

CULTURE, POLITICS AND POWER IN ZIMBABWE

The Spatial Ways of Claiming Back the Land

An investigation into Operation Murambatsvina:
How the dynamics of power are played out in space?



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Statement of Originality

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fig2 The terrified silence of the portrait captures the Fear a term defined by the local people who are too afraid to speak up. (Hammond, R. 2020)

Contents

Preface
Terminology
Methodology

Introduction

Chapter 1 - Historical Perspectives

Setting the Context
Spatial Consequences of Controlling Power Systems
Hatcliffe Extension
Retribution and control
Breaking the Silence

Chapter 2 - Reclaiming a Confiscated Past

Social Sustainability at the Local Level
Power Structures and Socio-spatial Composition
Power of the Powerless- Restructuring Power

Chapter 3 - Structures of Opportunity

Confronting connections between power and space
A 'Political Architect'

Conclusion
Personal conclusion

Bibliography
Figures

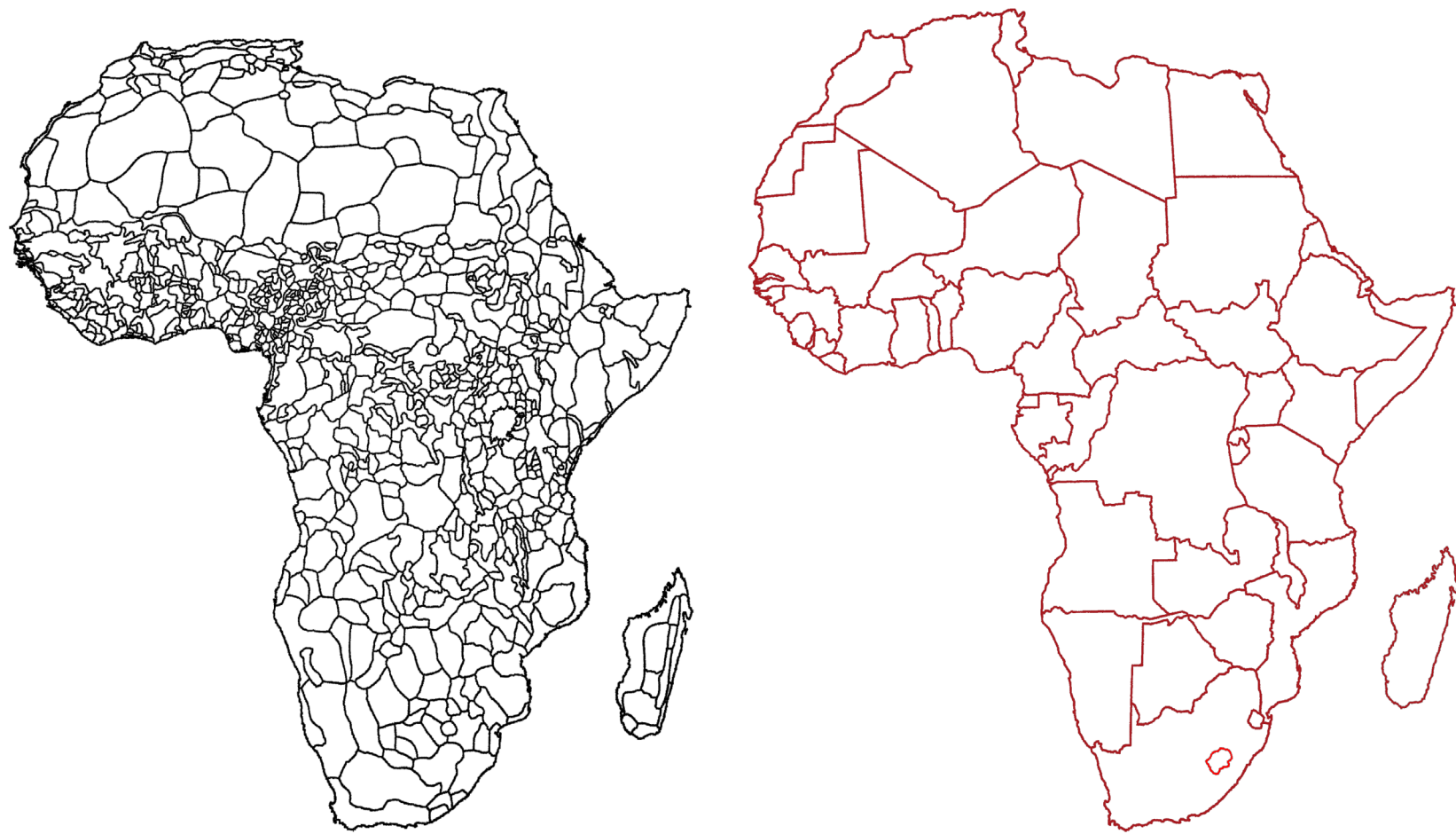


fig3 The boundaries of historical ethnicities before colonization and current national boundaries
(Deutinger, T and McGetrick, B. 2017)

Preface

An issue that is plaguing many cities and countries across the world, is the imbalance of culture, politics and power. This is evident in Africa where most of the continent was at one time oppressed by dominant countries of Europe. This is visible in fig3 that depicts the boundaries of historical ethnicities before colonisation and contemporary national boundaries. Colonialism as an action is often described as complex and de-humanising (Mawere, 2014). Which has had a perennial impact on the lives and views of many Africans, often resulting in the dilution of the original nation's traditional cultures, values and beliefs. These impacts can still be sensed today through the subconscious manipulation of European countries who are understood to be the architects of globalisation (Fraser, 2019).

The influence of this dissertation stemmed from witnessing the continuing humanitarian crisis occurring in Zimbabwe: extreme segregation and political violence. A key

event that is one of the main causes of this is Operation Murambatsvina, an inhumane political movement of socio-spatial control. The urban scars, hardship and conflict remain as if the Operation Murambatsvina was yesterday. Emotional damage has been intensified recently, when white farmers were offered compensation for the loss of 'their' land, which was seized under the controversial government programme two decades ago (BBC, 2020). Growing up in Zimbabwe (1997-2002) and living there for most of my young adult life (2008-

2015) like the author Peter Godwin, I saw first-hand the courage and resilience of the people who had nothing but desire to be free from the segregation and violence (Godwin, 2011). This set-in motion a passion for developing a better understanding of the inter-relationship between spatial structures and socio-cultural issues. As confessed in a documentary by Xoliswa Sithole (2010, 00:40) "I can no longer stand by and watch the destruction of the nation that created me" this reflects my personal motivations for this dissertation.

Terminology

ZANU-PF	-	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
MDC	-	Movement for Democratic Change
ZRP	-	Zimbabwe Republican Force
HDA	-	High Density Areas
MDA	-	Medium Density Areas
LDA	-	Low Density Areas
Muramba	-	to refuse
Batsvina	-	dirt

Methodology

In order to understand what social sustainability looks like from an architectural perspective, this dissertation will look at the theoretical framework of the 3 notions of control in Zimbabwe:

Culture- The use of Bourdieu's concepts to critically investigate the complexity of society, how we construct space and their effects on a person's actions and behaviours. By evaluating his methods of taste cultures to show how colonialism coerced the traditional people to replace their own values, tastes and institutions with foreign ones.

Politics- The use of case studies from 'Urban socialsustainability:Theory,policy,andpractice' will contribute to this dissertation by providing a critical insight into the significance and relevance of the concept. This will illustrate how socially sustainable design is implemented in diverse communities across the world.

Power- The works of Foucault predominantly 'Space, knowledge and power' will be used in challenging, analysing and dismantling the relations of power and oppression in society.

