thought that was a sign of disrespecting me and my position. I was not even able to use 'I message' in any dialogue.

After AVP

I am now a kind of leader who can share ideas and what I have or possess with others. I now hate violence. I learnt to respect other people and respect the position of others, and I am no longer interested in prostitution. I learnt to use 'I' message and I am applying it whenever I have dialogue which needs 'I' message. Because of this I was even promoted to the post of Gutu District youth leader and I am very much proud of what I am. I now hold some conferences with youths teaching them not to fight or beat others in politics. If I happen to meet anyone who criticises my party I share ideas with him/her with the intention to promote oneness. AVP workshops brought change in my life. I wish the whole country could receive what I learnt.

Box 10.3 Impact of AVP on participant EG4**Before AVP**

Personally I was a person who lacked knowledge of how to live well with others in life. As people we often hate each other for nothing, and sometimes we act out of ignorance.

I used to do wrong things to others. I was not polite to others, and I believed that violence was a solution whenever there was a problem.

I could not relate with supporters of MDC because I support ZANU-PF. I was always shouting at my wife and my neighbours. I also confiscated other people's belongings and never returned them. And I had general hatred of those people who are not Zimbabwean.

After AVP

From today the 18th of April 2011, which is also the day of our national independence, I can declare that I am now a new person. I now have knowledge that if I want to do anything I can consult to find out whether it is good or bad. I now consider the feelings of others when I do anything. This AVP programme has taught us to live in peace.

Probably the most important lesson for me is that I can live alongside supporters of opposition political parties without violence. I learnt that there are other ways of approaching them and luring them to support the president without having to beat them.

The three boxes above are self-reports of participants EG1, EG2 and EG4 who were youth militias trained in the National Youth Service and were my main target after reports had emerged that they were the key actors in perpetrating politically-motivated violence and other human rights abuses in Gutu district. There is a similarity in all three as they reflect on their lives before and after training in AVP. Their reflections are consistent with a change from competition towards cooperation (Deutsch, 2006, p30). More importantly, these self-reports provide convincing evidence that training in AVP can be a sufficient stimulus to transform a person's attitude towards conflict from a violent to a non-violent predisposition. As the AVP programme stipulates, the high level of violence among people is in part a response to the violence imbedded in our institutions and values, yet it teaches that in the universe there is a power that is able to transform hostility and destructiveness into cooperation and community (AVP, 2002, pA-2). The training that the youth militias underwent in the NYS contributed to the lifestyles that they reflect before AVP which suggest that violence was embedded in their lives. Their personal 'confessions' also corroborate the allegations of politically-motivated human rights abuses that they inflicted upon the communities in Wards One and Two of Gutu district. Nevertheless, while there is no guarantee that these self-claimed attitude changes are indeed life-long changes, it can be reasonably argued that institutions such as churches can utilise AVP to inculcate a culture of non-violence that can potentially build a more peaceful Zimbabwe.

Boxes 10.3 and 10.4 below are from youths who were not graduates of the NYS but were political activists from the main opposing parties, with EG6 being a member of ZANU-PF, the alleged perpetrators, while EG10 was a member of MDC which was often perceived as victims of political violence.

Participant EG6 concedes that before AVP he "could not give others a chance to talk" because he thought he was 'Mr Right' but this shifts to a willingness to "share ideas with others and even accepts their suggestions" after AVP. One can reasonably conclude that AVP has improved his listening skills generally, and his communication skills overall.

Participant EG10's report confesses his violent past before training in AVP, but more importantly, it also shows that violence was not only perpetrated by ZANU-PF youths. As he acknowledges, AVP skills transformed his life and boosted his confidence. While it is possible that other variables might have contributed to his selection to a position of leadership in a students' club at a university, he attributes that to AVP experience which to him was life changing.

Box 10.4 Impact of AVP on participant EG6	
<p>Before AVP</p> <p>Before AVP came to our area I was very selfish that I could not lend anyone anything or share ideas with others. I could not accept anyone's suggestion. I was 'Mr. Right' who had no spirit of sharing. A lot of people came to my home begging items for agricultural use and many other things but I could not respond and help them.</p> <p>The spirit of sharing and caring for others was scarcely found in me. I used to do my things silently without telling others what I am going to do. Even at settling family disputes I used my 'Mr. Right' method. I could not give others a chance to talk.</p>	<p>After AVP</p> <p>AVP has transformed my life from being a selfish person to a social one. This project has helped me a great deal that I am now able to socialise and care for others. I can now share ideas with others and even accept their suggestions.</p> <p>Using the 'I' message I can now settle conflicts in a more peaceful manner than before. Through AVP studies I am now able to solve disputes at family level in a peaceful manner. My hope is to transform all people in my community from a climate of violence into a non-violent atmosphere using AVP skills.</p>

Box 10.4 Impact of AVP on participant EG10	
<p>Before AVP</p> <p>During this period I was living in the darkness because of the activities I was used to perform. I was involved in public fighting and I did not care about others. Most people know me because of violence. I was used to causing a lot of violence in the society with my gangsters. I was used to playing with people who are always violent and this made me to become violent as well. Furthermore, during this period I was not even</p>	<p>After AVP</p> <p>This was a period of transformation to my life. AVP brought a lot of skills in my life and it helped me to achieve a lot of things that I did not think I could manage. For example, early this year I was elected to be a secretary of Peer Education club at Midlands State University. Due to the 'I' message that I applied to my lifestyle it helped me to solve disputes and situations of violence. Nowadays I am now able to solve quarrels and</p>

respecting elders. I only respected my closest family members. Also I was used to always disturb plans of others especially during youth meetings.	help people with whatever they want since AVP injected confidence in me. And I can now care for others.
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Overall, AVP values of affirmation, respect, co-operation, trust and community building as discussed in detail in Section 3.3.1 – can be found in each of the reports above. The workshops, it seems, developed conflict management skills and enabled individuals to build better interpersonal skills, gain insights into themselves and find new and positive approaches to their lives. But as alluded to earlier, this study only reflects findings of the immediate outcomes of training in AVP that may be short-term. While it was encouraging to observe positive changes discussed above as well as in the in-depth interviews below, one may not conclude with certainty that this will be maintained throughout their lives. During the in-depth interviews discussed below, some of the participants expressed some reservations because elections were approaching.

