

# THE IMPACT OF CONFLICT IN THE CHURCH: A CASE OF THE ANGLICAN DIOCESE OF MANICALAND IN ZIMBABWE

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## ABSTRACT

### **Keywords**

*Conflict; Learning processes; Conflict management; Actors; Psychological;*

This study critically explored the impact of the conflict on the teaching and learning processes in Anglican schools through the two case studies. The researchers adopted a case study approach and used a qualitative research design. Data was collected using interviews with key informant, focus groups discussion with school development committee members, parents, students. In addition, questionnaires were also administered. The findings confirm that the both students and staff were seriously affected by the conflict and the teaching and learning processes were affected too. What the teachers and students went through during the conflict might have long term effects which the church leaders might not be aware of at the moment. The conflict is said to have been resolved but there was evidence that the institutions still have serious divisions that are hampering progress and development and need urgent attention.

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The conflict resulted in myriads of problems that affected the teaching and learning processes in the Anglican schools. Teachers, non-teaching staff, and students were affected in different ways. Lessons were disrupted, staff and students were intimidated and victimised. They suffered physical, psychological, cultural and structural violence. The study recommends setting up of Truth and Reconciliation Commission to deal with the damage done by this long-term conflict.

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## INTRODUCTION

This paper one will explain the background of the Anglican Church worldwide, the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA), the Anglican Diocese of Manicaland, and St Anne's Goto High School. The emergence and development of the conflict will be explained briefly. The causes of the conflict, the main actors, relationships, and the effects of the conflicts which resulted in the need for this research will be pointed out.

The Anglican Diocese of Manicaland (ADM) is one of the five Anglican dioceses in Zimbabwe, namely, Diocese of Matebeleland, Diocese of Central Zimbabwe, Diocese of Masvingo and Diocese of Harare. The Anglican Dioceses in Zimbabwe fall under the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA) which includes Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, and Malawi (Appendix 1). There are about six hundred thousand Anglicans in the CPCA, fifty thousand Anglicans in the ADM (Anglican Communion, 2010). The leadership structures, styles of worship and rules and regulations are generally uniform across the CPCA and any changes are made after a consensus by all leaders. The CPCA is under the Anglican Communion, which is the body of all Anglican churches worldwide. The headquarters of the Anglican Communion is in Canterbury, in the United Kingdom and is headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury who is based in the United Kingdom.

The ADM is situated on the Eastern side of Zimbabwe. Most of the ADM falls under the Province of Manicaland in terms of political boundaries. About eighty percent of the ADM is rural. The ADM also covers Wedza district, which is under Moshonaland East Province according to political boundaries. On the other hand, Buhere District does not fall under the ADM although it is under Manicaland Province in terms of political boundaries. The rest of Mashonaland East Province is under the Anglican Diocese of Harare. The ADM has thirty-one church primary schools and fourteen secondary schools in Mutasa, Mutare, Nyanga, Makoni, and Wedza Districts. There are fourteen primaries and eight secondary school in Mutasa; five primary and two secondary schools in

Muatre; ten primary and two secondary schools in Makoni; one secondary school in Nyanga and two primary and one secondary school in Wedza. The ADM has no schools in Chipinge and Chimanimani Districts.

### **THE CONFLICT IN THE ANGLICAN DIOCESE OF MANICALAND (ADM)**

The Anglican Diocese of Manicaland went through a period of conflict from the 21st of September 2007 to the 21st of February 2013, which affected not only churches but also church hospitals and schools like St Anne's Goto High School and Holy Family Nytsanza Primary school. Conflict in any organisation, including church institutions is inevitable. If well managed, conflict can have a lot of benefits, but if not well managed, it can increase in intensity to the extent of making the organisation dysfunctional. Developmental programmes and projects can be stifled, weakened and can even fail due to poorly managed conflicts (UNESCO, 2011).

The conflict in the Diocese of Manicaland emanated from Bishop Elson Jakazi's attempt to withdraw out of the CPCA with Anglican church members, schools and hospitals. His main argument was that other CPCA Bishops tolerated homosexuality by being in fellowship and under the control of Western countries. Later during the conflict, he also argued that the church had to be taken away from being under Western control. This argument was in line with President Mugabe vision of indigenisation. However, Daneel (1988), argues that the formation of new Shona Independent churches after independence is enough evidence that there are other causal factors other than moving away from Western control and influence. Therefore, Bishop Jakazi wanted to cut relations with the other Bishops of the CPCA and the Western churches. It also meant those who would have followed him would also cut relationships with other church members who would have decided to remain within the CPCA. Before independence, the formation of Shona Independent churches could be seen as movements of political protest against the background of colonialism. The same tactic was used. The success hinged on capitalizing on anti-European sentiments and the ability to convince potential followers that the new church would be more 'biblical' more 'morally upright' and more African.

The conflict was most severe and visible over the control of the most valuable properties of the Diocese which include schools in the diocese like St Anne's Goto High School. Each party wanted total control of all Anglican schools including big and popular schools like, St Augustine's High School, St David's Bonda Girls High, St Faith High school, St Anne's Goto High school, St Mathias Tsonzo High school, and St Mary's High school. However, all the Church property in the Anglican Diocese of Manicaland is registered under the Church of the CPCA. Therefore, the attempt to take over these schools and other properties was not going to be an easy task although Bishop Jakazi was in possession of the title deeds. Bishop Jakazi was considered by the CPCA leadership to have resigned by

writing the withdrawal letter but he refused to vacate the Bishop's office and retained about 40% membership and about 60% shifted their allegiance to the new bishop appointed by CPCA leadership. Anglican congregations, staff in Anglican institutions, and even pupils in some schools were split into two factions. It is the diocesan policy that schools pay development levies of 5% of fees from every pupil to the Diocesan offices every school term. School levies are a huge and reliable source of income for the Diocesan Office and controlling the school gave financial security to the Bishop and his faction. According to the Relative Deprivation Theory, relative deprivation results from the combined effect of rising expectations and lack of progress towards demands for a better life.

### **RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

**The objectives of this study are to:**

- identify the key actors in the conflict and their roles.
- examine the forms of violence suffered by pupils, teachers and non-teaching staff and their impact on the teaching and learning processes.
- assess the issues that emanated from the conflict and how they violated the pupils' rights and affected the pupils' learning process.
- identify the attitudes and behaviours of actors and how they fuelled or transformed the conflict.
- Evaluate of the interventions at the school that were used during the conflict.

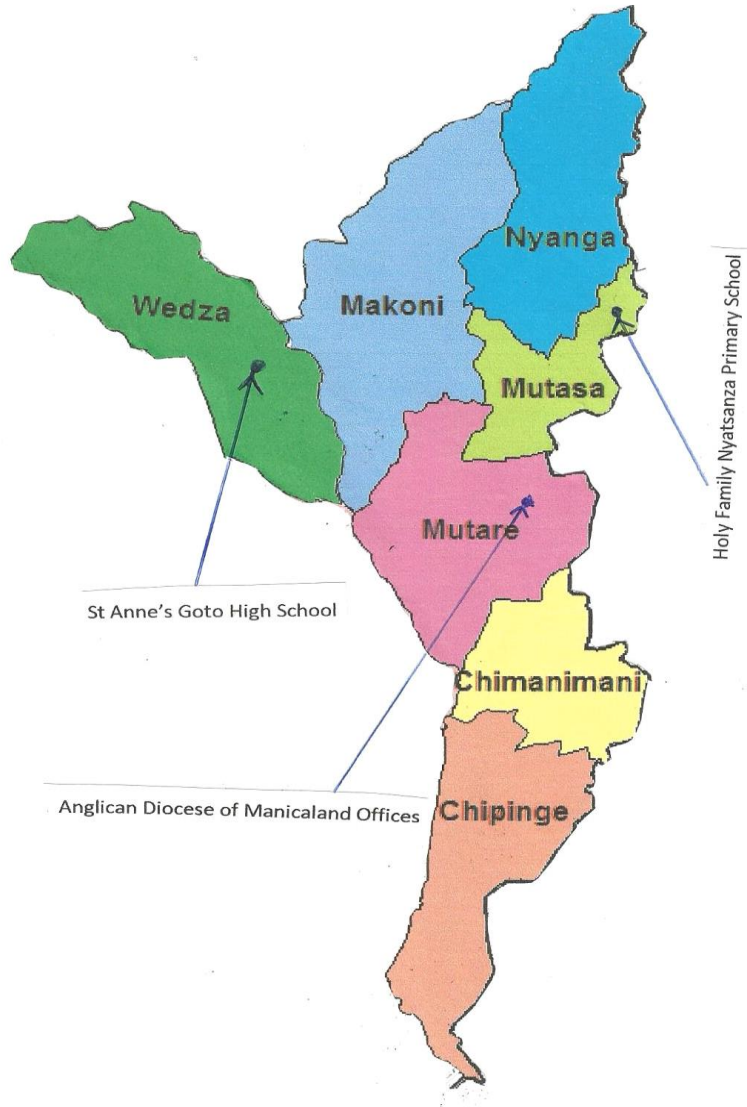
### **Delimitation**

A case study of St Anne's Goto High school which is one of the six boarding schools among the fourteen secondary schools in the ADM is located in Wedza District and is on the border with Anglican Diocese of Harare. Wedza District is located about fifty kilometers South of Marondera and one hundred and twenty-seven kilometers south of Harare. Holy Family Nyatsanza Primary school is a boys and girls' day school located in Honde Valley area in Mutasa District and close to Hauna Growth Point. It is about eighty kilometres from the City of Mutare.