In an attempt to gain a personal understanding first-hand observations and an account of the literary work of Peter Godwin 'The Fear' will be critically analysed. Unlike the built environment, this will provide an insight of people's attitudes, actions and behaviours. Stories in the book will provide spatial evidence of resilience and show how the people interpret their environment differently to make sense of their world.

By taking a Photo-journalistic approach, images will be carefully selected to help testify to something that is being lost or forgotten, to see the intangible. Not by just showing an event but highlighting the event's mark on passing time, built environments and communities. They intend to inform, but also activate opinion and emotion and influence our actions/behaviour.

Concepts of forensic architecture should challenge the roles and responsibilities of architects in context to urban conflicts (Design Exchange,2020).This will be analysed by looking at how societal order in Zimbabwe has been maintained and influences the spatial layout. This may result in design decisions further disadvantaging the already disadvantaged

Introduction

This dissertation examines and confronts Zimbabwe's ongoing socio-spatial challenges; determined by an unbalance of culture, politics and power. Focusing on the existing trends of power and resilience at different scales, will lead to questioning the role of space in facilitating the force of power on the domestic scale. Which builds towards the intentions of this dissertation; aiming to explore how the dynamics of power are played out in space by using the concept of social sustainability to aid my analysis.

Sustainability is often referred to as being comprised of three pillars: environment, economic and social (Shirazi and Keivani, 2020). Of the three the social sustainability pillar is commonly overlooked and under-theorized. Priority is typically given to the economic and environmental concepts in sustainability debates, particularly in connection to architecture. This may be due to its multiple, abstract and diverse definitions, resulting in the ideologies behind the interpretation, difficult to practically implement (Shirazi and Keivani, 2019). As Vallance et al. (2011, p.342)

pointed out “social sustainability is a concept in chaos”. However, being an ‘empty signifier’ does not assume it as useless or impractical but, rather, the flexibility of the concept should be viewed as positive (Shirazi and Keivani, 2019). This will allow the perceptions of social sustainability to be shaped and sculpt to fit several different circumstances- which is optimal when addressing the complexity of local political contexts.

Socially focused issues are generally being critically analysed and investigated outside of the study of architecture, especially in the fields of environmental psychology, sociology and political science. The psychology of architecture needs to be reconsidered so social sustainability can be expressed and reflected more successfully spatially (Peters, 2017). Architects are reluctant to make social disadvantages, such as urban inequalities, insecurities and poverty, visible when designing. Or is it that they are reluctant to introduce it in the design process? This is because these are often the issues that they are trying to create solutions for.

Therefore, a mixed methodology approach will be adopted from these humanistic areas of study in order to successfully analyse complex and dynamic social issues. A frequent criticism of social sustainability is that it lacks a clear theoretical methodology (Littig and Griessler, 2005). This is due to the considerably fewer tangible aspects of social consequences resulting from unsustainable developments, which makes indicators difficult to determine and quantify. An anthropocentric approach should be taken recognizing and focusing on the connections between society and space: space operates as a product and producer of social sustainability (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).

In the case of this dissertation, the study of social sustainability merges the metaphoric social sphere and the literal physical realm, in order to recognise and understand how society can be manifested spatially and architecturally. This is often characterised by infrastructure that supports and interacts with society; creating environments that enable people and places to evolve symbiotically. In order to question social sustainability in an urban environment, it is necessary to first form a definition of social sustainability on the local scale, secondly to define the relevant indicators

(quantitative: physical space and qualitative: theory of social space) for evaluation, and finally, develop a collective vision for future improvement of social structures.

For this reason, the aims of this dissertation are firstly, to contextualise Zimbabwe historically, socially and geographically. Secondly, to outline the specific features and outcomes of Operation Murambatsvina as a form of social control and spatial order as a reflection of a particular event that requires, being analysed in a socio-historic context in a sensitive manner (Kytta et al., 2016). Thirdly, to critically assess the influential nature of the urban population in contemporary Zimbabwe as an effect of this cruel campaign. Lastly, reflecting on previous chapters to confront the connections between power and space and to discuss whether architecture can facilitate and support communities through socio-spatial patterns.

Historical Perspectives

Is space unintentionally designed to accommodate power on a domestic scale?

This chapter sets the scene for the overall dissertation. It familiarises the reader with the concept of social sustainability in relation to Zimbabwe. With a specific focus on Operation Murambatsvina- a political event in 2005 to forcibly clear informal structures. This introduced various socio-spatial challenges as a result of cultural, political and power instability. These challenges are investigated on a more definitive local scale: Hatcliffe Extension a rural settlement is then analysed to address how the dynamics of power are played out in space.

Setting the Context

In developing countries such as Zimbabwe, neighbourhoods evolve, new morphologies appear and building types tend to adapt to support the changing needs of their inhabitants. This is often a result of when suburbs are met with the consequences of urbanisation. Social equity, social exclusion and social disorder have been of central concern of planning in Zimbabwe since the 1980s when it entered independence. Elemental frameworks of urban settlements date back to the 1890s following the presence of European settlers (Zinyama and Whitlow, 1986). A historical inequality was rooted into the urban layout that preserved the colonial settler pattern of white ownership of the most fertile land (Tibaijuka, 2006). This formed the composition of Zimbabwe's typology. This consists of Harare (the capital city), a well organised grid and its periphery enclosed by the organic sprawl of informal settlements (National Archives of Zimbabwe, 1996). Zimbabwean beliefs and cultures were forged in opposition to colonialism, and socialism became the basis of ZANU-PFs (fascist government party) philosophy in the years following independence (Tibaijuka, 2006).

As seen in fig4 Between 1969-1982 a drastic population increase was experienced. The population of Harare (formerly known as Salisbury) in 1969 had a total population of 386,045, which almost doubled in 1982, reaching 656,011. Resulting in the process of urbanisation which was dominated by rural to urban migration (Zinyama and Whitlow, 1986). As stated by Zinyama and Whitlow (1986, p.378): "during the colonial period, a variety of legal and socio-economic constraints served to contain the movement of Africans into urban areas" it is evident that political forces were manifested spatially in order to retain social control. This method of force was replicated in the late 19th century when the 'land tenure system' exerted considerable control over the distribution of the population in Zimbabwe (United Nations, 2006). These methods became common prevalent trends of social control through urban spatial order. These and several other underlying and unresolved spatial political problems ultimately laid the grounds for the circumstances which lead to Operation Murambatsvina. Which subsequently leads to my argument that governance rather than government is a crucial tool of social transformation towards social development. Pettibone expresses

that there is a considerable relation between politics and social sustainability: "Governance focuses on processes through which (social) sustainability principles are incorporated into political decision making" (2015, p.224). Which brings to mind that the production of the built environment is inherently political as it impacts social connections (Awan, Schneider and Till, 2011).