10.4 In-depth interviews

I carried out in-depth interviews with selected youths in both the experimental group and the control group. I also interviewed community leaders and leaders of church-related civil society organisations that are working in the area of human rights, conflict resolution and peace-building in Zimbabwe. As with the youths, after holding focus group discussions I again requested their consent to be interviewed individually, in line with the UKZN ethics guidelines. Because of the rapport that I had already established with them, all accepted to be interviewed. Due to time constraints, I interviewed nine youths who represented each sub-group in both the experimental and control groups. With community leaders, I held interviews with five elders, two women and three men who included the local chief, Chief Denhere. With CSOs, I held in-depth interviews with seven leaders (out of ten) who responded to a survey questionnaire. Findings of the interviews are discussed below, while the interview schedules, the survey

questionnaire used for the CSOs and the full list of interviewees and their designations (with the names of the youths anonymised) are given as Annexure III and IV, respectively.

The use of interviews and its justification as a method was discussed in detail in Section 6.5 that discusses data collection methods. I employed interviews as a triangulation strategy because this study borrowed from the mixed methods approach. As Clark et.al (2008, p372-3) espouse, the intent of triangulation is to develop a better understanding of a topic by obtaining two or more data collection methods, including when a researcher wants to validate quantitative data with qualitative data.

In carrying out the interviews, I was guided by the general rules as espoused by Babbie and Mouton (2001, p251-6) that are also emphasised by Hennink et.al (2011, p109-112) and Schostak (2006, p10). These scholars propose a general sequence of beginning with an *introduction* that explains the purpose of the research. This is followed by *opening questions* aimed at building rapport with the interviewee so that they feel comfortable enough to start telling their stories. This is then followed by *key questions* which are the essential questions on the research topic designed to collect the core information to answer the research questions. Finally comes the *closing questions* that slowly reduces the rapport that has been established, especially when the research deals with sensitive issues. Babbie and Mouton (ibid, p253) also reiterate the importance of probing in eliciting responses to open-ended questions which I employed to get answers that could be sufficiently informative for analytical purposes. Hennink et.al (ibid, p112) concur on probing to gain detailed information, examples, explore nuances in what is said and to understand the issues from the perspective of the interviewee. The findings from the in-depth interviews are discussed below, and in some instances I have quoted them verbatim to maintain originality.

10.4.1 Interviews with the youths

I carried-out interviews with the youths from 16th – 19th April 2011 soon after carrying-out focus group discussions with both groups and completion of training for trainers workshop with the

experimental group. The interviews with the youths sought to elicit their views on their personal beliefs and perceptions towards violence and non-violence. I also sought to understand the meanings they attached to their experiences, the context surrounding their lives and what participating in this research meant to them, especially those from the experimental group that had trained in AVP. The interviews also sought to elicit the youths' personal commitment to a non-violent future.

While several themes including violence, fear and shared victimhood that emerged during focus group discussions and also featured in their personal diaries remained central during in-depth interviews, two related themes that explained the context surrounding the youths' lives came to light. First was poverty, about which participant CG5 was quite unambiguous:

We do some of these things out of desperation. It is poverty, nothing else. Because we have nothing to do, I mean virtually nothing that some politicians ask us to perform duties that we would not do if we had something to occupy us. In some cases I really feel used.

After probing on the incentives that these politicians would give the youths, CG5 listed t-shirts, beer, cigarettes as the most common, but occasionally they would receive some money for personal use. I probed further to know the exact duties the youths were asked to perform and it emerged that the youths were tasked to force people to attend political rallies or disrupt activities organised by other political parties. It was in performing these duties that violence was employed as a coercive measure. It became apparent that these tactics were also employed by the opposition politicians. Participant CG11 concurred with what CG5 had said even though they belonged to opposing parties. I asked CG5 what ideas he had to remedy the vulnerability of the youths in the community and he suggested that if he had money equivalent to US\$50 would be enough for him to start a market-gardening project that would occupy him and earn him an honest living.

The second issue, which is related to that of poverty was the role of external forces who seemed to pull the strings and control the political activities taking place in the area. Besides politicians, the role of war veterans and other national security apparatus was apparent, which

tilted the balance of force in favour of ZANU-PF. This fits into what Kalyvas (2006, p383) refers to as the role of cleavages and alliances as discussed in detail in Section 4.3, where there is convergence of interests via a transaction between supra-local and local actors whereby the former supply the latter with external muscle to help them to win decisive advantage over local rivals. This resulted in a general sense of fear that threatened even the immediate gains brought by AVP to the community, as participant EG9 bemoaned:

I am afraid because our friends from the other party may be affected by their leadership who will force them to do even wrong things. Some of them like ZV are lost for good. I mean, we may cooperate at personal level and do everything together but the problem comes when directives come from above. Culturally, we take orders from those older than us. If you refuse you are regarded as disrespectful. [ZV are initials of a local ZANU-PF activist]

By inference, I discerned two issues from EG9's lamentation. Firstly, it was apparent that there existed a more forceful authority in ZANU-PF than in MDC. From the interview, EG9 also gave a hint that in their party they could resist orders from the leadership while he believed that his counterparts in ZANU-PF could not. Secondly, the cultural role of elders in determining communal living was again brought into prominence. This vindicated my strategy to include community leaders in the whole process which gives insights into ways to maximise the potential effectiveness of AVP in the African context.

Even though fear was prevalent, the interview with one of the youth militia, participant CG1, gave the impression that not all hope is lost. When we discussed the issue of fear that was prevalent he had this to say:

Like I said during the discussions in the group [referring to the focus group discussions] I would not be here if this programme's benefits had not been accepted by our leadership. My 'chef' [local colloquial for boss] actually encouraged me to gain this knowledge so that I can benefit also. I was authorised by my party. Those that are attending the training showed us their certificates and everyone agrees that the programme will benefit us as the whole community for the good everyone.

I probed further about ZV whom other youths, particularly those from MDC, feared was beyond redemption. CG1 had this to say:

We have already calmed him down. We have convinced him that the most important way is to talk. In fact, we will encourage him to attend this programme when the new group is trained. We will even tell war veterans that violence and war is a thing of the past. This time we will not allow jambanja [local for violence] to start. Even if our leaders send us we will refuse to do harm to each other.