## Appendix 1

### Anglican Diocese of Manicaland Map



Source: <http://www.istanbul-city-guide.com/map/country/zimbabwe-map.asp>

## **INTERIM LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Definition of conflict**

Conflict can be defined in a number of ways. The definition can depend on the context, situation, and other factors such as power dynamics, needs, interests, and positions. Galtung (1997), defines conflict as a form of antagonistic behaviour between people or groups which occurs when two or more parties compete over perceived or actual irreconcilable goals or limited resources. Conflict can be defined as an outgrowth of the diversity that characterizes our thoughts, our attitudes, our beliefs, our perceptions, and our social systems and structures, hence it implies that it is a natural phenomenon (Deusdedit et al, 2003). In this vein, Lewis Coser (1957) defines social conflict as "a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power, resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals." Conflicting parties perceive their interests as incompatible, and resort to escalated competition and interference. Sometimes each group tries to pursue its interests through hostile attitudes and actions that have damaging effects on the other party.

### **Causes of conflict in the Anglican church and its schools**

Conflict can arise from poor communication in relationships, differing interests, contradicting values, personal or group ethics, leadership styles, approach to tasks, and personality differences. One or several of these factors may be the root cause of conflict. No human being can successfully evade all the above factors so that he or she is not directly or indirectly affected or influenced by them. Therefore, everyone is exposed to factors that can cause conflicts.

### **Causes of conflict in the Anglican Communion**

Most Christian denominations, base their beliefs upon ancient written sacred texts, this is generally the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures (the Old and New Testaments) in the Bible. Conservative Christians believe that the authors of the bible were inspired by God Bible and that it is inerrant. Therefore, many Christians consider the Bible's message fixed for all time and Christian beliefs are often considered equally unchangeable. On the issue of homosexuality, there are a number of scriptures that Christians are quick to quote condemning it as a sin that is unacceptable in the church. The Bible specifically says that homosexuality is a sin in I Corinthians 6:9-10: " Do you not know that the wicked will not inherit the kingdom of God? Do not be deceived: Neither the sexually immoral nor idolaters nor adulterers nor male prostitutes nor homosexual offenders nor thieves nor the greedy nor drunkards nor slanderers nor swindlers will inherit the kingdom of God." Homosexuality is a sin.

In contrast, the advocates for gays and lesbians' rights argue that the above text does not condemn homosexuality. They argue that, if homosexual partners enter into their relationship out of love for each other and remain faithful to one another they would not have committed any sin. According to them, one sins when they force someone into a homosexual

relationship or if one becomes unfaithful in the homosexual relationship. Historically, many changes have occurred in many Christian denominations including the Anglican Church. Most religious groups have used various methods to modify their beliefs. Sometimes, the scriptures which support the old beliefs are translated into English in an obscure manner. Some religious groups or churches can simply ignore particular scriptures and regard them as having been valid at the era in which they were written, or reinterpret them just symbolically. At times religious groups and their beliefs are challenged by groups attempting to obtain equal rights, recognition and protection under the law. The debate in the Anglican Communion on homosexuality involves equal rights for gays, lesbians and bisexuals including their right to marry in the Church. The debate is basically between the liberals and conservatives. In October 2003, The Lambeth Commission on Communion was created to find ways in which Anglicans can agree to disagree by preventing splitting of the Anglican Communion over the question of homosexuality (Anglican Communion, 2005). The Commission's 92 page Windsor Report was released to the public on 18 October 2004.

It called for dialogue, sensitivity to each other's beliefs, attempts to reach compromises over homosexuality, while striving to keep the Anglican Communion united (Anglican Communion, 2005). Many Anglicans were already disappointed by the consecration and enthronement of a gay bishop in USA, Bishop Robinson which many American Bishops thought was right and proper. Almost all of the heads of the 38 Anglican Provinces met during February 2005, except for Burundi, North India, and Hong Kong who did not make it (Anglican Communion, 2005). Bishop Frank Griswold, the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, USA and Archbishop Andrew Hutchison, primate of the Anglican Church of Canada were optimistic about the outcome of the Primates' meeting during February 2005 (Anglican Communion 2005). They thought the other Bishops would compromise on the issue of homosexuals. However, the primates, rejected the Windsor Report and requested that the Episcopal Church, USA and the Anglican Church of Canada withdraw from the Anglican Consultative Council until the next Lambeth Conference of 2008 (Anglican Communion, 2008). The Anglican Consultative Council is a key body which facilitates contact among the Anglican 38 provinces around the world. The Council is one of the four "instruments of unity" within the Anglican Communion that help to unite all Anglicans in the world. The other three are: The Archbishop of Canterbury, The Lambeth Conference and the Primates' Meeting. The Lambeth Conference is the key body which facilitates contact among the 38 provinces. Therefore, the primates rejected the two North American churches from worldwide Anglican Communion.

The Anglican Communion survived internal conflicts in: the 19th century over the abolition of human slavery; in the early 20th century over birth control; and in the late 20th century over the right of women to be considered for ordination to priesthood (Robinson, 2005). However, it



seems the Anglican Communion has not been able to survive an internal conflict over the treatment of homosexuals in the Communion. There is, within the Anglican Communion, a North/South dimension to the homosexuality debate (Anglican Communion, 2008). Some Anglicans in Africa and Asia tend to be conservative in religious and social issues and take the bible as it is, whereas some North Americans and Europeans tend to be liberal on those issues and take the Bible contextually to the world we are in today. The difference in ways in which the bible is interpreted between the Africans and Asians on one side and the North Americans and Europeans on the other is a source of conflict. There are differences in acceptable norms and theology. However, within the American congregations themselves, the greatest cause of conflict in the FACT 2000 survey was control issues and not theology. The CPCA like many other African and Asian Provinces generally had the same position that homosexuality is not acceptable in the church. Therefore, conflicts in congregations are likely to emanate from other factors such as struggle for power to control the church. No one in the CPCA has openly accepted homosexuality in the church.

Among the 35 Primates/Archbishops, from around the world, who met in February 2005, was the Primate of the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA). He was among the primates representing CPCA and he was among those who did not condone homosexuality in the Church. Therefore, the head of the CPCA made his position and the position of the CPCA very clear. However, Bishop Michael Ingham, of the Anglican Church of Canada's New Westminster Diocese, said on 1 March 2000, "The Primates' call for the Canadian and American churches 'to consider voluntary withdrawal' from the next three meetings from the ACC is carefully worded, and intended to appease the angriest voices in the Communion, but it should be firmly resisted by both churches." (Robinson, 2005). Such Anglicans even argue that homosexuality is not a sin. It seems the church in America was forced to accept homosexuality because the culture and the constitution of North American states have approved and embraced it. The African culture and constitutions of the majority of African countries have not yet accepted homosexuality and it is even more difficult for churches to accept it.

Therefore, the Anglican Communion was fractured partly because of contrasting cultures. Not all North Americans are happy with the new changes in their culture. In the same way, not all Africans are happy with the rigidity of the African culture especially on the debate on homosexuality. Consequently, it cannot be ruled out that whenever the bishops make statements on homosexuality, their positions and views are not necessarily shared by all their followers. In 2008 at the Lambeth Conference, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Reverend Doctor Rowan Williams, blamed liberal North American churches for causing turmoil in the Anglican Communion by blessing same-sex unions and consecrating a gay bishop as he attempted to chart a way out of the crisis that has been engulfing the Anglican church (Anglican Communion,

2008). Therefore, homosexuality in the Anglican church has not been approved by the Anglican Church's highest office. Archbishop Rowan William's echoed his concern when he visited the ADM in October 2011. Both the Archbishop of the CPCA, Albert Chama and the Archbishop of Canterbury emphasised that the CPCA does not accept homosexuality in the church.