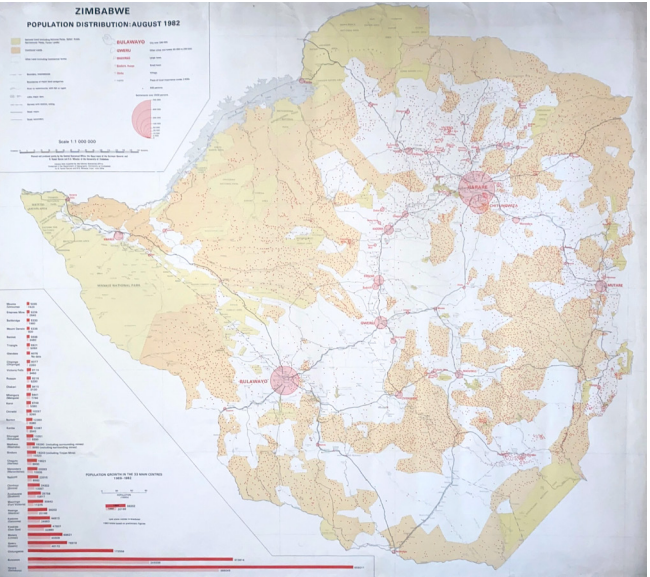


fig4 A map collected on my visit to the Surveyor Generals Archives. Map showing the rapid population growth in 1969-1982. (Department of the Surveyor-General, 1969)

Spatial consequences of controlling power systems

On the 31st March 2005 Elections were held in a chance to end political tensions created by ZANU-PF. However, they shared familiar themes to previous elections: organised intimidation and violence aimed against their opposition (MDC) and their supporters, illegitimate and corrupt electoral framework and repression on freedom of speech. (African National Democratic Institute, 2005). As a result, this provoked the already highly polarized political climate, considering Zimbabwe has been under the control of ZANU-PF and

their allies ZRP since independence (in 1980).

On May 19th, 2005 the first official announcement that the far-reaching 'operation' would materialize in Zimbabwe: commanding people to demolish illegal structures by the 20th June 2005 (United Nations, 2006). Despite this, on the 25th May 2005, 6 days after the initial deadline, the government launched the extensive and unprecedented military style campaign. According to the government the intentions were to regulate the 'disorderly' and 'chaotic' manifestations of the rapid urbanisation experienced since 1980s (United Nations, 2006). While the government rendered Operation Murambatsvina to mean 'restore order' the more literal interpretation is: 'Muramba' which translates to 'refuse' and 'batsvina' to 'the filth'- refuse the filth (Chimhundu, 1996). The government considered this extreme policy imperative to eradicate illegal structures and activities from the cities, however, the consequences of such force created far deeper economic, political and social chaos. The Operation began in Harare and expanded intensely across the country: vertically from the Mount Darwin (in the North) to the Beitbridge (in

the South) and horizontally from Mutare (in the East) to Bulawayo (in the west)- no part of the nation was overlooked. The shock has been described by the local victims as "Operation Tsunami" due to its uncontrolled nature and sheer force (Potts, 2006, p.275). Every day the nation suffered from more razed buildings; resulting in further families being displaced. This is strengthened when Kawole states "satellite images are irrefutable evidence, that the Zimbabwean government (ZANU-PF) has obliterated entire communities" (as cited in: Amnesty International UK, 2006, p.1).

The government were using architecture and space as a weapon to enforce power and control on a domestic scale. As Savitch conveys established politics can affect space (Savitch, 1998, Savitch and Kantor, 2002) meaning, decisions are intentionally designed and implemented to reinforce order and control on the disorganised urban plan. Due to the re-arranging of spatial order and the disruption of social connections to space, the sense of community and ownership has declined. This was not a one-time event but a recognizable systematic tool of oppression to silence the people, an all too familiar tactic.

The operation began by targeting local city vendors; the informal workers who had been operating on the roadside with no grievance or disturbance for many years. Without any notice they were confronted by the ZRP with violence, rounded up and arrested (United Nations, 2006). Their precious artworks were either destroyed in front of them while they watched hopelessly or confiscated by the police and sold at auction (Musoni, 2010). In a matter of days all marketplaces even those legitimate were demolished, 20,000 vendors were arrested, and many were beaten if they resisted (United Nations, 2006). Zimbabwe's economic crisis was drastically enhanced by these actions as this informal workforce was the unrecognised stability of their economy. It was estimated that 20% of the nation was employed in the formal sector, thus leaving roughly 80% working in either the informal sector or unemployed (Sokwanele Civic Action Support Group, 2005). As a consequence, this resulted in an on-going recession, with hyperinflation reaching 79,600,000,000% its maximum in 2008 (Pettinger, 2021). As seen in fig5 an image of a Zimbabwean currency printed in 2009, this was equivalent to approximately 20 pence. This caused the government to abandon their currency resulting in a

decline of national identity. Removing the informal sector reduced Zimbabwe's poorest to a state of abject poverty" (Sokwanele Civic Action Support Group, 2005, p.1). The continuation of unsustainable social trends was prevalent when the operation intensified; as it began to spread from attacking small-scale informal vendors to eradicating what the government characterised "squatter settlements" (United Nations, 2006, p.282). The increasing magnitude of homelessness and unemployed people in Zimbabwe as a result of this operation is depicted in fig6 which shows Patrick a 5 year old boy who as a consequence is forced to live in a landfill. He earns roughly \$10 a month collecting and recycling rubbish (Hammond, 2020).

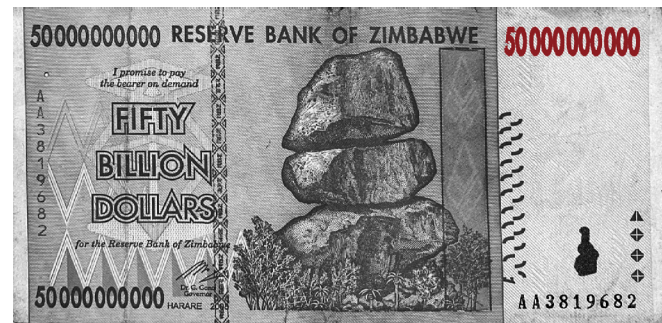


fig5 Zimbabwean dollars
(Dickens, M. 2021)



fig6 Patrick searching for materials he can recycle
(Hammond, R. 2020)

Hatcliffe Extension

Hatcliffe Extension is a rural settlement which is situated just beyond the urban periphery approximately 20km North from Harare. Ironically Hatcliffe Extension was created by the government as a holding camp, a place to relocate many families that were previously evicted from Churu Farm in 1993 (Martens and Tabett, 2018). They had become permanent homes for many people, as they were under the impression that because the government placed them there, they would be secure and safe if and when another housing crisis inevitably occurred. In their disbelief, the

government classified Hatcliffe Extension as an illegal settlement in May 2005 (Potts, 2006). A UN envoy Anna Tibaijaka exposed that many of the homes had never been provided with water or sanitation from the municipality, cynically under strict orders from the government, who then for this reason rendered them illegal (Potts, 2006, p.283).

The people were then forced to demolish their own homes, a very derogatory act forced upon them by the government. An eyewitness said: "The police beat people who offered resistance or who did not demolish their homes quickly enough" (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2005, p.2). The people have been abandoned and betrayed by the very government that should be protecting them. Tactics such as intimidation and violence were present, as the heavily armed ZRP were supervising the demolition this is seen in fig7 It was a political approach of oppressing the people, the victims were terrified and therefore would not challenge their perpetrators. The people were defenceless and their right to shelter was violated as the government hadn't offered any alternatives. This assumes that the government viewed the rights and needs of the inhabitants of the

poor 'shanty' houses as less important than those in legal houses and as a result weren't worthy of being relocated. Either this or as a strategy the government wanted to signal that supporting the opposition risks one's house, and as a punishment they would be forced to destroy their villages (this theory will be discussed later on in this chapter).