The interviews revealed that enthusiasm for the programme was high and had permeated even to those that were in the control group, such as participant CG1. The interview with him also highlighted the importance of AVP certificates which may have been another motivation for the enthusiasm in a society that values of education very highly. In that regard, AVP proved to be a programme that can influence social transformation as was revealed during interviews with the community leaders. Along the same lines, AVP also proved to be a valuable stimulus that has potential to assist the reintegration of youth militias back into normal community life which was the main objective of this study.

Another aspect that came out strongly during interviews with participants in the experimental group was a of feeling confidence after participating in AVP workshops. Participant EG14 was not politically active but she viewed her participation in the workshops as a life changing experience. She said:

My life has changed in a big way that even my family members at home have said it. I now have the courage to intervene in many issues by saying what is in my mind. I would not do this before.

From the interview I concluded that EG14 was a typical introvert who would chose to avoid issues as a way to let go. She now felt empowered by the communication skills acquired in AVP workshops, among other values. This is similar to what participant EG10 in his self-report that AVP had “injected confidence” in him that even landed in a leadership position among his peers

at university. These examples provide some evidence that the AVP has potential to transform lives and might be utilised by other institutions, including churches.

10.4.2 Interviews with community leaders

I carried out in-depth interviews with community leaders between 18th and 20th April 2011 after the AVP training sessions and the focus group discussions. The interviews sought to elicit their perceptions of the programme as custodians of community values as well as interested parties because I had involved them in every level of the process. I also sought to know how they might help ensure that the AVP values and skills acquired by the trained youths would be sustained and promoted to influence the whole community towards a more peaceful life.

My interview with Chief Denhere revealed that the programme to train youths in AVP came at a time when the community leadership had no clue as to how they would quell the scourge of politically-motivated violence that had become prevalent in his community particularly in 2008. He said he was grateful that the initiative had brought together adversaries among youths, and promised to keep reminding them in future that they had acquired the knowledge and skills on behalf of the community. He said:

Your programme [AVP] could not have come at a better time because the situation had got out of hand. We did not know what to do with the youths who were fighting each other on a daily basis, yet the police were doing nothing. From now on we expect them to behave like humans, and as a community we will keep watching their movements and reminding them of this initiative whenever they behave in a wayward manner. When another round of training others comes, we will welcome it with open arms because our community wants peace and development, not violence.

The chiefs' sentiments were important in that it gave some assurance that the leadership will persuade the youths to uphold the AVP skills and values that they had acquired. Another thing the interview revealed was the perceived ineptness of the police. The issue of security sector reform has not been dealt with in this study, but remain an important area for future research. However, the chief's sentiments reconfirm the importance of pursuing peace initiatives at

community level with the support of local leadership, and one of the institutions that could take a lead in this could be the churches, given their broad community outreach potential. This is also in line with the bottom-up approaches proffered by Lederach (1997), as discussed in detail in Section 4.7.1.

The interview with Mr. Marandu, the chief's senior aide, also reiterated the chief's position. In fact, it was enlightening to hear how appreciative the chief was to the whole programme from his top aide. He reiterated the fact that as community leaders they were going to continue to urge the youths in the community to shun violence and lead peaceful lives.

An important interview was with Mrs. Deka, a teacher at a local primary school whose husband was once targeted by the youth militia for allegedly supporting MDC. I held a discussion with her in January 2010 before the AVP workshops started in which she expressed serious doubts that the youths would change their attitude and behaviour from AVP training given that some of them had been trained militarily in the camps. Her doubts were also out of anxiety considering that she feared for her family. In April 2011 she had this to say:

Your programme [AVP] has really worked wonders in this community. To see participant EG1 and EG8 walking together and talking like we are seeing these days [During AVP workshops] is like seeing a miracle. We are now sleeping peacefully at night. My heart doesn't pound anymore if a cellular phone rings during the night. We can surely see the change. What I pray for is that this continues even when there are elections. This programme was God sent for sure.

Mrs. Deka's sentiments and appreciation were held by many in the community who hoped that the youths would not return to their violent past. Two major elections have since taken place in Zimbabwe in 2013 – the Constitutional Referendum in March and general elections in July. No cases of politically-motivated violence were recorded in Wards One and Two of Gutu district. While there were certainly other variables that contributed to the peaceful environment in Zimbabwe at the time, training the youths in AVP no doubt contributed to the peace and tranquility that was enjoyed in Wards One and Two of Gutu district. And community leaders like Mrs. Deka believe much so.

As stated in Section 8.3 that describes in detail the AVP training process, a unique feature of this study was the involvement of community leaders in the whole process, from the recruitment of participants to the awarding of AVP certificates by the local chief. On top of that, community leaders took part in the social gatherings under a traditional *muchakata* tree where they would meet and discuss social community issues with the youths who had undergone AVP training. As such, the community leaders also embraced AVP as a programme that was empowering their youths for the betterment of the whole community. In that regard, the youths themselves, regardless of their political affiliations, were expected to be stewards of peace on behalf of the community. Such were the sentiments of the community leaders that I interviewed.

10.4.3 Interviews with leaders of church related Civil Society Organizations

The interviews with leaders of church-related civil society followed up a questionnaire survey that sought to establish their approaches to conflict resolution and peace-building, understand their experiences, achievements and challenges that they encountered in pursuit of their objectives. It also elicited the values that underpin their work as well as what they thought could enhance their work. The reason behind the survey and follow-up interviews was to contrast these issues against my experience and observations in carrying-out AVP workshops in a rural community and to find ways that could enhance their capacity to deliver. Out of the fifteen organisations to which I sent questionnaires, nine responded and agreed to have follow-up interviews. The survey questionnaire was distributed in April 2011 and the interviews with the nine leaders who responded were carried-out in July 2011.

The work being promoted by the organisations varied from promoting human rights, justice, peace and conflict transformation in communities to capacity building in these issues for church-related institutions and local government structures. In pursuit of their goals, the main challenge faced by the organisations that responded was that they faced difficulties to access and promote their work in rural areas. They cited draconian laws such as the Public Order

Security Act (POSA) and Access to Information and Public Protection Act (AIPPA) as well as ZANU-PF activists who declared rural areas as no-go areas for CSOs whom the party largely perceived to be promoting opposition politics. These were compounded by the general sense of insecurity that is highlighted throughout this study. While the prevailing situation had potential to hamper my progress, my approach of involving the community leadership structures largely contributed to successfully conduct this study without hindrance.