However, to the surprise of many people the approval of gay marriages in North American churches and the enthronement of a gay bishop was constantly used by Bishop Jakazi during the ADM conflict as his reason for pulling out of the CPCA. He continued to use this argument even after the Archbishop of Canterbury himself had flown all the way from UK to the ADM during the conflict and clarified the position of the Anglican church on homosexuality even to president Mugabe. The Archbishop of the CPCA, Archbishop Albert Chama, released a statement clarifying the CPCA's stand on the issue of homosexuality and said that homosexual relations are a sin (Church of England Newspaper, June 2011). Archbishop Albert Chama also said that his church's continued interaction with those portions of the Anglican Communion that have accepted homosexual relations should not be taken to mean the CPCA had endorsed homosexuality (Church of England Newspaper, June 2011).

Therefore, the debate on homosexuality in the CPCA could not have been a cause for divisions because the head of the CPCA gave a clear position that homosexuality is a sin and therefore not acceptable in the church. However, homosexuality is known to the general public to be a problem that is causing a split in the Anglican Communion. Therefore, when one claims to be pulling out of the Anglican Communion because of the debate on homosexuality, he or she is likely to be listened to and probably sympathised with. Some may actually see him or her as an upright, righteous and God-fearing person who is condemning sin and distancing himself or herself from it. However, deep rooted self-interests might be coated by the word 'homosexuality'. However, the question that one needs to ask in the case of the ADM conflict is "Who in the ADM, and in the CPCA at large was involved in homosexual relationships or was saying it is an acceptable practice in the church?" Therefore, in analysing the ADM conflict, one will be keen to find out if there is any evidence of homosexual relationships in the ADM or in the CPCA.

The root cause of the 2007 to 2013 Anglican Diocese of Manicaland conflict was Bishop Jakazi's attempt to pull out of the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA) with church members and properties because he alleged that the CPCA tolerated homosexuality and does not openly condemn it. He has maintained that the issue of homosexuality was the main cause of the conflict. Indeed, there has been some debate on the issue of homosexuality in the Anglican Communion as stated above. There could have been several causes of conflict in the ADM. The conflict tree model will be used to analyse the causes of the ADM conflict.

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The researcher used purposive sampling technique that is particularly useful in exploratory qualitative research. The researcher used interviews, focus group discussions and questionnaires to collect data from the respondents in their diversity. Interviews were held with key informants, focus group discussion with teachers, members of the community and students and questionnaires were used with community members, students

## **FINDINGS OF THE STUDY**

The researchers aim to produce detailed information that may build on narratives, tables, charts, figures, texts and visual displays. The above processes of data analysis were started in the field as the researcher begins to make observations in the field. Some of the observations will help the researcher to understand the data that will be collected when he is back in the office.

### **Root Causes of the Conflict**

At St Anne's Goto High School, 68% of the students who were interviewed pointed out the following as possible causes of the conflict: struggle for power, fight over property, struggle for leadership and control, politics, homosexuality and corruption. The majority of the students pointed out two major causes of the conflict, struggle for power and the love for riches. A mere 7 % of the students mentioned the debate on homosexuality as the root cause of the conflict. Furthermore, 35% of the students did see the bishops as the major actors in the conflict but their local priest in the school who however left the school after Supreme Court ruling on 21 February 2013. Their analysis was that the conflict could have been started by bishops, but was worsened by the priest whose focus was to raise money for personal use through the church using corrupt means. Their conclusion on this matter was that, if there were no financial benefits for the priests and bishops, the conflict could not have taken long and it was not going to be vicious.

The teachers and non-teaching staff highlighted similar causes of the conflict as those given by students. Over 70% of the staff pointed out struggle for power, political interests, and love for money, lack of transparency, conflict of interests, differences in policy, and differences in ideology. Surprisingly, no one pointed out the debate on homosexuality. The causes of the conflict according to them were present in all the ranks of the church structures. This fact enabled the conflict to spread from the bishops, priests, and to the congregations. The implication was that, the weaknesses found in top church leaders also exist in most of their followers who will naturally support them. It same applies to the congregations, if there no people who were hungry for power, leadership and financial benefits the conflict could have ended with bishops and priests without splitting congregations and institutions. Therefore, as long as the causes of the original conflict continue to exist without being controlled, new conflicts will erupt when there is a small trigger.

However, parents with children at St Anne's Goto had a different view of the conflict. 45% of those who were in support of Bishop Jakazi during the conflict believed that the cause of the conflict was a difference in ideology on homosexuality. For them, it was a fight for moral principles in the church which they unfortunately lost. In contrast, the parents who were on the CPCA side's views were in agreement with the students and teachers' views that the major cause of the conflict was struggle for power and leadership and the love for money and properties. This shows that the parents were divided during the conflict and could still be divided. Despite the Supreme Court ruling, some who supported Bishop Jakazi during the conflict feel the judgement against their side was carnal or of the flesh and they were right in condemning homosexuality. Ironically, the respondents from the CPCA side equally condemned homosexuality. Some even went on to quote the Archbishop of the CPCA condemning homosexuality. Therefore, it is true that issue of homosexuality is being debated in the Anglican Communion but Anglicans in Manicaland have the same position against the practice. Most of the students at Holy family Nyatsanza Primary School were aware that there was a conflict but could not explain what could have caused it except for one student who said that the Devil caused the conflict. Anything bad according to some children is associated with the Devil.

### **IMPACT OF CONFLICT ON ADMINISTRATION OF SCHOOLS**

Seventy-five percent of teachers and School Development Committee members were of the strong view that it was unfortunate that schools have to cope with consequences of social dysfunction and resultant anti-social behaviour, which they did not cause. School Development Committee members interviewed were of the strong view that teachers were at the receiving end of violence and anti-social behaviour in the school that was created by the church. The greatest challenge that administrators in Anglican institutions faced during the conflict was the creation of parallel diocesan structures. Headmasters of Anglican schools do report to the Diocesan Education Secretary who in turn reports to the Bishop. Each faction had a Diocesan Education Secretary who demanded allegiance from the same school. Accordingly, headmasters in most schools took a neutral position. However, each side would put the headmasters in a very difficult situation as they would threaten these headmasters by saying that they could be either on their side or on their rivals' side. The heads of schools would be victimised for not attending meeting as evidenced by the deputy headmaster's letter to the headmaster explain why he did not attend a meeting called by Bishop Jakazi. The case was at initially at the High Court and later at the Supreme Court. Predicting the final judgement in order to join the side with a brighter future was not easy. According to sixty percent of respondents, the CPCA side had an upper hand and chances were greater that the final judgement would be in their favour. However, Bishop Jakazi's side was actually in control of most church

properties and enjoyed the full support of the police and ZANU PF which had a greater influence on the government.

According to 51% of members of Schools Development Committee interviewed, the Headmaster at St Anne's Goto would withhold the term levies, fearing that paying to any of the competing structures would only finance the conflict and would not be ploughed back into the school indirectly through development activities. However, each of the structures would feel deprived of resources that they desperately expected to improve their operations, hence aggressive approaches could be used. The Diocesan Education Secretary from the CPCA side estimated the amount of school levies they were being deprived of at about USD\$15000 per term from each boarding school. The total for all the six boarding schools would be USD\$90000 per term and about USD\$270000 per year. Of all the six boarding schools, St Anne's Goto is the only school that would pay part of their development levies to the CPCA side. Therefore, the battle over the control of schools was also financially motivated. Bishop Jakazi who had the control of most schools preferred the conflict to continue. The benefits of continued confrontation would outweigh those of settlement because his chances of winning the case were slim.

Accordingly, more than fifty percent of the respondents said St Anne's Goto administration staff would say school levies should be paid to Bishop Jakazi's office and the other part would say it should be paid to the CPCA office led by Bishop Makoni. A similar conflict would arise in relation to the Anglican Schools Association games. Each of the conflicting parties would organise ASA games and expect St Anne's High school to attend. Both Bishops would recommend teachers to go to St Anne's High School but the Provincial Education Director would wonder which recommended teacher to deploy at the school.