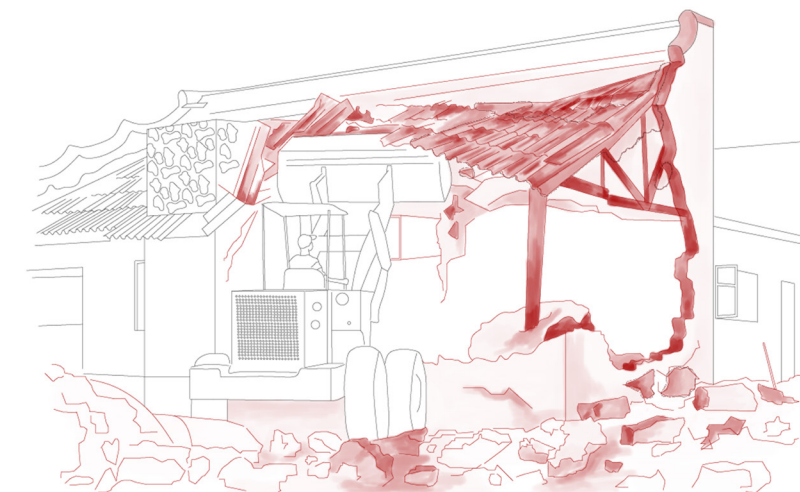


fig7 Tactics of intimidation and violence
(Dickens, M . 2021)

The scarcity of the operation shown in fig8A,B,C was severe, and Hatcliffe Extension was razed to non-existence within 10 days (Sokwanele Civic Action Support Group, 2005) The displacement of people was on a massive scale this was emphasised by the United Nations (2006, p.78): “The scale of the operation, which is unprecedented both in terms of its geographical coverage and the number of people affected”. There is no comparable extent of displacement of people in southern Africa where “a nation is supposedly not at war with itself” (Sokwanele Civic Action Support Group, 2005, p.1). These methods and actions of spatial controlling power systems that were used resulted in segregation, social exclusion, place dis-attachment, conflict and further social disorder all terms which fall under social instability. This reality of Hatcliffe Extension was replicated countrywide and the areas destroyed were home to the nation’s poorest, crippling the already vulnerable and insecure. In just 3 weeks since the beginning of the campaign, the amount of displaced has been estimated between 300,000 to over a million (Sokwanele Civic Action Support Group, 2005). These on-going unsustainable issues heightened the already polarized social-political climate of

the country. The large-scale social polarization can in some cases be seen as a positive thing, especially on a psychological perspective as



Fig8A Before satellite image taken on 14th May 2004 (Amnesty International, 2006)



Fig8B After satellite image taken 2nd September 2005 (Amnesty International, 2006)



Fig8C The Hatcliffe Extension New Stands settlement with centre points of destroyed structures (Amnesty International, 2006)

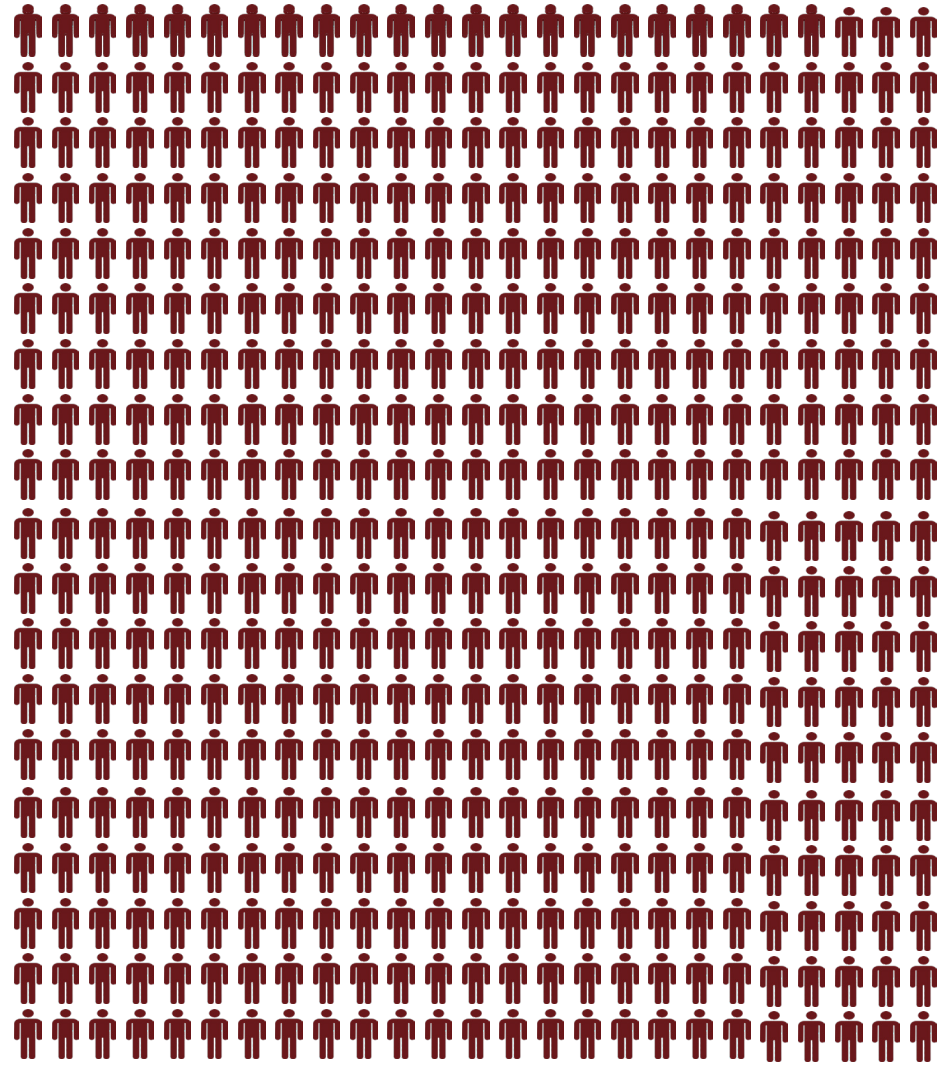
it meant the traditional political views, beliefs and cultures were able to develop allowing them to create their own identity. However, the physical polarization meant that the displacement of people broke and tore apart communities which may have resulted in the diffusion of culture and loss of identity, widening the divide between people and ultimately increasing conflict and segregation. This questions whether, it is more important to preserve cultures and polarization potentially still being apparent but respecting that people may have different views or having a more coherent society where ideologies have been imposed on the people to a point that they have similar beliefs. The government believed the latter was necessary in restructuring and maintaining social and urban order. As a consequence, the local people were left feeling betrayed by the shocking manner of which the government turned its might and brute against its innocent people. Offering them no alternatives or compensation resulted in people accepting living conditions and situations far below the standard, this is portrayed through the harsh realities in fig9

This resulted in “Zimbabwe becoming a nation of internally displaced people, where its

own citizens are refugees within the borders of what should be their home.” (Sokwanele Civic Action Support Group, 2005, p.1). This statement is conveyed graphically in fig10



Fig9 People displaced sought out shelter, and ended up in dilapidated flats (Hammond, R. 2020)



1 icon = 1,400 people displaced.
A total of 700,000 people displaced. (United Nations, 2006)



Fig11 Refugees in their own countries
(Hammond, R. 2020)



Fig12 Emotive image capturing the familiar feeling of hoplessness : the struggle and pain the people faced after the Operation
(Hammond, R. 2020)

Retribution and control

Another recent speculation that needs addressing is the determination of the ZANU-PF government and its ulterior motives of the operation. Why was it so crucial for the displaced people to 'return' back to their original rural settlements? This wrongly implies that there is homogeneity in the upbringing's, beliefs, cultures and traditions between the urban population (Sokwanele Civic Action Support Group, 2005).