Arguably, the most important issue that I found out was that while the CSOs claim to be making in-roads to promote peace and their objectives are worthy, they lack clarity on methodology to achieve their goals. They mostly conduct workshops to promote their values at all levels of society, usually over a period of two days. They focus on all the relevant concepts including mediation, conflict resolution, conflict transformation, peace-building, non-violence and dialogue, but they lacked clarity in terms of their training methodology in promoting these. However, beyond the workshop venues, these organizations hardly go to the grassroots for implementation due to lack of operational space as they are suspected of promoting the regime change agenda. This was also reflected by Mr. John Stewart, the director of Nonviolent Action and Strategies for Social Change (NOVASC) who lamented that a lot of documentation has been done but very little intervention had taken place. For example, when asked to share their concrete achievements, one leader said:

We have managed to bring together people from different political parties to start discussing what went wrong, why and how to prevent the same situation from recurring.

The idea of bringing people from different political formations was echoed by many other organisations, with some claiming to have created ‘peace committees’ in communities. These were indeed important interventions, but I found them lacking on empowering individuals with both knowledge and skills that can be utilised in everyday life. The strength of a programme like AVP is its comprehensiveness and clarity on the skills that individuals acquire for everyday use.

My interviews with Mr. Alouis Chaumba, the director of Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe (CCJPZ) and Dr. David Kaulem, the director of the African Forum for Catholic

Social Teaching (AFCAST) revealed that their organisations' strategies are guided by the social teachings of the Catholic Church. The social teachings are meant to be transformative, and are offered as gospel values and principles to guide people's lives. They include the sanctity of life with dignity where human rights are promoted, respected and defended. These are very important ideals, but again, just like the rest of the CSOs, their work is limited to advocacy workshops and outreach programmes on these values. They do not teach everyday life skills which AVP offers.

The CSOs' limitations in their programme implementation were highlighted by all nine respondents when discussing what they thought could be done to enhance their work. They said they required capacity-building as they lacked expert knowledge on the concepts that they are promoting. As such, they often rely on consultants to do the work for them. AVP workshops present conflict management skills that can enable individuals to build successful interpersonal interactions, gain insights into themselves and find new and positive approaches to their lives. The programme offers experiential workshops that empower people to lead non-violent lives through affirmation, respect for all, community building, cooperation and trust (AVP, 2002:A4). One can reasonably argue that the programme can be utilised by churches and church-related CSOs to enhance their capacity to build a peaceful Zimbabwe.

10.5. Conclusion

This chapter analysed the apparent impact of AVP based on pre and post-test experiments conducted with both the experimental and control groups. A comparison of the findings was made, followed by in-depth interviews with the youths. An important aspect of this study revealed in this chapter are the self-reports by youths in the experimental group which gave insights into how in their view AVP had impacted on them, specifically on their attitude towards conflict and in life generally. The findings of the experiments and the self-reports by youths in the experimental group revealed that AVP had positively influenced their attitude, which was the aim of this study.

The chapter also discussed and analysed findings from interviews that I carried-out with community leaders which gave insights into their perception of AVP as stakeholders. The chapter also discussed a survey and follow-on interviews carried out with leaders of church-related CSOs working to promote peace-building in Zimbabwe. Their insights enlightened this study on how AVP can enhance their strategies to build a peaceful Zimbabwe. These will be discussed in Chapter Eleven.

*A paper from the findings discussed in this chapter entitled '*Local peacebuilding in the aftermath of election-related violence in Zimbabwe*' was accepted for publication by the International Peace Institute (IPI), a New York based think-tank, and will be presented at seminars on "*Leveraging local knowledge for peacebuilding and state-building in Africa*" in Dakar, Senegal (1-2 May 2014), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (4-5 June 2014) and in New York (November 2014).

PART FIVE: SUMMARY, LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Part Five comprises of **Chapter Eleven** which is provides a summary of the study, limitations and implications for the future. It gives an overview of how the aims of the study were addressed in different chapters before discussing the limitations and implications for the future.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: SUMMARY, LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

11.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the study, limitations and implications for the future. It begins by revisiting the aims of the study and provides chapter summaries in which the aims were dealt with. It goes on to reflect on the research design, methodology and data analysis that were employed to achieve the stated aims. After that it discusses the research questions that this study attempted to answer. Before the conclusion, the chapter proffers a number of limitations to this study before submitting some implications for the future.

11.2 Summary of the study

This study had three specific aims as presented in Section 1.3 of this thesis.

- i) To explore the role of churches in promoting peace through non-violent means in post-independence Zimbabwe.
- ii) To explore the strategy of training youths through Alternative to Violence Project as a strategy the churches could use to enhance their effectiveness in promoting peace and non-violence in Zimbabwe.
- iii) To design a training curriculum in Alternatives to Violence relevant to Zimbabwe that can be used by Churches to train youths, the leaders of Churches and for use by Church-related institutions to promote non-violent ways of transforming conflict.

To achieve these aims, this study employed a variation of research methods to collect and analyse data, as discussed in Section 11.2.2 below. Overall, the study proved that training in AVP can change a person's attitude from violence to non-violence. This was evidenced by the

shift in attitude noted among youths in the experimental group that was also corroborated by their self-reports.

Aim One: Literature review

The literature was reviewed in Part Two which comprised Chapters Two, Three and Four, and the relevant data was obtained from desk-top research on the issues specifically relevant to this study. Section 2.2 traced the philosophy and principles of non-violence to its religious traditions including Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity. It located the modern understanding of principled non-violence to Gandhi's methods that led to the independence of India from Britain in 1947. Gandhi's non-violent struggle later influenced Martin Luther King Jr. who used them during the American civil rights movement to protest against racial segregation. The frontiers of the non-violent methods were pushed to new levels in recent years by Gene Sharp's pragmatic approaches that emphasise the need for strategic direct action.

The chapter went on to review literature that traced the history of violence in post-independence Zimbabwe. In that regard, Section 2.3 highlighted episodes such as *Gukurahundi*, operation *Murambatsvina* and the various periods of election-related violence and human rights violations that climaxed during the 2008 presidential run-off elections. Section 2.4 reviewed the literature on the role of the church in Zimbabwe since 1980. There is evidence that churches and church-related institutions followed political events in Zimbabwe keenly, and also intervened during incidences of state excesses mentioned above. Examples of church led interventions during times of political violence were cited.