### **St Anne's Goto High School**

The finding of this study does indicate that when the headmaster and deputy headmaster were interviewed, they strongly maintained that the conflict had serious implications on the administration of schools. At some point, the headmasters would report to both offices simultaneously. They would also attend meetings called by both Diocesan Education Secretaries. They played double standards. However, when this was discovered by both factions, each faction would strongly warn and threaten the headmaster with dismissal. Either way the headmaster and deputy faced the dismissal threat although the CPCA side was less vocal. At some stage, if the meetings were on the same day and time for both factions the headmaster would attend one faction meeting and the deputy headmaster would attend the other faction. Each faction would then claim to be in control of the school because of the meeting attendance by a representative from the school. The reason given by these school officials was to protect themselves and also to save their jobs. In the short run the strategy seemed to work but in the long run it proved dangerous. Each faction would give orders to the headmasters which they expected to be followed.

At St Anne's Goto High School, the headmaster's greatest challenge was the payment of school levies to the Diocesan Office. The school levies could be split and a little amount given to each side and find an excuse for not paying the full amount, such as the fact that only a few students had paid their full fees. However, the staff and students in the school were divided and each faction was fully represented in the school. Therefore, information would be passed to both Diocesan Offices which would both threaten schools' heads that they would pay the balance from their personal resources if they kept on channelling funds to the rival office. These funds were no longer used for developmental activities in the education department of the diocese but were used to finance the conflict, especially covering legal bills. Therefore, each faction tried to block the other from getting levies as a way of paralysing the rival's operations and boost their own operations.

Parents were divided and interfered in the payment of school levies. During the interview, the headmaster explained that some parents would advocate for the payment of school levies to a particular faction. New strategies were devised by the faction in order to make sure they got the school levies. The Diocesan Education Secretaries from each faction would visit the school to collect the money and not wait for the headmasters to bring them to their offices. However, Bishop Jakazi using his support from police managed to block the CPCA Diocesan Office representatives or the Bishop from setting their foot in the Mission hoping to get a lion's share of the school levies.

However, key informants interviewed were of the strong view that the acting bursar was pro- CPCA and would not release the school levies to Bishop Jakazi. In addition, about three quarters of parents were pro-CPCA. According to the frustration aggression theory, an excessive level of frustration is accumulated when an organism is blocked in pursuit of a goal. As a counter strategy, Bishop Jakazi recruited a substantive bursar for the school and tried to deploy him in the school so that he would use him to get funds from the school. However, the imposed bursar was rejected strongly by the CPCA side members in the Mission. Frustrations were escalating in both factions. As actors got more desperate there is a tendency to seek reinforcement and use different methods of attacking opponents.

According to 58% of the parents interviewed, Bishop Jakazi had to get the help of armed police to go and deploy the bursar in the school. The CPCA side could not win the battle given that armed police were involved but that made them more frustrated. They were convinced that the appointment was a strategy to siphon money from the school. Investigations had been made about the bursar, which revealed that he had no financial background. The above respondents maintained that the headmaster confirmed this rumour because the bursar had worked under his supervision at a particular school as a temporary history and Shona teacher. He had actually failed the interview but was politically correct among other potential candidates. The conflict affected the recruitment

processes. There was nepotism and people were recruited on the basis of their loyalty to faction leaders. The bursar signed a valid contract and was still employed in the school but his performance was dismal. Sadly, in frustration, some parents started influencing each other not to pay fees or delay the payment of fees such that the school suffered critical financial crisis to the extent that the school would not afford to pay the school levies. In the interview, the headmaster explained the critical financial crisis they went through during the conflict. The school operated from hand to mouth. When the school tried to review the fees upwards, the pro-CPCA parents would vote against such a proposal and it would not pass because they were the majority. School infrastructural development projects were suspended. Educational trips were reduced. Salaries for non-teaching staff were affected. They were very low and inconsistent. They would go for about three months without receiving any salary. Incentives for teachers were affected too. The little money that was trickling into the school coffers were all channelled towards buying food for students. Ironically, some of the pro-CPCA members who would have sabotaged to pay full fees would complain about the falling standards in the school. The students and staff suffered as a result of a crisis that was partly generated by those who claimed to be on the right side.

According to teachers at the school, the priest who was resident at the Mission during the conflict was strongly in support of Bishop Jakazi. The headmaster was neutral and the deputy headmaster was strongly in support of the CPCA side. The CPCA side facilitated the recruitment of the deputy headmaster during the conflict. The main agenda was to help to bring the school to the CPCA side. He was constantly harassed and threatened by Bishop Jakazi and his followers in the school. Bishop Jakazi accused the Ministry of Education for imposing a teacher on his school without his recommendation and approval. The Moshonaland East Provincial Education Director (PED) had to produce a recommendation letter for the deputy headmaster that he had received from the Anglican Church, only to discover that it was coming from the other faction. The two factions were using similar letterheads; the logo was exactly the same.

The Hwedza District Education Director (DEO), Mashonaland Provincial Education Director (PED), the Permanent Secretary of Education and the Minister of Education got implicated by this particular case. They were threatened by Bishop Jakazi. In a letter (Appendix 1) written to the Mashonaland East PED, the deputy headmaster expressed that if the Permanent Secretary of Education was being harassed because of his case, then he would go against his own wish and transfer from St Anne's Goto High school.

The interviewed deputy headmaster narrated to the researchers how Bishop Jakazi tried to force the above offices to fire him from the school in vain since there was offence that warranted such a dismissal or transfer from the school. He went on to point out that Bishop Jakazi went on to threaten the Hwedza DEO, Mashonaland East PED, and the Permanent Secretary of Education for not taking action against the deputy

headmaster. He threatened to use political muscle if they did not comply. Therefore, even those in the Ministry of Education structures suffered violence because of the conflict. However, none of them gave in but due to the threats and the fear of political actors getting involved, the Permanent Secretary had to send a delegation through the Mashonaland East PED to persuade the deputy headmaster to apply for a voluntary transfer for his personal safety. He was offered several schools from which he could choose the best one where he could be transferred to as evidenced by the letter from the Mashonaland East PED. After being advised by the CPCA Diocesan Education Secretary, he turned down the offer and vowed to stay in the school despite the threats and harassments. The deputy headmaster had sympathisers and those who saw him as a hero for resisting and challenging Bishop Jakazi. It therefore strengthened the bond among the CPCA side members who appreciated and aspired what the deputy headmaster had done.

However, the supervision of teachers and other non-teaching staff members became difficult because factionalism was rife. Some would deliberately refuse to take orders from their superiors if they were from a different faction. Some would simply not do their work as sabotage so that the headmaster or the deputy headmaster would be blamed. Some would not accept correction from someone from the opposite faction. They would take it as victimisation. On the other hand, some would not correct a colleague who genuinely needed help and could have been willing to accept it because they actually wanted them to make even bigger mistakes so that their side would be blamed or discredited. This was an unhealthy situation in an institution. There was no team work but rivalry and hostility.

Parents with children at St Anne's Goto High who were interviewed pointed out that, as parents, they tried to voice their concerns during the conflict. They were concerned that school fees were financing the conflict at the expense of students' basic needs like food and books. They put pressure on the School Development Committee and the School Board of Governors to use their powers to bring sanity into the school. Precisely, they tried to discourage bishops, priests, and local church members from interfering with the school administration, staff and students whilst they waited for the Supreme Court ruling about the matter. They also advised the school administration team to refuse to comply with any demands from the bishops, especially the payment of school levies. As is common with many conflicts the affected party retaliates. After realising that the school administration was paying more attention to the SDC, Bishop Jakazi banned the SDCs in all the Anglican schools in Manicaland and appointed new School Board members who were in support of him. The administration crisis in the school deepened when schools operated without SDCs and without holding parents meetings in the school. Schools were often viewed by extreme actors of ethnic, faith or regional politics as a political battleground. The SDCs, School Boards of Governors and parents in Anglican school had mixed interests in the school, their children



and church politics. They had one common goal of ensuring good education for their children but had very sharp differences on how to achieve that goal to the extent that they ended up ignoring the crucial goal and focused on church politics. However, they would all hide behind the fact that they are concerned about the welfare of their children. Some interviewed students confessed that they would be incited on church politics during the holiday by their parents. For instance, boycotting church services being led by a priest from a rival faction, giving roasted maize, candles, and boxes of matches as offerings during Sunday. Some were incited to be hostile to teachers from the rival faction and also spy on them and report on their involvement in church politics. Schools can act as conduits for transmitting attitudes, behaviours, ideas and beliefs that make societies more prone to violence.