The operation has been characterised as vindictive by some of the local people (Sokwanele Civic Action Support Group,

2005). David Coltart, the MDC's legal affairs spokesperson, characterised the operation as "A sinister pre-emptive strike designed to remove the maximum possible number of people from urban areas to rural areas where they are easier to control" (Coltart, 2005, p.1). It could have been seen that the ZANU-PF government were enraged by the cities failure to support them in the March 2005 elections, only 48 days before the operation materialised. This has been suggested by United Nations as "it was an act of retribution against areas known by the government to have voted for the opposition during the last few presidential and parliamentary elections" (United Nations, 2006, p.20). Many Zimbabweans believed it was a political act of retaliation. Those unsure or supporting conflicting political parties (MDC) were displaced. This strategy was to relocate the MDC affiliates from urban centres to rural districts, where they would be forced to conform or confront powerful pro ZANU-PF leaders (Sokwanele Civic Action Support Group, 2005). The government knew that those who did not adhere to new views would be denied access to shelter, food and water. This was a direct infringement of basic human rights; both social and cultural (Sokwanele Civic Action Support Group, 2005). There have been further precedents of political power structures affecting the urban layout, for example when vendors were

being re-established in the city centre after the operation, however, only if they possessed an official ZANU-PF voting card (Sokwanele Civic Action Support Group, 2005). Another example is how land that was demolished had been re-appropriated and reassigned to members of the ZRP, the very people who were conducting and supervising the destruction (Sokwanele Civic Action Support Group, 2005). It was apparent that the government would risk dividing the nation in order to secure power for themselves.

The erosion of the built environment decreased the social use of public space and therefore led to a decline in social sustainability, leaving the disadvantaged and the most vulnerable pushed deeper into poverty by the operation. Therefore, this has come to the conclusion that space is inherently connected to power structures and politics. This is a Foucauldian view as stated (Foucault, 2004, p.252) "space is fundamental in any form of communal life; space is fundamental in any exercise of power". Architecture here can be seen as a tool to interpret and contribute towards political policies. Operating as a mechanism to enforce control and power over the people through the spatial composition of everyday life (Peters, 2016).

by taking them on a journey, so they reach a mindset ready to appreciate and consume the artworks (Carmignac and Carmignac, 2018). However, from a personal reflection of this experience, it emphasised my privilege, in juxtaposition to the feeling of seclusion and place detachment that was familiar to the Zimbabwean population. This feeling of guilt and shame was intensified when I was requested to remove my shoes as a ritual. The sensation of the cold floor on my bare feet in contrast to the warmth outside, only a fraction of the discomfort that the people faced helped me sympathise with the people suffering and in pain in Zimbabwe.

The biggest gift Hammond could give back to the people suffering in silence was listening and sharing their stories. However, Robin Hammond was deported and banned from returning to Zimbabwe. According to Hammond (2020) officially it was for photographing in a prohibited place but in reality, it was because it was important for the government to control the narrative of their country, and they want to avoid negative press. This is further control of the government one that not only controls space but controls the people's rights and freedom to speak up, something that is still very present in Zimbabwe.

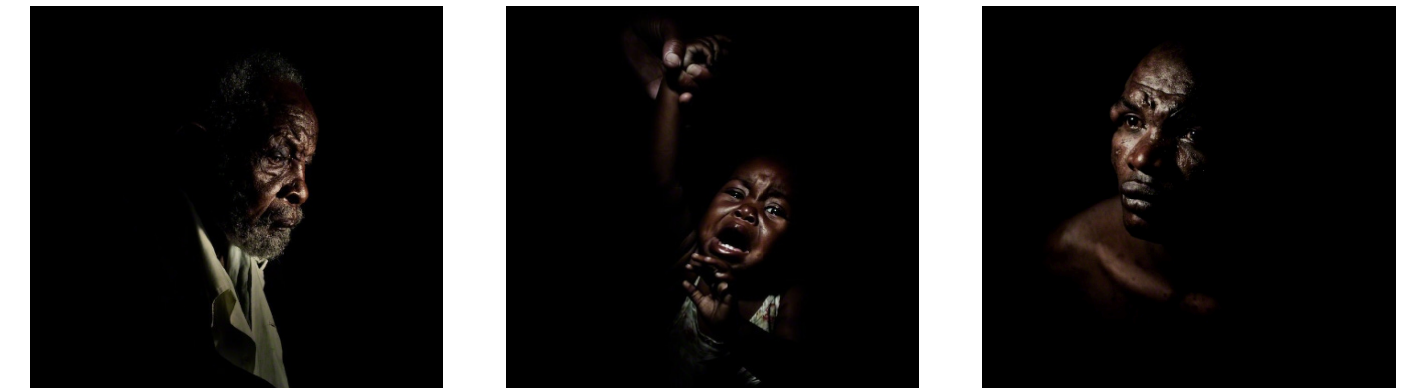


Fig13 The silent suffering of the three portraits, represent the lives destroyed by the violence and brutality of a regime aimed to target the defenseless (Hammond, R. 2020)

Breaking the Silence

The topic of this dissertation arose from my personal experience of visiting the Carmignac Foundation exhibition of photojournalism. An exhibition showing the works of Robin Hammond on his trip to Zimbabwe in 2005, the time of Operation Murambatsvina. Hammonds message he chose to convey was heightened through the experience of the exhibition. The journey to the small Island Porquerolles off the South of France to what Carmignac describes as: "a privileged space, remote from it all" (as cited: McGivern, 2018, p.1). This was intended to prepare the visitor

Reclaiming a Confiscated Past

This chapter aims to synthesize, how architecture can act as a metaphor for the structure of society, how political influences can affect this, and how social sustainability can either be maintained or challenged through the spatial composition of the built environment. This will be carried out by investigating literature, theory and practice of urban sustainability and community resilience. In order to evaluate social sustainability in the urban context, it is necessary to first define social sustainability on the local level. This can be achieved by firstly analysing the anthropology of Zimbabwe, studying aspects of society and culture which

make up the identity of the nation. Secondly, reviewing the current effects of operation Murambatsvina with reference to the trend of socio-spatial control. Lastly, looking at the contemporary spatial compositions and assessing their level of social sustainability.

Social Sustainability at the Local Level

In the wider context, Zimbabwe is still currently facing a multi-sectoral crisis transitioning between humanitarian and development needs. These vary from natural disasters, economic instability and political insecurity. Natural disasters, such as the flooding from the recent cyclone Idai which swept through Zimbabwe leaving nothing but a trace of destruction (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2019). Economic instability, 785.5% inflation rate: the newly introduced Zimbabwean dollar has once again lost most of its value (Harding, 2020). Lastly, political insecurity, Zimbabwe is home to 15.6 million people from diverse backgrounds, of which 7 million people in urban and rural areas are in urgent need of

humanitarian assistance, compared to 5.5 million in August 2019 (OCHA, UNCT Zimbabwe, 2020). These crises have accumulated from countless unsolved past land issues one of them being operation Murambatsvina.

On a more local scale, the inhumane operation still resonates in Zimbabwe, continuously forcing divides between people. This is proven when United Nations stated (2006, p.8): "The humanitarian consequences of the operation were and still are enormous, it will take several years before the people and society as a whole can recover". This divide between the people and the government has recently been intensified when the government promised to compensate the white farmers for the loss of 'their' land, which was formerly stolen from the original African settlers in the 1880's (BBC News, 2020). This is emphasised when Kajese expresses (2021, p.1): "The past demolitions hang heavily over people's lives as they fear a recurrence and lack tenure security". In political terms, the operation aggravated an already tense and polarised climate characterised by mistrust and fear. The political forces expressed in operation Murambatsvina are responsible for shaping patterns of intentional formal segregation

This led to problems such as social inequality, social exclusion and social disorder which have been the central concerns of planning in Zimbabwe since the 1980s when it entered independence. Social sustainability reflects how the built environment and its design accommodate relationships between people and experiences. In other words, architecture can be used as a tool to analyse society, and in reverse, analysing society allows us to understand what type of buildings we need in order to create socially sustainable experiences. This has been emphasised by Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith (1992, p.38): "The spatial practice of a society is through the deciphering of its space".