Chapter three reviews literature on the origins of AVP from its beginning in a New York State prison in 1975 to become a globally acknowledged programme with a potential to impart skills to transform conflict among individuals and in communities that are affected and traumatised by violence. Wards 1 and 2 of Gutu district of Zimbabwe where this study took place were examples of such communities. Section 3.8 reviewed literature of previous case studies where AVP was evaluated. This gave insights in so far as understanding previous research experiences

of AVP and learning from what has been done before. The uniqueness of this study was its rural African setting which was bolstered by direct community involvement as discussed in detail in Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten.

The literature review continued in Chapter Four which looked at the theoretical concepts of conflict, violence and peace and located them in Zimbabwean context. This study employed Galtung's theory of direct and indirect forms of violence to analyse the events and the situation in Zimbabwe in general, and that of Gutu district in particular (Section 4.3.1). In Section 4.2.2 Galtung's ABC triangle was used to explain the structural and cultural contradictions that prevailed in Zimbabwe and contributed to direct violence. In Section 4.3 the chapter used insights proffered by Kalyvas such as 'state terror' and 'coercive violence' to understand the forms that they took in Zimbabwe. Section 4.5 discusses models of conflict resolution and transformation, borrowing from Galtung's transcend method and Lederach's peacebuilding framework, among other models, to identify opportune entry points that could enhance the chances of community peacebuilding using AVP. The critical roles given to and played by community leaders to influence processes in this study, particularly by chief Denhere, were partly inspired by Lederach's proposition.

Aim Two: Training youths in AVP

The second aim of this study was to train selected youths, including youth militia, in AVP to determine whether the workshops would produce a significant shift in attitude towards violence when in a conflict. This is discussed in Part Four, comprising Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten. Chapter Eight described in detail the profile of the community, the sample of participants and the training process. The main highlight of the training process was the integral supportive role played by community leaders who saw this as a window of opportunity for peace in the community. Chief Denhere accepted to award the AVP certificates to trained youths at the end of each level and used the occasion to make a clarion call for peaceful coexistence among his subjects.

Chapter Nine discussed and analysed data collected from focus groups and personal diaries. In Section 9.3 that discusses the findings, direct quotations from focus group discussions and

participants' diary entries were provided as excerpts and analysed in terms of their relevance to AVP and the overall aims of the study. The focus groups brought together perpetrators and victims to deliberate on the issue of politically-motivated violence that they had experienced. It was for the first time that this had happened in Wards 1 and 2 of Gutu. The discussions revealed that violence was not one-sided as had been portrayed by the media, but youths in both ZANU-PF and MDC had been involved, either as perpetrators or victims. This was corroborated by participants' diaries which revealed that the use of force or the threat to use violence was common not only in situations of political adversary but in the families. One important observation that I made was that the participants in the experimental group (who were trained in AVP) were more open to discuss what transpired during the period of violence than their counterparts in the control group. To some extent, this could be attributed to AVP instilling confidence to engage with issues through such pillars as communication skills and cooperation.

Chapter Ten discussed and analysed the findings from the pre and post-test experiments conducted with the youths in both the experimental and control groups. It also discussed the interviews carried out with community leaders in Gutu and with leaders of church-related civil society organisations working to promote peace in Zimbabwe. More importantly, Section 10.3.4 analysed self-reports by youths from the experimental group as they reflected on their lives before and after being exposed to AVP.

From the experiments the most important observation in this study was that there was a total shift away from force among the participants in the experimental group. In the same period, there was no significant change among the youths in the control group. It could therefore be reasonably argued that the reason for the difference between the experimental group and the control group was the attitude change induced by AVP as the stimulus. This was validated by experimental group participants' self-reports discussed in Section 10.3.4. Thus, one could reasonably conclude that it was the AVP programme that stressed on seeking non-violent solutions when in a conflict which gave the impetus to shift and maintain the resolve to use problem-solving methods among the youths in the experimental group.

Aim Three: Designing a curriculum for churches

Aim three originally intended to design a training curriculum in Alternatives to Violence relevant to Zimbabwe that can be used by churches to train youths, the leaders of churches and for use by church-related institutions to promote non-violent ways of transforming conflict. I however did not proceed because as the study progressed, I discovered that churches are limited to their own prescribed religious ways of teaching youths. An example is catechism in the Catholic Church which is complemented by the social justice teaching alluded to in Section 10.4.3. However, as this study found, the potential for AVP to complement the churches existing programmes is invaluable. The strength of AVP lies in developing inter-personal skills that the youths can utilise in their daily lives, particularly by providing them with non-violent options when they are in conflict situations. As such, through my work with churches and civil society, I intend to embark on projects that will advocate for the incorporation of AVP into the teaching programmes of churches and church-related institutions that promote human rights, justice and peace.

From the findings of this study, one could reasonably argue that AVP has potential to help people to change from violent to non-violent attitude and behaviour. This study attempted to provide answers to the research questions below, from which it can be reasonably argued that training in AVP can be replicated by other institutions including churches. As such, training youths in AVP can be utilised by churches to complement what they already have.

11.3 Reflections on the research design, methodology and data analysis

Research design, methodology and data analysis are discussed in Part Three comprising Chapters Five, Six and Seven, respectively. Chapter Five discussed the mixed methods research paradigm, the roots of which are found in both the qualitative and quantitative research traditions (Section 5.5). The study also employed the experimental design (Section 5.4) where participants were divided into experimental and control groups. The experimental group was exposed to AVP as a stimulus to determine whether the group would change significantly over

time in comparison to the control group that was not exposed to the experimental treatment. The pre and post-test experiment involved participants in both groups responding to a conflict quiz with 20 statements corresponding to five conflict handling styles (avoiding, forcing, problem-solving, compromising and harmonising) presented in random order, utilising Krybill's conflict inventory. Findings of this experiment and a comparison of the experimental and control groups were discussed in detail in Section 10.3.

Chapter Six discussed a range of data collection methods that were employed in this study. The chapter began by stressing the sampling method this study used and the reasons behind the choice (Section 6.2). It went on to discuss the data collection methods that I employed. The study employed the mixed methods research paradigm that combined a variation of qualitative and quantitative methods. Besides the pre and post-test experiments discussed above, focus group discussions were employed as a qualitative data collection method as discussed in Section 6.2. How the focus group discussions were conducted is explained in detail in Section 7.2.6, while the analysis of findings is discussed in Section 9.2.