### **Holy Family Nyatsanza Primary School**

The school administration at Holy Family Nyatsanza Primary School faced similar challenges with St Anne's Goto High School except for a few differences. This is a primary day school. The context of the conflict was different. According to the CR. SIPABIO model of conflict analysis the context of the conflict included, geography, culture, ethnicity, religion, history, class, gender, and media (Abdala et al. 2002). The school was named after the local village name. Many of the villagers around the school have 'Nyatsanza' as their surname. In addition to that the Diocesan Education Secretary Mr. Nyatsanza from the CPCA side came from this village and when on holiday went to Holy Family Nyatsanza church located within the school premises. The CPCA side's Bishop Julius Makoni was born in that area where his father worked as Priests many years back.

Therefore, parents, the CPCA Diocesan Education Secretary and the Bishop had a personal attachment to the school. During the interviews some parents highlighted that they felt obliged to protect their community project and development, hence they were actively involved in the conflict at the school. An interview with the CPCA Diocesan Secretary revealed that he also felt obliged to stand firm for his community. The majority of the community found it logical to be on the CPCA side because they felt that their own child from the community should be very sure of what he was doing when he took up the post of Diocesan Education Secretary on the CPCA side. In addition, the community had very high hopes on him that he would use his position to influence the situation at their local school to their advantage.

After probing the CPCA Diocesan Education Secretary, why some of his own uncles were not on his side during the conflict, he revealed that it was partly due to personal and family differences. Therefore, there were inter-personal conflicts in the community well before the church conflict. Those who had personal clashes and unfinished business used the church conflict to join different factions and started pursuing their unfinished personal conflicts under the disguise of church conflicts.

According to 15% respondents from the School Development Committee who were interviewed narrated how the former headmaster of the school was victimised and forced to transfer during the conflict. This headmaster was in very good books with the community and the priest who were on the CPCA side but were rivals with his deputy headmaster who was a strong supporter of Bishop Jakazi. Unlike at St Anne's Goto where the headmaster and his deputy tried to protect each other and the interests of the school, the headmaster and his deputy at Holy Family tried to undermine and expose each. According to the conflict cycle, the intensity of the conflict escalates and the actors try new and more harmful behaviours and actions. They become more violent. A strategy was devised to get rid of the headmaster by the few who were against him and who felt disadvantaged by their small numbers. The headmaster was accused of destroying the president's portrait and flag in the school. Some exaggerated that he replaced the president's portrait by Mr. Tsvangirai's portrait in the school. Therefore, the headmaster was labelled MDC and anti-government. He was forced to apply for a transfer and left his deputy acting as head of the school. This shows that politics can be used as a weapon in religious conflicts just as religion can be used as a weapon by politicians in political conflicts.

However, the headmaster's side of the story about the accusation was quite different. He said that there was storm that ripped the roof of the office where the president's portrait was kept. The portrait was damaged by rains. The flag was old and tattered due to continued use, which was very normal. It was not intentionally destroyed by an individual. In conflict, communication lines are broken and parties are less prepared to listen to each other. Each side relies more on suspicions, rumours, and what they want to see and hear and not what they actually see or hear. The headmaster's transfer from the school could have been an achievement worthy celebrating to Bishop Jakazi's side but it was a provocation to the majority of the community, teachers and students on the CPCA side. This gave birth to a new phase of administration challenges in the school.

CPCA parents boycotted paying school fees. The acting headmaster rejected scholarship funds from the CPCA office that was meant to benefit orphans in the school. The students are the ones who suffered more because it was not easy to run a school without funds. On the other hand, it also created intra-group conflicts. The non-payment of fees also meant there would be no school levies remitted to the Diocesan Offices, yet that was a major source of income to finance the conflict. The acting headmaster would be under pressure from his boss to make sure that fees are paid and immediately remit the school levy to the Diocesan office. Had it not been for police intervention several demonstrations against the acting headmaster were planned by the CPCA side. This acting headmaster was interviewed. He was now deputy headmaster since the end of the conflict. As stated earlier in this chapter, the researcher realised that the priest and headmaster could have tried to sideline him from being interviewed probably because he was seen as the chief perpetrator of the

different forms of violence during the conflict. He highlighted that it was a mammoth task to head a school with divided parents, staff and students. It was a big challenge. He mentioned an interesting incident when instead of seeing children coming for assembly one morning, parents came in their place. Due to the fear of the unknown, some teachers or parents would alert the police who would swiftly respond by coming in riot gear. The result was a very tense situation in which no one would really know what was going on. The teaching and learning processes were interrupted.

### **THE IMPACT OF THE CONFLICT ON TEACHING AND LEARNING PROCESS**

#### **St Anne's Goto High School**

The findings of this study indicate that effects of the conflict go beyond the number of expelled staff and students during the conflict. Each time the Bishops or their representatives from their offices visited the school, they would want to address all staff members and sometimes students as well. Most teachers interviewed at St Anne's pointed out that the meetings were very long and frequent. The representatives of the two factions would come one after the other as a counter strategy. The meetings were characterised by direct and indirect intimidations, threats, name calling, and de-campaigning of the rival faction. One teacher commented that he was surprised by the words that would come of a Bishop's mouth. In one meeting, Bishop Jakazi threatened to shoot anyone who would not comply with what he was saying or anyone who tried to join the CPCA side.

From the focus group discussion, forty percent of the students brought up a very crucial point, that they believed that the conflict eroded all the respect they had for church leaders, priests, and bishops. His argument was that, the hostile attitudes and violent behaviours of these church elders during the conflict were enough proof that they are hypocrites and money mongers masquerading as church leaders. Therefore, sermons, advice and correction would not be taken seriously by all students who had lost confidence in the church leaders. If this attitude spread to more students and passed on to next generations of students, church leaders would find it very difficult to gain the necessary respect from students. Church leaders, staff and students might not have realised that they influence each other's behaviour. Church leaders and teachers propagated negative behaviour in students during the conflict. According to the behavioural model, when the students' observable behaviour became hostile and rude in the school it was evidence that they were learning negative things from the conflict. The effects of the harassment, intimidation, and victimisation of staff and students are devastating. That is why conflict-affected states have some of the world's worst indicators for education. The staff members and students lived in fear of victimisation from leaders of their opposite faction. No one felt very safe. To make matters worse for the school heads, leaders from any of the faction could come any time. No one was sure of the side would win the case and the possible consequences to those who were on the opposite side. All the teachers who were interviewed agreed on the fact

that they were seriously demotivated by the conflict. Some complained that they were not only demotivated but rather traumatised during the conflict. These challenges negatively impacted on their performance in carrying out their various duties which in turn affected the students' learning process. There was very little reporting of the longer-term effects of conflict on education systems in affected schools like St Anne's Goto High School, such as the negative impact on teacher effectiveness and staff retention and on pupil attendance, concentration and attainment. Eighty-three percent of teachers maintained that they observed that the students were becoming more and more rude, disrespectful, hostile, and violent as the conflict escalated. This was a crisis because the teacher's inability to control a pupil or a class prevents the process of education and learning (Blandford, 1998). It is argued that schools can exacerbate conflicts, social tensions and inequalities that drive societies in the direction of violent conflict. The education systems in Anglican schools during the conflict failed to equip young people with the skills they need to achieve a peace and sustainable livelihoods.

Therefore, there was a risk that schools could help to provide a pool of potential recruits for violent conflict in the school and back home in their local communities. During the liberation struggle, students would get incited, inspired or motivated to join the struggle whilst they were at school. They would make up their minds and go to join the struggle without informing the parents. Students joined the church conflict hence the increasing stubborn behaviour and disrespect of teachers on the side against their own side. Had it been an armed conflict it is not surprising that some students could have dropped out of school to join the struggle. Therefore, it was difficult for the demotivated teachers to effectively have hostile students under control. Their attitudes and behaviours were negatively impacting on each other. Different teachers reacted differently to the same behaviour by a pupil depending on the way they perceived the student, as an ally or opponent, and their expectations from them.