2013). His theories are appropriate when understanding the notion of societal control; concepts such as economic (material) and cultural capital (metaphorical) when combined identify social capital, the way we fit into society through social ties (Bourdieu, 1986). These theories will be implemented to discover how social structures play vital factors in either maintaining or challenging current power systems and frameworks.

It could be assumed that political capital works in a similar way to social capital, where politics is seen as a field where parties are fighting for domination. Therefore, the more political capital one has the more legitimate and politically dominant it is. This is emphasised when Bourdieu illustrates field as an intangible place within society "where the agents are being forced to take a position on the means and objectives that differ, depending on their position in the power structure, and in this way can help to preserve or to transform the structure" (1999, pp.45-46). These methodologies will be adopted to understand and examine the way power is enforced on society. This theory is evident, when the British colonised Zimbabwe in 1888 (Jackson, 1986) and formed the dominant socio-political capital. This has affected Zimbabwe today, although the country is not physically colonised,

there is a subconscious lingering feeling of western influence. This feeling is confirmed when Simukai Chigudu (an ex Zimbabwean professor at Oxford University) expresses: "Colonialism had never really ended. I failed to notice another way that colonialism was still operating: we were learning almost nothing about the troubled (past of our) country" (2021, p.16). The nation's ignorance towards its own history enables past unresolved issues such as Operation Murambatsvina to go unchallenged, resulting in the current tension between civil society and the government.

The government's hesitation to address past issues is the direct result of the 'chaos' they were aiming to eradicate in 2005, which ironically created more social disorder due to the extent of homeless civilians. Due to the reluctance of the government to create alternatives, this meant that squatter camps became popular as people had nowhere to go. Which forced the victims of operation Murambatsvina to form stronger communities and ultimately created their own identity separate from the urban city. Hatcliffe Extension, an informal settlement with its own independent community infrastructure, will be analysed using Bourdieu's theories to review the current repercussions of the operation and assess the level of social sustainability.

The model of social space and how different forms of capital interact is presented in La Distinction shown in fig14 (Bourdieu, 1984a, p.262, Bourdieu, 2011, p.50) this works well with the diagram 'representing the association between architectural features and social outcomes' in Urban Social Sustainability shown in fig15 (Shirazi and Keivani, 2019, p.142).

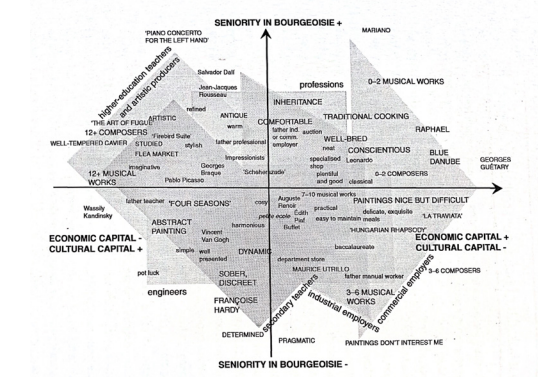


Fig14 La Distinction, the model of social space (Bourdieu, 1984a, p.262, Bourdieu, 2011, p.50)

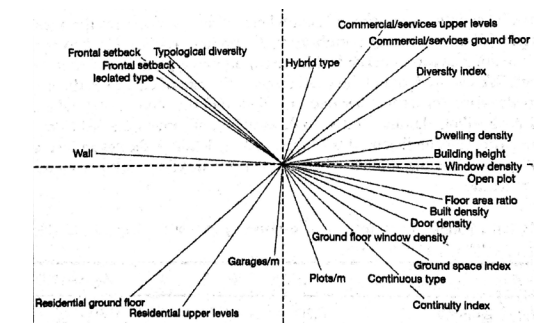


Fig15 Architectural features and social outcomes (Shirazi and Keivani, 2019, p.142)

A judgement of social sustainability is that it is too abstract to be practically implemented (Bostrom, 2012). Therefore, the techniques of the two maps have been combined in order to map and identify social sustainability outcomes in relation to the physical features of the built environment and how they affect the mental state of users this is conveyed in fig16 This will refer to the intangible more psychological meaning of space: 'belonging to a place', which is a key concept by Charles Moore's In Praise of Shadows (1977). This is important to understand and define as "one of the central human acts is the act of inhabiting, of connecting ourselves, however temporarily, with a place on the planet which belongs to us and to which we belong" (Tanizaki and Moore, 1977, p.1).

Ultimately looking at how architecture shapes society and our behaviours which can be directly related to Habitus, another key concept within Bourdieu's theories. The complex multi-layered concept habitus is often defined as our individual disposition, our fundamental behaviours of mind and character (Bourdieu, 1986). This includes everything from the way we hold ourselves, our posture and the way we think. Habitus is influenced and shaped by different forms of socialisation, primary

direct socialisation (private) and secondary indirect socialisation (public). It is the way that people perceive, react and interact to the physical and psychological world. The way we experience space reflects its history, its society and its culture (Jackson, 1986). Therefore, the way the people of Zimbabwe behaved was a direct result of what the government had done to their environments (destroying their homes and livelihoods).

The image is read so the right hand spatial experiences offer positive behaviour in relation to the built environment. The length of the line represents the prominence or importance of each factor. The descriptions of my experiences demonstrate resilience within communities, despite the hold the government still has over the people.