The study also employed the use of survey questionnaires in the form of the conflict quiz during the pre and post-tests discussed above, and also with leaders of civil society organisations working in the area of human rights, conflict management and peacebuilding in Zimbabwe. The findings of the survey with civil society leaders were discussed in Section 10.4.3. Another qualitative data collection method employed was in-depth interviews with selected participants from both the experimental and control groups, community leaders and leaders of church-related civil society organisations (Section 6.5). Findings from the interviews conducted with selected individuals representing these groups are discussed in Section 10.4, while a full list of interviewees is provided as an annexure.

Another qualitative data collection method employed was participant observation (Section 6.6). I employed this directly during the AVP workshops, interviews and focus group discussions, and indirectly when I elicited information about the behaviour of participants from community leaders during interviews. The observations made inform some of the overall conclusions discussed in this chapter.

This study also collected data from personal documents in the form of participant diaries (Section 6.6) and the findings were discussed in Section 8.2.2. As the study progressed, I later discovered that comparing pre and post-test results of both the experimental group and the control group was not enough. I realised that more important insights could be learnt from the participants themselves reflecting and sharing their feelings and experiences after training in AVP. To achieve this, participants in the experimental group were requested to write self-reports and share their life experiences and reflections before and after training in AVP. Findings from selected self-reports were discussed in Section 10.3.4.

Chapter Seven discussed techniques of analysing data that were employed in this study. While it is generally accepted among scholars that there is no single correct approach to analysing data, this study used content analysis (Section 7.2.1) which was reinforced by thematic analysis (Section 7.2.2). The strategy was to inductively find meaning from important issues raised by participants during focus group discussions interviews and personal diaries that dealt with the research questions from which reasonable conclusions could be reached. These were complemented by narrative evaluation to describe the outcome of AVP training on the youths. Chapter Eight gives full detail of how the AVP process was conducted, while Chapters Nine and Ten provide the overall findings of this study.

The chapter closes by discussing the process of coding that I employed. I acknowledge the existence of computer-assisted approaches to data analysis that are applicable and give reasons why these were not employed in this study (Section 7.2.3).

The main research questions that were answered by this study were:

- 4) Can Alternatives to Violence Project workshops produce a significant shift in attitudes to a more nonviolent orientation?
- 5) Can training in non-violence influence behaviour change to a person who would otherwise react to a conflict in a violent way?
- 6) Can the churches build peaceful communities in Zimbabwe by training youths in alternatives to violence?

Training youths in AVP was conducted in an attempt to find answers to these questions. Section 8.3 provided detail of the training process. Chapters Nine and Ten discussed data collection and analyses that directly responded to the first two research questions above from which a strong argument for the third question was subsequently built.

Section 9.3 discussed and analysed data collected from focus group discussions and participant diaries. One of the observations that I made during the focus group discussions was that youth militia in the experimental group that had been trained in AVP were more open to discuss the 2008 electoral violence compared to their counterparts in the control group who were not trained. One could argue that AVP instilled the confidence to engage with issues at personal level.

Participants' diaries revealed the types of conflicts that the participants encountered and how they reacted. The personal diaries served three main purposes: firstly, they identified the forms of violent conflicts that were experienced by the community as evidence to corroborate the prevalence of violence; secondly, they validated some of the allegations and revelations that had emerged from discussions during AVP training sessions and focus groups; and thirdly, they provided an indication of the participants' attitudes when in conflict situations which validated the need for a programme like AVP to enhance the building of a more peaceful society. Personal diaries and self-reports by youths who were trained in AVP showed a significant shift in attitudes towards violence that validated the potential for the programme as a change agent.

Section 10.4 discussed and analysed data collected from pre and post-test experiments conducted with youths in both the experimental and control groups, as well as the in-depth interviews that followed. From the experiments, it would seem that problem-solving as an option when in conflict captured the interest of participants who acquired AVP skills, practiced them and found them attractive because a significant decrease in the number of participants who were inclined to use force among the experimental group compared to the control group was observed. This was corroborated by the experimental group participants' self-reports that

reflected an immediate shift in attitude from a violent to a non-violent attitude after AVP workshops. From the experiments and personal diaries it was reasonable to conclude that training in non-violence could influence behaviour change to a person who would otherwise react to a conflict in a violent way. This shift in attitude was also reiterated during in-depth interviews with selected youths in both the experimental group and the control group after pre and post-test experiments.

Interviews were also conducted with community leaders and leaders of church-related civil society organisations that worked in the area of human rights, conflict resolution and peace-building in Zimbabwe (Section 10.4). The purpose of the interviews with community leaders was to validate data obtained from participants' self reports while at the same time eliciting their perceptions of the programme basing on the changes that they had observed.

Interviews with leaders of church-related civil society organisations sought to elicit the values that underpin their work as well as what they thought could enhance their work. These were contrasted against my experience and observations in this study when carrying-out AVP workshops with youths in a rural community. As such, my strong impression is that the strength of a programme like AVP is its comprehensiveness and clarity on the skills that individuals acquire for everyday use. One can therefore reasonably argue that by training youths in AVP, churches can enhance their capacity to build peaceful communities in Zimbabwe.

11.4 Limitations of study

Although I am largely satisfied by the way this study progressed – from conceptualisation, desk-top research, fieldwork (particularly training youths in AVP in politically volatile rural Zimbabwe) and data other collection strategies until the stage I could declare findings – there are some limitations that I need to acknowledge. These include:

- The political environment in Gutu district of Zimbabwe where the study was conducted was still politically unstable because no post-conflict peacebuilding initiatives had been undertaken. As such, the level of fear among participants was still high. Considering that this study brought together both victims and perpetrators of political violence, there is a possibility that some important issues may have been concealed by participants who feared reprisals. Although community leaders and I gave assurance of safety and confidentiality, only the participants and the community know the extent to which violence affected them, both individually and collectively.
- Training youths in AVP and observing positive changes in attitude towards violence was very important. From the significant changes observed during the experiments, and from the testimonies gathered in the self reports of the participants in the experimental group, one can assume that training in AVP was the stimulus for change. However, such changes can only be regarded as immediate results as they were specifically linked to the training itself while their behaviour in later life might be different because attitudinal change is a life-long process. There is therefore no guarantee that these changes will be permanent.
- The number of participants did not remain constant throughout this study as some participants dropped-out. As discussed in Section 8.3, of the original 16 participants in the experimental group who attended the AVP basic workshop, 14 attended the advanced workshop while 10 completed level three (T4F). As with the control group, 12 youths attended the focus group discussions and completed the second set of the conflict quiz in the post-test experiments from the original 16. There is no doubt that some important data was missed because of drop-outs. Nevertheless, while it would have been ideal to have all 32 participants throughout the study, the 22 who participated in the whole process was a reasonable number to generate even-handed conclusions as detailed in Chapters Nine and Ten.
- This study did not achieve gender justice. Out of the original 32 youths who participated, only eight were female. Added to that, AVP does not specifically treat males and females differently in its approach. As such, this study may have missed

gender specific issues regarding the violence experienced, even though there exist some research and documentation by civil society organisations that allude to this issue, for example the research by the Research and Advocacy Unit (RAU), among others, (Chitsike, 2012, Machakanja, 2012). I did not use a gender lens in carrying out this study.

11.5 Implications for the future

The need to 'Africanise' AVP

AVP originated in 1975 in the United States as a programme targeting prisoners. The original AVP manuals were written by committees in USA and were based in their culture. There is recognition that as AVP has expanded into new cultures and countries, many creative and dedicated people have developed new exercises and provided ways for AVP workshops to acknowledge and affirm their particular cultures (AVP, 2013:7). This study attempts to push the boundaries of AVP in an African context. The recognition and involvement of community leaders in training youths reflects the communal way of life in Africa whereby chiefs and other respected leaders have authority to make or break community initiatives. This was an important lesson with potential to improve future studies and community projects being implemented in Africa yet they have their roots in other cultural settings. The experiences of this study give credence to calls for the indigenisation of foreign training programs if they are to impact positives on the locals.

The need to train more youths in AVP

By the time the youth camps were disbanded in 2007 (largely due to lack of funding to support them at the height of the economic meltdown), over 80,000 youth militias had graduated from the NYS. The elections held in 2013 to end the unity government were largely peaceful, and the

community of Gutu where this research took place attributed it to the AVP workshops even though there were other variables that probably contributed to it. Currently, no remedial programme has been created to rehabilitate the youth militia. However, six of the trained militias have since been recruited either into the national army or the national police force. If more programmes such as AVP are implemented at community level by researchers, churches, civil society organisations and other actors to reach out to the recruitment ground of the security sector, a more peaceful Zimbabwe can be possible.

The need to investigate the long-term impact of AVP

As alluded to in Chapter 10.2.1 and 10.3.4, the findings of the outcomes of AVP through changes among participants in the experimental group only reflects the immediate outcomes of the training which may be in the short-term while their behaviour in later life might be different. It would be important to trace and carry-out research with the participants in the experimental group in future, say after 10 years, to find out if the changes observed in this study can be life-long.

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Appendices:

I. Focus Group Discussions: Outline and Guiding Questions

Stage 1: Introductory Stage

- Introductions take place on arrival, and ground rules are agreed.
 - Emphasis on confidentiality; right to pass; and, listening skills.
 - Free expression of feelings – no right or wrong answers.

Stage 2: Central Discussion Stage –Guiding questions

- Describe your personal life-history highlighting the highs and lows of your life.
 - Objective: To allow participants to open up by sharing personal information with the group while others listen (practice listening skills) and later ask questions for clarifications.

Specific discussion questions

1. How did the 2008 political violence affect you and your community?
2. What role did you play, either individually or in a group during the period of political violence?
3. Explain what, in your opinion, were the main issues that cause conflict and violence.
4. Share the measures that were taken either by your or by the community to stop the violence.
5. In your opinion, what could be done communally and individually to encourage peaceful co-existence in this community?

Stage Three

Summary and Conclusion

- Moderator summarises the main issues and ask participants if there are any other issues that participants would like to share with the group.
- Discussions close.

II. Conflict Handling Styles Inventory

Personal Information

Surname: _____ Name: _____

Sex: Female ☐ Male ☐

Fill in the CONFLICT QUIZ below to find out your preferred conflict handling style.

INSTRUCTION:

Complete the following questionnaire by ticking (✓) the numbers that are appropriate to you.

WHEN I AM IN A CONFLICT SITUATION I PREFER TO.....	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1. Embarrass the other person	<input type="checkbox"/> 11. Find out how I can take advantage of the situation to improve my situation and that of others
<input type="checkbox"/> 2. Look for ways to meet my own and the needs of others	<input type="checkbox"/> 12. Tell the other person to leave me alone
<input type="checkbox"/> 3. Bargain with the other person and make sure I get some of what I want	<input type="checkbox"/> 13. Want to hit the other person
<input type="checkbox"/> 4. Threaten the other person	<input type="checkbox"/> 14. Lie about how I'm feeling
<input type="checkbox"/> 5. Talk it out so we get on with things	<input type="checkbox"/> 15. Pretend everything is fine
<input type="checkbox"/> 6. I ignore it and interact less with others	<input type="checkbox"/> 16. Get angry and interact less with others
<input type="checkbox"/> 7. Make a joke of it	<input type="checkbox"/> 17. React to make sure the my truth prevails
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> 18. Keep the peace even if I have to Sacrifice what I want

<p>M 8. Make the other person feel guilty</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 9. Take all the blame to soothe the other's feelings and keep the relationship good</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 10. Listen with an open mind</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 19. Back off a little bit until things cool down</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 20. Tackle the problem to work out a solution</p>
--	---

Conflict Quiz Score Card

The 20 statements correspond to the five conflict handling styles as shown below.

Style	Corresponding Statements
Withdraw/Avoiding	6, 12, 15, 16
Force/Directing	1, 4, 13, 17
Harmonising	7, 9, 14, 18
Compromising	3, 8, 11, 19
Cooperating/ Problem Solving	2, 5, 10, 20

III. Survey of Zimbabwean Churches, Church-related Institutions and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in the field of conflict resolution and peacebuilding

N/B: The information supplied will be treated with maximum confidentiality, and will be used only for research purposes.

1. Organisational Profile

1.1 Organisation name and website	
1.2 Year of establishment	
1.3 Legal status	
1.4 Location (headquarters and field offices)	
1.5 Contact person details	

2. Objectives and values

2.1 Please provide information on:

a) The main objective of your organization

.....
.....
.....

b) More specific goals related to these objectives

.....
.....
.....