Bullying in schools has always been a problem in schools. Bullying is the systematic abuse of power by virtue of strength, size, ability, force, personality, numbers, or recognised hierarchy (Smith, and Sharp, 1994). It was worsened at St Anne's Goto by the school system that had been weakened and was dysfunctional and the existence of factions. Bullying is a subcategory of aggressive behaviour. It can be physical bullying like kicking or psychological bullying which includes name calling. Therefore, the respondents argue that reports from both staff and students show that there was students-student, teacher-teacher, and teacher-student psychological bullying. Bullying can be a sign of spiritual crisis. Bullying can have tragic consequences. Victims of bullying can commit suicide. The aggressive behaviour in the school that was brought about by the conflict was and can still be a big risk if no measures are taken to address the problem. Factionalism in the school gave birth to discrimination in the school at all levels and that would also make bullying thrive. During the conflict, there were no efforts to systematically investigate the existence

and the levels of bullying in the school. There was and there seems to be culture of silence on bullying on the church and church institutions. Researchers suggest that bullying do not only affect the specific victim but also damages the school atmosphere. This could be the reason why some respondents among the members of staff were saying that being in the school during the conflict was like being in prison. The atmosphere had become very unfriendly.

The teachers were no longer free to go to church. Non-Anglican teachers pointed out that, at times they were forced to attend Anglican Church services led by Bishop Jakazi's priest to demonstrate their allegiance to him. To make matters worse, the forced teachers would be verbally attacked by the priest in the sermon during the service. This was a form of bullying but it would not be taken as such but as a sermon. One teacher quoted the priest saying that "Some of you teachers are associating with the homosexuals and should stop doing so." meaning that those who recognized Bishop Jakazi as the legitimate Bishop were not supposed to interact with the CPCA members who were labelled homosexuals. The teachers who were on the CPCA side would do their church services outside the school premises under tree despite the fact that so many rooms in the school area would be free. They would get their turn of being rebuked and verbally attacked whenever the priest addressed a school gathering where all teachers and students would be present. In this way, teachers were spiritually affected.

In the interviews, teachers frequently mentioned that they were divided, the non-teaching staff, students, parents, SDC, the School Board of Governors, and the local church were all divided too. The greatest challenge according to the teachers was that people were pulling in different directions at every level and in every department. There was misdirection of efforts. There was unproductive competitive behaviour characterised by efforts to pull each other down. One teacher remarked that one way of pulling down another teacher is to influence his students to turn against him or systematically disturb his lessons so as to affect the teaching process and the final results. Under the influence of the spirit of factionalism, hostility and revenge, some students could sacrifice their own right to quality education in order to fix their teacher who is on the opposite faction. An example is when a student made noise, decided not to do homework, or avoided attending lessons. However, their parents would not probably approve that so the student might need to find a better reason for not attending the lessons. A more acceptable reason that the student would give would be that he or she was being victimised by the teacher during the lessons even if there was no victimisation at all. One teacher said that he made a critical analysis of what some students were doing and realised that they were actually enjoying the chaos and divisions in the school. As stated above, some students would falsely attribute their failure in class due to laziness and lack of focus to victimisation due to the church conflict. This misinformation to parents by some students would further fuel the anger and bitterness between the parents and the falsely accused

teacher on the opposite faction. Misinformed parents would advocate for the removal of some teachers from the school alleging that he or she is victimising students from the opposite faction. Unfortunately, some teachers would then be victimised and threatened when they were innocent and doing their work professionally. However, it cannot be ruled out that indeed some students could have been truly victims by some teachers. Therefore, each case of alleged victimisation would need to be analysed separately.

The heads of departments also faced a similar problem. Among the interviewed teachers was one head of department. He explained that it was difficult for him to do the normal supervision of teachers who were on the opposite camp to his. If the supervised teacher was asked to be accountable for anything, corrected, or charged for anything they did not do well due to genuine incompetence that would be taken as victimisation due to church politics. The supervised teacher could misinform his/her faction and mobilise them to have a negative attitude against the supervisor. Therefore, some heads of departments would not correct, rebuke, or charge their subordinates for fear of starting a fight or victimisation. Church politics was therefore frequently used as a scapegoat for laziness and incompetence.

#### **Enrolment at Holy Family Nyatsanza Primary School**

Gross enrolment ratios in schools are nearly 30% lower in conflict-affected countries. This seemed to apply when schools with violent conflicts are compared with those without violent conflict. The enrolment at Holy family Nyatsanza went down from 850 at the beginning of the conflict to 750 at the end of the conflict. Several students transferred to neighbouring schools. Several studies that have examined the quantitative impact of conflict on education show that states in civil war experience a decline in enrolment by between 1.6 to 3.2 percentage (UNESCO, 2010). The decline in enrolment at Holy Family Nyatsanza was about 11.8% although the students did not completely drop out of school but were enrolled at neighbouring schools. Some students had to walk for longer distances to the nearest alternative school. Some would pass through the Holy Family Nyatsanza Primary School on their way to neighbouring schools. Some Anglican Church members transferred their children from Holy Family Nyatsanza to safer and more stable non-Anglican primary schools but continued to be actively involved in clashes at Holy Family. Probably, they were aware of the effects of the conflict on students and decided to transfer their children but they could not stop or withdraw from the conflict. Instead, they could have caused more damage, knowing it would not directly affect their own children.

#### **Enrolment at St Anne's Goto**

Unlike at Holy Family Nyatsanza, where the enrolment went down during the conflict, St Anne's Goto enrolment did not fall down. However, one teacher was quick point out during the interviews that although the

enrolment did not go down the quality of students went down significantly. The enrolment did not go down due to the increasing demand for secondary school boarding places even by students with very poor passes at Grade Seven. It follows that the academic standards of the school were compromised by the conflict. The effects might not be immediate but can be very visible after four years in the school when the students get to Ordinary Level. On the other hand, some students and staff who were interviewed believed that the conflict lowered the pass rate in the school. The researcher had to ask for the Ordinary and Advanced level pass rate schedules from 2007, the year the conflict started, up to 2012, the year just before the end of the conflict ended. For the Ordinary Level results, the pass rate steadily increased from 2007 to 2012 from 38%, 44%, 54%, 68%, 69.3%, and 74.5% in 2012. The Advanced level pass rates fluctuated from 2007 to 2012 from 94%, 97%, 92%, 89.5%, 95.5%, and 92.6% in 2012. A more analytical teacher pointed out that the increase in the Ordinary level pass rate was partly attributed to the improving economic situation and the UNICEF book donation to every student. He added that probably the results could have increased by larger margins had it not been for the conflict.

The Advanced Level pass rates could have been indeed influenced by the conflict to some extent. The school could have failed to attract quality students for form five due to the negative publicity about the conflict. Another argument by respondents is that St Anne's Goto is a rural boarding school which has always had lower fees and lower pass rates as compared to other surrounding schools like Marist Brothers High School, Kriste Mambo High School, Bonda Girls High School, and St Augustine's High School. As the economy worsened parents could not afford sending their intelligent children to the above mentioned better schools and opted for cheaper schools like St Ann's Goto which was a blessing to St Anne's because they got quality students especially in 2006, 2007 and 2008. As the economy started to improve in 2009 more expensive schools were able to attract more intelligent students at the expense of schools like St Anne's Goto as shown by the 2010 pass rate.

The increasing Ordinary Level pass rates as the conflict intensified was probably a spurious relationship. The improving economy improved the inflow of funds in the church through school levies, offerings and tithes and other sources which prompted the conflicting parties to fight harder to control the schools and churches. As already stated above, the improving economy helped schools to function properly as teachers were motivated. The researcher also observed that the interviewees who strongly believed that pass rates were lowered by the conflict were on the CPCA side who were indirectly and unknowingly trying to condemn the previous regime that had the control of the school. This is one of the problems with conflicts, they take away the sense of objectivity and reason to the extent that an issue or incident can be interpreted completely different by the conflicting parties. Conflict actors would have preconceived ideas which retards their reasoning and analytical capacity.

### **Effects of the conflict on spiritual welfare of students and staff St Anne's Goto**

Although there might be limited evidence to conclude that the conflict significantly affected the pass rate, the conflict affected the students in various other ways. Most students eye-witnessed some of the clashes between the two factions as they fought to use the church on Sundays. The church building was built adjacent to the learning area. All the clashes between the local faction leaders were in full view of the students. One of the non-Anglican students who was interviewed expressed that it will take time for him to have confidence in church leaders and some of the teachers who were actively involved in the clashes. "They do not do what they preach but they do what they condemn. What we saw church leaders doing with our own eyes and what we heard them say was unbelievable and unexpected of people whom we call role models in the school." Remarked one student. Some Anglican students who were interviewed said that they were embarrassed and dreaded being known to be Anglicans in the school because of what their elders were doing during the conflict. Student behaviour could have negatively changed because changes in behaviour can occur when the parents and teachers stop displaying good morals and principles.