Fig16A Images taken from my experience at the map Surveyor Generals Archives

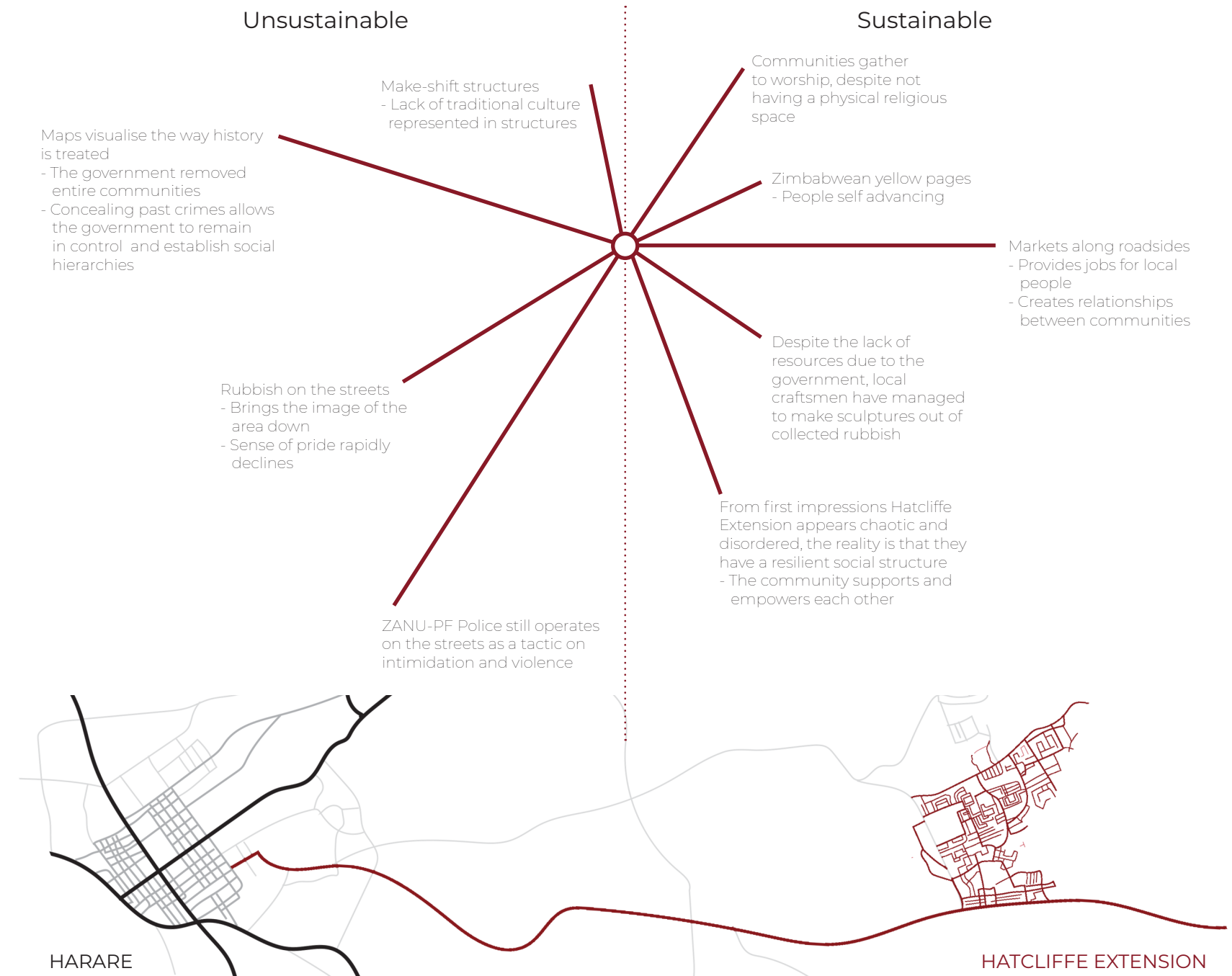


Fig16B Psychological and physical mapping of experiences (Dickens, M. 2020)

of maturity. In both incidents' spatial political forces were used as methods of control.

Although the changes in settlement patterns and domestic composition as a result of Operation Murambatsvina had irreversible destructive effects on the native Zimbabwean. In Bourdieu's terms the government's actions (as discussed in the previous chapter) temporarily emptied the people's resources (different types of capital; social, economic and cultural). The event demonstrates a bleak depiction of how architecture is used as one of the principal means of creating social and political order, rather than responding to the cultural needs and values of the society. The Operation is a good example of this as it shows how cultural destabilisation was produced by the displacement of people rather than addressing the initial problem. The displacement of people was a short-term solution rather than providing adequate and improved housing, which would have solved the main issue of visual chaos within the city without harming society.

At first glance one may view Zimbabwean architecture as holding little to no cultural identity. This is reiterated as Muir, in her anthropological study of Zimbabwe states, (2020, p.1): "There is little artistic emphasis placed on architecture... buildings tend to

be more functional". The shortage of urban cultural representation shown in the urban areas in fig17 is due to the fact that most of the legitimate buildings have been indelibly influenced by European cultures and values. Many of them were built after the 1890s with the dominant presence of European settlers. This is due to the colonial oppression imposed by the dominant European group of society, who then set the cultural tastes for the dominated Zimbabwean society. This links to Bourdieu's theory 'The anatomy of taste' (1984), where he discusses symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is defined by the recognition or perception of an individual's or social groups collective social, economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1987). This arises the question, does symbolic capital generate power? As power is presented to those who have secured sufficient

recognition to be able to impose, control and conduct law. This symbolic power allows the 'superior' social group to impose their views, values and beliefs on the inferior society.

Although, there is little cultural representation in the urban areas in this period, there appears to be greater portrayal in the more rural areas. This stimulated the growing divide between the two regions creating hypothetical boundaries of segregation and social exclusion.

Power of the powerless- restructuring power

These anthropological theories offer a way of thinking and understanding the social constructs and how we can maintain social space. Parallels can be drawn from Bourdieu's humanistic study the 'social construction of space': Where the French colonised Algeria with intentions of modernising the country. However, in reality this process tarnished the indigenous cultures and traditions, ultimately destroying their economic, cultural and social capital. For this reason, Bourdieu's concepts can also be adopted to examine the socio-spatial situation in Zimbabwe as they were employed on similar geographical and historical scales



Fig17 A more sustainable past, a time when culture was more present (images from my uncle) (Dickens, N. 2020)

From a European perspective the initial impression of Hatcliffe Extension may come across as rough. From an outer appearance it could be identified as a socially divided area of devastation and deprivation due to the destruction of its settlements and its fragmented community as seen in fig18. Many Zimbabwean urban areas became sites of control and restriction (Potts, 2011). This is emphasised as Potts explains (2011, p.19): “The physical aspects of the city reflected the broader political economy and of how those physical aspects – the geography of the built environment, especially housing – not only reinforced but also created the social and political outcomes”. Which resulted in the traditional people’s cultures, social structures were destroyed by government policies. Like Bourdieu the government should not have reinforced the common perception of informal settlements as dirty and disorganised. Perhaps they should have been recognised for their durable community infrastructure portrayed in fig19. However, the government’s intention to retain order in Hatcliffe Extension come at the cost of the local community’s social affordance. Resulting in the people feeling detached from their city. In this case social polarity could be seen as something to be encouraged, as it established their traditional community’s habitus, which enabled Hatcliffe Extension to develop its own identity separate to Harare.

However, from a local perspective rural Zimbabweans have essentially re-appropriated European cultures to make them their own (markets). This re-appropriation was important, so the people felt as though they belonged to a place, as referenced earlier the sense of place is ultimately bound up with human experience of being and becoming. Which is why Zimbabweans have an exaggerated connection to their land, as they have fought and protected it for many years (Fuller, 2013). The built environment legitimate or illegitimate is subsequently a social and cultural product derived from the social needs of its users or influenced by political forces. The links between the systematic destruction of buildings, that was a mechanism of control used by the government and the outcomes of urban poverty are distinct. This is evident as many Zimbabwean cities are still segregated and those who suffer the most from structural discrimination are the urban poor (United Nations, 2006). During my time there I witnessed the visual disconnection between the urban and rural areas. Where the once vibrant rural areas filled with culture and thriving communities have transitioned to strikingly run-down dishevelled neighbourhoods. This is noticeable in the extended collages below in fig20 portraying my experience of driving through Harare to Hatcliffe Extension.