2.2 Please provide information on your:

a) Organisational values

.....
.....
.....

b) Values concerning violence, conflict resolution and peacebuilding

.....
.....
.....

3. Approaches to conflict, conflict resolution and peacebuilding

3.1 Please provide information on:

a) What type of conflicts your organization has been involved in

.....
.....
.....

b) Criteria, if any, when engaging in conflict resolution and/or peacebuilding

.....
.....
.....

c) Please provide information on specific approaches/methodologies your organization has used to resolve conflict and build peace

.....
.....
.....

d) Please provide information on your organisation's specific areas (themes) of expertise in the field of conflict resolution and peacebuilding

.....
.....
.....

4. Concrete experience and achievements

4.1 Please provide a description of your organisation's current involvement in conflict resolution and peacebuilding

.....
.....
.....

4.2 Please provide information on the levels your organization operates on/has operated in the conflicts mentioned in 4.1, e.g. youths, women, community leadership etc

.....
.....
.....

4.3 Please provide information on what you consider to be your organisation's main achievements related to questions 4.1 and 4.2

.....
.....
.....

5. Please provide information on the challenges you have encountered in your work.

.....
.....
.....

6. Please provide information on what, in your opinion, should be done in order to enhance the capacity of actors such as your organization?

.....
.....
.....

END OF SURVEY

Thank you for the information supplied.

Webster Zambara

PhD Researcher

IV. List of Interviewees

Leaders of Civil Society Organisations

Name	Designation	Date of interview	Venue
Mr. A. Chaumba	Director, Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe	15/07/2011	Harare
Dr. David Kaulemu	Director, The African Forum for Catholic Social Teaching, Zimbabwe	15/07/2011	Harare
Mrs S. Mpofu	Director, Centre for Conflict Management and Transformation	15/07/2011	Harare
Mr. O. Machisa	Director, Zimbabwe Human Rights Association	15/07/2011	Harare
Mr. C. Thole	Programmes Manager, Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust	16/07/2011	Harare
Mr. I. Musona	Director, Silveira House, Harare	16/07/2011	Harare
Mrs. Manyuchi	Programmes Manager, African Community Publishing and Development Trust, Harare	16/07/2011	Harare
Fr. Ndete	Parliamentary Liaison Officer, Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference	17/07/2011	Harare
Mr. J. Stewart	Director, Non-Violent Action and Strategies for Social Change	17/07/2011	Harare

Community Leaders in Wards 1 and 2, Gutu

Name	Designation	Date of interview	Venue
Chief Denhere	Traditional Chief	18/04/2011	Chiguhune Sec School, Gutu
Mr. Marandu	Senior Aide to the Chief	18/04/2011	Chiguhune Sec School, Gutu
Mrs. Deka	Teacher and Community Leader	14/01/2010 and 20/04/2011	Chiguhune Primary School, Gutu
Mrs. Matumho	Community Leader	18/04/2011	Denhere Shopping Centre, Gutu
Mrs. Mavhima	Community Leader	19/04/2011	Chiguhune Primary School, Gutu

Mr. Mashavave	Community Leader	20/04/2011	Denhere Shopping Centre, Gutu
Mr. And Mrs. Mugomba	Senior Aide to Councillor	19/04/2011	Chiguhune Primary School, Gutu

Research Participants

Name	Designation	Date of interview	Venue
EG 1	NYS Graduate	17/04/2011 and 10/07/2011	Chiguhune Roman Catholic Church, Gutu
EG 3	NYS Graduate	17/04/2011	Chiguhune Roman Catholic Church, Gutu
EG 4	NYS Graduate	18/04/2011	Chiguhune Roman Catholic Church, Gutu
EG6	ZANU-PF Youth	18/04/2011	Chiguhune Roman Catholic Church, Gutu
EG 10	MDC-Youth	17/04/2011	Chiguhune Roman Catholic Church, Gutu
EG 11	MDC Youth	19/04/2011	Chiguhune Roman Catholic Church, Gutu
CG 1	NYS-Graduate	19/04/2011	Chiguhune Roman Catholic Church, Gutu
CG 8	MDC-Youth	18/04/2011	Chiguhune Roman Catholic Church, Gutu
CG 10	MDC-Youth	20/04/2011	Chiguhune Roman Catholic Church, Gutu

V. Consent Form

Consent Form

Dear Participant,

The following information is provided for you to decide whether you wish to participate in the present study. You should be aware that you are free to decide not to participate or to withdraw at anytime without affecting your relationship with the researcher or anyone else.

The purpose of this study is to determine whether or not Alternatives to Violence workshops produce a significant shift in attitudes to a more nonviolent orientation.

Data will be collected at three points – before, during and after each AVP training workshop. Data collection will involve documents (questionnaires, conflict handling styles), audio-visual material (videotape of parts of the workshops and transcripts of focus group discussions) and observation notes (made by the researcher). Individuals involved in the data collection will be the researcher and the participants.

Do not hesitate to ask any questions about the study either before participating or during the time that you are participating. I would be happy to share the findings with you after the research is completed. However, your name will not be associated with the research findings in any way, and your identity as a participant will be known only to the researcher and fellow workshop participants.

There are no known risks and/or discomforts known associated with this study. The expected benefits of your participation include knowledge and skills to deal with conflict in a nonviolent way after training in Alternatives to Violence.

Please sign your consent with full knowledge of the nature and purpose of the procedures. A copy of this consent form will be given to you to keep.

Name and Surname of participant _____

National I/D number _____

Signature _____

Date _____

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Webster M. Zambara, Researcher

13 March 2015

Mr Webster M Zambara (205518456)
School of Accounting, Economics & Finance
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear Mr Zambara,

Protocol reference number: HSS/0108/011D

New project title: Non-violence in practice: Enhancing churches' effectiveness in building a peaceful Zimbabwe through Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP)

Approval Notification – Amendment

This letter serves to notify you that your request for an amendment received on 10 March 2015 has now been approved as follows:

- Change in Title

Any alterations to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form; Title of the Project, Location of the Study must be reviewed and approved through an amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol.

Yours faithfully



.....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/ms

cc Supervisor: Professor Geoff Harris
cc Academic leader Research: Dr C Muller
cc School administrator: Mr Sihle Khuzwayo

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

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