The junior church council which normally consist of Anglican students had very few Anglicans. Some pulled out of the Junior Church Council out of fear of victimisation and others because of embarrassment and did not want to be associated with the fighting leaders. The researcher had to probe further so that the student could give a few examples of what the students thought were extreme attitudes, behaviours, and actions. A few outstanding examples of extreme actions were given. One incident that was mentioned was when Bishop Jakazi and Bishop Kunonga visited the school being accompanied by riot police. The two bishops had to jump over the school gate, putting on cowboy hats and shouting that they were "Talibans" and were unstoppable. Although students were not in the church building where the Bishops addressed staff members, they send a few spies around the church to hear what the bishops had to say. They picked some of the threats like, "I am a soldier, I can shoot if anyone ones to be stubborn. Some of you teachers you will disappear". The students said that they would have their small informal discussions and make their own conclusions and pose questions like, "If bishops, behave like that, what about those who do not go to church?" In this case the students blamed Bishop Jakazi, his ally Bishop Kunonga and their followers.

Another incident that was given as an example was when the CPCA members had to get some raw sewage using some twenty-litre containers and poured it into the Priest's house. Some members of the Mothers' Union who are well known for their blue-and-black uniforms were involved. The students remarked that even the most notorious student of their time in the school has not done a similar weird or nasty action. Consequently, their respect for the church members vanished since they were now seeing the mothers whom they thought were holy, as a bunch of



hypocrites. When the above examples are put together and several others that were not mentioned because of the limitation of time, it can be concluded that the conflict seriously affected the spiritual welfare of students. Their view of the church and church leaders was distorted. Instead of seeing the church as an institution characterised by love, care for one another, tolerance, forgiveness, and unit their view of the church could now been shifted to a group of people who are hungry for power and money who can use any means to attain their goals. This could have affected even how non-Anglican students view their leaders who might not be in any kind of conflict. Generally, the conflict made students to be very suspicious of church leaders. The value of worship was diminished in their eyes.

To some extent, students were also a source of conflict. The factions fought hard to have students on their side so that their priest would take the students' church services. The two priests could turn up for the students' church service on Sunday at 7.00am. The faction members would be close by to support their priest. On the other hand, the students would be seated in the church and would be waiting expectantly hoping that the priest from their side would win and take the service. There would be no peaceful negotiation but violent conflict. It would appear that in most cases, the police would intervene and the church service would be cancelled. One student among those interviewed was a member of the Junior Parliament. He explained that he made efforts to engage the Schools' Development Committees and expressed the students' concerns that they were being manipulated and caught in the crossfire as priests and their followers fought to have students under their control or on their side. Parents, through the SDC agreed that none of the priests was going to take the students' services. Students had to improvise and asked the student church servers, who usually assist the priest to lead the church service. However, they would not do a Eucharist service or Mass where they would receive the Holy Communion (the Body and Blood of Christ), spiritual nourishment.

For most Anglicans, receiving the Holy Communion is paramount and is the key component of their worship. For almost two terms, the students would do Morning Prayer in the church building and were deprived of Holy Communion. Therefore, the students were deprived of their source of spiritual strength. The crisis was aggravated by the fact that students had to get preachers from among themselves. Therefore, the quality and depth of sermons was compromised. Some students who could have preached very well were said not to be keen to take up the challenge for fear of being misquoted and victimised. Some would volunteer to preach just for fun and to show off.

After probing some of the students on how they felt when they did church services without a priest, they pointed out that students had mixed feeling about it. Some thought it was better off without the priests who were causing mayhem in the school and whose sermons had degenerated into political slogans and manifestos. Those with this view valued their

safety more than what they missed, the Holy Communion. However, the researcher discovered that this view was mainly from non-Anglicans who would not receive Holy Communion even if the church service was done by a priest. The Anglicans were the ones who felt deprived of Holy Communion.

The impact of the conflict on the spiritual welfare of students was exacerbated by the closure of the church and the use of the dining hall for worship services. As the conflict escalated police were coming into the school almost every Sunday to disperse the fighting church members. Students would be caught in the crossfire because they used the same church building. The students' right to a safe environment was violated. The two factions would come and linger around the church building so that as soon as the students finished their service that would have started at 7.00am they would storm into the church. Given the intensity of the conflict, some church member would actually get into the church before the end of the students' service so that when the students finished and moved out their faction have an advantage. They would be in the church already and they would accuse the rival faction of disturbing their service when they would make an attempt to move into the church. Therefore, in an effort to ensure the safety of students, the students were stopped from using the church for services and were asked to use the dining hall instead as they continued to do their own church services without a priest. Some students, both Anglicans and non-Anglican were aggrieved that they would not get into the church and have their personal and silent prayers or meditations at other times of the day since the church was supposed to be open all the time. The students' right to worship was violated.

The researcher made an investigation to establish why the church building was built adjacent to the learning area in some Anglican Mission schools. The church elders and some information from the church archives point to the fact that worship, prayer, and the word of God were supposed to take precedence as the foundation upon which everything else like academic education would be built. The original mission of the Mission institutions was to minister to communities and spread the word of God through education. Therefore, the Mission Schools aimed to produce a wholesome graduate who was not only an academic giant, but a morally upright, God-fearing and responsible citizen. For a long time, the Mission Schools were able to achieve the above objectives perfectly well. However, during the conflict, it seems the Anglican Church lost focus and abandoned the original mission and objectives of having Mission schools. If students were to learn or assimilate all the negative behaviours they saw and heard within the school during the conflict the school would produce an un-Godly, violent, and dangerous citizen.

The conflict also affected the psychologically especially those who were embarrassed to be known to be Anglicans. They would not want to be associated with the wicked conflict behaviour demonstrated by fellow Anglicans and yet they could not change their denomination without the approval of their parents. Some students saw their own parents getting

involved in the fighting and sometimes on the receiving end of the violence. They would obviously feel for their parents. The priest's children suffered even more because the priest would be involved in the fighting more frequently than any other members. The children could have been traumatised when they saw their father being beaten or when raw sewage was poured into their house. The students and children in the school suffered psychological violence. Psychological violence has long term effects on the students. However, very little attention was given to the effects of the conflict on students. Instead, students were manipulated to assist in the battles directly or indirectly.

Some students were more affected by the conflict than others. Anglican students whose parents were on the CPCA side suffered more psychological damage. The recurring concern from most of the interviewed students who were on the CPCA side was the problem of name calling. Nasty stories and rumours about them or their parents were also circulated in the school behind their backs. This is a type of bullying is very common among girls. They would be referred to as 'Homosexuals' or 'Satanists'. They were seen a social outcasts. Some non-Anglican students or those who were on Bishop Jakazi's side would be strongly rebuked and warned by Bishop Jakazi's priest if seen talking to the CPCA students. They would be considered defiled. In a way, the church elders fuelled the divisions among the students. The CPCA students could have been segregated by other students for two reasons. Some would not talk to them because they feared to be rebuked by the priest for talking to the 'social outcasts'.

Some students actually believed the CPCA students had been initiated into Satanism and were truly gays and lesbians. Therefore, some girls would not feel safe sharing the same dormitory with another girl(s) from the CPCA side. They would fear that they could be forced into homosexual activities. Some could have feared undressing in the dormitory or going to the bathing room with a CPCA girl student in the vicinity for fear of arousing their sexual feelings since they were lesbians. Referring other students as 'homosexuals' moulded the attitudes and behaviour of the rest of the other students. They became suspicious, more cautious, and repulsive when interacting with the CPCA students. Being suspected to be a lesbian at a school in a country and culture where lesbianism is illegal and a taboo and being shunned could have had serious traumatic effects on some of the CPCA students. It could have caused concentration difficulties in class, and sleeping difficulties which again impact on class performance.

This could be the explanation for one of the interviewees, a form three girl's academic failure. She transferred from St David's Bonda Girls High to St Anne's Goto High due to victimisation as a CPCA priest's daughter, where she repeated form two. She went up form four in the difficult circumstances and passed four subjects at Ordinary Level. She had to repeat her Ordinary levels and she had start again from form three. The

long term effects of the traumatic experiences of the victims might not have been thought about by the teachers, church leaders and parents. Satanism is dreaded by most Christians and even those who do not go to any church. Satanism is not legally acceptable in Zimbabwe and is not accepted in the Zimbabwean culture. A Satanist is considered a social outcast. Satanism is associated with the worst forms of evil that one can think of, such as sucking human blood, eating corpses and witchcraft. Satanists are believed to initiate new recruits through various means like food, rings, necklaces, and clothes. Those students who believed that the CPCA students were indeed Satanists stopped sharing anything with them, shaking hands with them or just getting close to them. At the beginning of the year as students got into new dormitories, such students would not want to get a bed that is close to a CPCA student. The CPCA students would obviously notice that they were being shunned by other students. Some of them were seriously affected psychologically. All the other students could have been seriously affected too because they had a massive sense of insecurity dining and sharing dormitories with 'Satanists'.

According to one of the interviewed CPCA student, being labelled 'Homosexual' and 'Satanist' caused great emotional suffering. It inflicted great pain on the heart and in the mind. Consequently, he had to distance himself from any Anglican Church activities. He pointed out that, that is the same reason why some CPCA students dropped out of the Junior Church Council and stopped serving in the church. Some had a lot of bitterness against those who were falsely accusing them of homosexuality and Satanism. The bitterness in some of the interviewed students was still strong as they were still trying to recover from the mental torture they went through. Given that the CPCA side won in the end, the perpetrators are also living in great fear given that they tarnished CPCA members by calling them 'Homosexuals' and 'Satanists' to gain mileage during the conflict. Very little has been done to assess how much the students, staff, church members and leaders who were victims in various ways during the conflict are still hurting in the post conflict phase. Neither has anything been done to assess the psychological violence that the perpetrators are also suffering as blame is being piled on them. Anglican students at the school would need to be baptised and confirmed at the school but the question was 'by which priest and which bishop'. Many hesitated to be baptised and confirmed because each side claimed that the baptism done by priests and confirmation done by the bishop from the rival side were invalid. Students were therefore confused and undecided.

### **Effect of conflict on Priests' children**

A CPCA priest's daughter in form three was among those interviewed. She suffered name-calling and victimisation like any other CPCA students, from the resident priest at the school who was from the opposite faction. However, she had a longer story to tell. She did form one and two at St David's Bonda High School, which is an Anglican school. Anglican

Priests' children have the privilege of free education in Anglican Mission schools. In her form one she enjoyed the privilege. As she got into form two in 2009, the conflict was intensifying and factionalism got worse and schools had to take a position as to which Bishop they were aligned. Priest had to be very clear as well as to which Bishop they were reporting. Her father was on the CPCA side and the school was controlled by Bishop Jakazi unlike St Anne's' where the school tried to be neutral although Bishop Jakazi had an upper hand. Therefore, she lost the privilege and was asked to pay fees in form two but the father could not afford because there were no salaries as all funds were used to cover legal bills. Conflicts drain organisations and nations of valuable resources. The poor and children tend to suffer more.

The displacement of people is common with many conflicts. She was in and out of school frequently because the school administration kept on demanding fees. She was finally expelled from the school for failing to pay school fees and probably to fix heron behalf of the father. This was similar to what usually happens in armed conflict where civilians, women and children are easy targets for the militia. She got a place at St Anne's Goto where the conflict was almost balanced without any side having full control of the school. She had to redo form two in 2010. Time and resources were wasted and she had to start a few completely new subjects. She enjoyed free education for one term without problems, but later it was after some struggle by his father and other sympathisers. On several occasions she would be asked to go and get school fees from home by the bursar. As stated earlier on in this chapter, a new bursar was imposed by Bishop Jakazi and would not recognise priests' children who were not on their side as beneficiaries of the free education privilege.

In a separate interview with the matron, she commented that CPCA priests' children suffered more than any other students and an example of the student mentioned above. The matron said that when the student was given a pass to go home and get fees, she would get the pass from her and destroy it and tell her to stay in the school. She tried to protect the child after realising that she was just being a victim of circumstances beyond her control. However, the matron also got into real trouble from those who wanted to fix the child on behalf of his father who on the CPCA side. The child would stay in the school but playing hide and seek with some school authorities, especially the bursar. Her freedom was affected and attending some lessons would be risk if there were chances that she would meet the bursar along the way. Just as in countries with armed conflicts, school attendance was affected. All these troubles and fears were on top of the common troubles faced by all the other students who were known to be on the CPCA side.

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The following summary is derived from the findings of this study:

- The Anglican Diocese of Manicaland five-year conflict is believed to have been resolved by a Supreme court judgement

issued out on 21 February 2013. However, the conflict has not been entirely resolved. Some of the root causes of the conflict are still alive.

- Churches and Diocesan Institutions like schools are still divided.
- The perpetrators and victims of the violence that happened during the conflict have a different understanding of forgiveness. The victims see forgiveness as verbal acts and gestures that include; confession, apology, repentance, and acknowledgement of past mistakes by perpetrators and their willingness to suffer punishment. However, the perpetrators see forgiveness as forgiveness that is offered and received and that cancels all other obligations. Furthermore, there was no distinction between interpersonal and intergroup forgiveness. The CPCA side suffered more violence during the conflict and has been generally considered the victims and Bishop Jakazi and his followers were considered as the perpetrators. However, many who were on Bishop Jakazi's side were innocent and were never involved in any form of violence and some who were on the CPCA side were perpetrators of violence against Bishop Jakazi's side.
- The approach to the Anglican Diocese of Manicaland post-Supreme Court judgement phase was wrong. It was a winner-loser and victim-perpetrator approach. It was as if no one remembered that both factions were composed of Christians. What the factions as groups and their members as individuals had in common seemed to have been ignored and the focus was on their few differences.
- The conflict resolution given by the Supreme Court and the way CPCA top church leaders implemented it was short-sighted. Some conflict resolution approaches provided a short term resolution to power interest and not long-term stability. There is no culture of peace in the church. The standard measure of a culture of peace is its ability to transform conflict constructively and non-violently, valuing 'the role of conflict the creator above conflict the destroyer.

The researcher would like to make the following recommendations:

- Offering forgiveness from the Christian point of view should be seen as an opportunity to get closer to God and not as an opportunity to manipulate and terrorise perpetrators. On the other hand, it should not be an opportunity for perpetrators to evade justice and get way with crimes and offences committed during the conflict. The issues of apology, forgiveness, and repentance should be looked at objectively and fairly. The losing side of the conflict, which was legally wrong had victims too and the winning side, the CPCA, had perpetrators who should also apologise and ask for forgiveness.

- Forgiveness must be seen in the context of a range of other Christian and religious moral values, such as justice, love, patience, and tolerance for sustainable reconciliation and peacebuilding. Christian knowledge, beliefs and understanding can be used as the foundation on which reconciliation and peacebuilding can be laid. Forgiveness means taking what happened seriously and drawing out the sting in the memory that threatens to poison our future. Victims' hurts are taken seriously but the lingering bitterness is uprooted to leave the mind in a conducive state to start building new relationships. In involves trying to understand perpetrators so as to have empathy and also appreciate the pressures and influences that might have forced them to act the way they did.
- In the process of forgiveness, it should be noted that it is impossible to recover the lost time, resources, jobs and even lives or eliminate the scars of torture or murder caused during the conflict. It also means that it is equally impossible to achieve all that each faction planned to achieve during the conflict. Therefore, forgiveness can be seen as very pivotal as each group and each individual mourns the losses that cannot be restored. The focus should be shifted from compensation and total recovery of losses onto the possible creation of new bonds, and relationships. The emphasis will be on the good reasons for living peacefully in the present and how that will make a better future for both sides and every individual who was involved in the conflict.
- Anglican Diocese of Manicaland stakeholders should shift their focus from individual differences onto the common vision, objectives, and mission as Christians.
- The church should have long-range goals in building peace which include reconciliation and psychosocial healing.
- The Anglican Diocese of Manicaland should establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and draw lessons from the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission that was formed by the South African government at the end of apartheid. This will help uncover the truth about pas abuses and acts of violence and also provide victims with a forum to recount their experiences. The Anglican Diocese of Manicaland Truth and Reconciliation Commission can have four major objectives:
  - Identify victims who were seriously affected and give them a chance to recount their experiences or tell their stories and recommend some form of compensation in recognition of their suffering.
  - Establish causes of violence, the nature of violence, and the extent of damage caused by the conflict and violence in different churches and institutions.

- Facilitate the forgiveness and reconciliation process among hurting church members in all churches and institutions.
- Compile a detailed report of the activities of the commission and their findings which act as a basis for recommendations of strategies to prevent future violence in Anglican churches and institutions.
- Formation of peacebuilding teams in churches and institutions. These teams will facilitate teambuilding activities at a local level.

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