Fig18 The first appearance of Hatcliffe Extension comes across as disordered and chaotic (Dickens, M. 2020)



Fig19 However, from a closer perspective they have strong communities that have survived the most difficult times. They should be recognised for their durability rather than the uncontrolled appearance of the region (Dickens, M. 2020)



HARARE





HATCLIFFE EXTENSION



Fig20 A journey to Hatcliffe Extension
(Dickens, M. 2020)

However, from multiple observations one can see the resilience and preservation of identity and cultural heritage that are important to the community. Looking at the layers and patterns of socio-cultural changes and behaviours the people have successfully managed to bind together and overcome segregation and social exclusion, creating a stronger identity. This focuses on physical and psychological urban identifiers that build socially sustainable environments and how these concepts can either complement or contradict each other. This will be analysed using Dempsey et al's. (2020, p.173) theoretical framework: "social equity and sustainability of community" are two indicators of social sustainability as a consequence related to physical features of the build realm. The former focuses on quantitative indicators which include accessibility and opportunities, where the latter refers to qualitative matters such as community cohesion, community stability and sense of place and belonging. This implies there is a connection between physical place and the psychological sense of place. which echoes Bourdieu's notion habitus, as we are made up of social interactions within both the literal (physical) and metaphorical (psychological) sphere. This is portrayed in a combination of the two maps in fig21 showing the socially sustainable outcomes of physical space and the map of

experience. This shows the threshold between the urban and rural regions is visually appears slim however, in reality there is a great difference between the two. The socio-spatial and political forces shaped the urban and rural realm. As a consequence, this has limited the general public from practicing their rights within the city, as they feel intimidated and fearful to express themselves. Therefore, the attainment of land, along with economic stability are the most important factors to achieve for the Zimbabwean rural population in order to improve social sustainability. There are indicators of spatial ways of claiming back the land and evidence that architecture has and can instil resilience within the local communities directly affected by the awful operation. This is evident through images in fig21 which show the daily activities that allow the dominated people to claim back ownership of their land. For example vendors have been reintroduced onto the streets, due to their modified stalls that allow them to move they can follow where there is income and are accepted in both rural and urban areas. Informal structures have also begun to return inching closer to the urban areas creating a stronger sense of traditional African identity. Community connections have also improved with the addition of public transport between urban and rural areas.

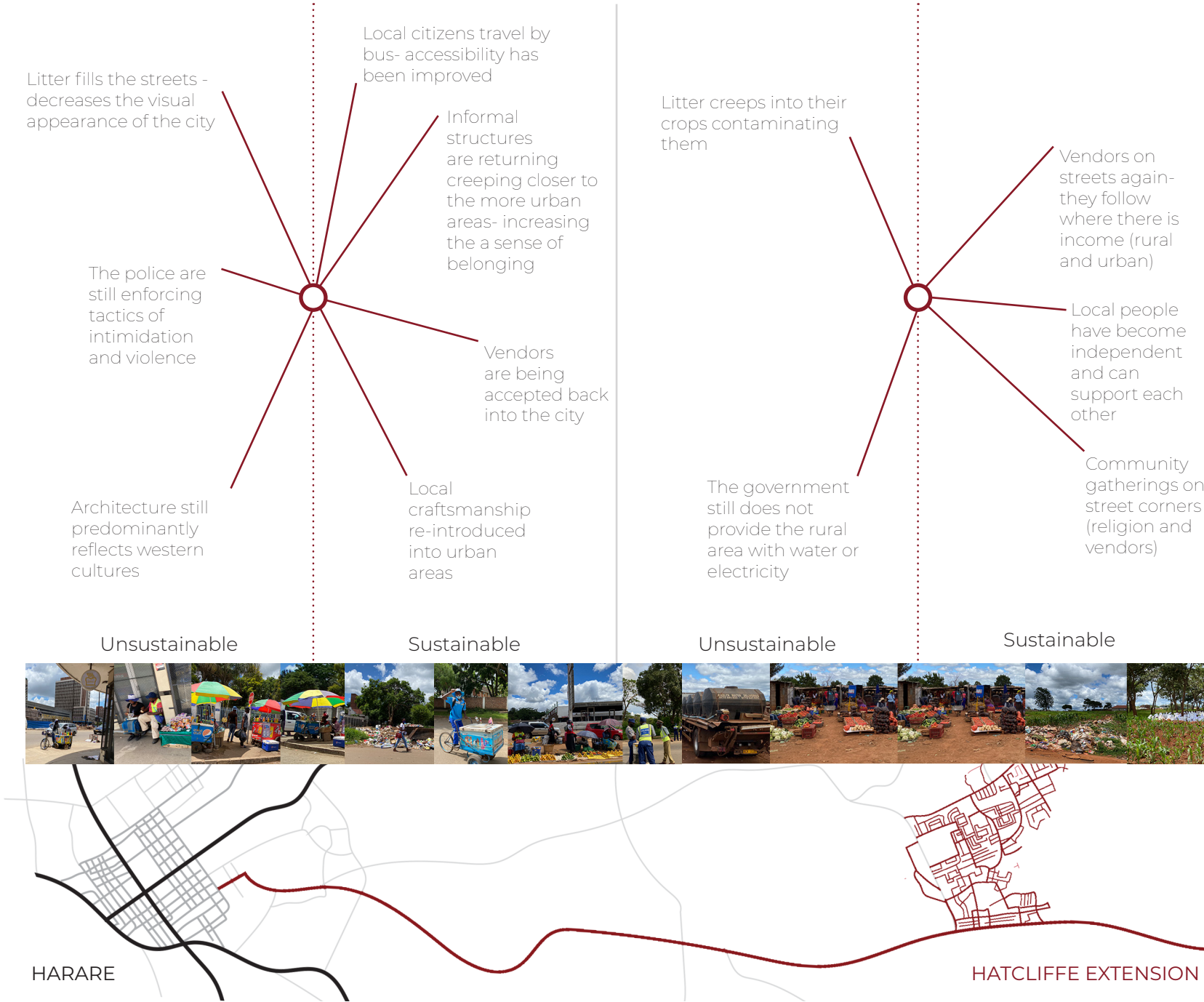


Fig21 Psychological and physical mapping comparison between urban and rural areas (Dickens, M. 2020)

These are all examples of how social spaces can assist and encourage social sustainability as a manifestation of the public realm.

This chapter has concluded examples of adjustment, resilience and re-appropriation that build rather than diminish social capital. Showing that contemporary societal frameworks and controlling power structures can be analysed, to bring attention to how social relations and the composition of the built environment can either help or hinder levels of social sustainability. Bourdieu's and Dempsey et al's theoretical methodologies and concepts have illustrated that there is a connection between the physical (architecture) and psychological (community) structures of society. Both need to function harmoniously to ensure maintained or increased social sustainability. Therefore, in order for Zimbabwe to become more socially sustainable the nation needs to confront the connections between power and space. This looks at how architecture can be represented as an act of reconciliation to repair the relationship between politics, culture and power. Which leads onto the question of how can designers confront power and space by working with communities and government to create positive change?

Structures of Opportunity

Reflecting on the previous chapters architecture is essentially a people system, a process made by people for people, which acts as a catalyst for human interaction. This chapter will explore social sustainability as an urban agenda towards an improved social inclusion rather than social control. This will ultimately intend on architecture being used as an instrument to repair or close the divide between two conflicting groups of society. Focusing on the dilution between power in urban areas and resilience in rural areas. This relies on the implementation of socially sustainable design principles, to decipher the

true potential of a balanced cultural, political and powerful Zimbabwe. The chapter then aims to expand upon the possibilities of architecture as a multidisciplinary sector, one that works directly with the community and the government to enhance social sustainability.

Confronting connections between power and space

The built landscape is perceived as a product or reflection of spatial phenomena and intangible characteristics influenced by the past. In other words, Hatcliffe Extension's cluttered spatial composition and lack of sense of place within the broader geographical context of Zimbabwe, is a direct consequence of the controlling power systems enforced during Operation Murambatsvina. This is an example of how architecture operated as a mechanism of representing and transferring the power inflicted on the citizens by their government. Often the dynamics of power are played out in space (Gaventa, 2006). However, is it possible for power to be re-appropriated and seen in a positive light

where the users are empowered by their spaces. To promote positive social change in Hatcliffe Extension, the built environment needs to address and support the social life of its users. This includes providing opportunities for interaction and socialisation between the two conflicting societal groups, the dominant government and the dominated rural settlers.

As discussed in the previous chapters an individual's habitus is formed of multiple interactions with their physical and psychological surroundings. This emphasises the role of architects, as they hold the potential to influence the social dynamics of communities which are altered through design (Hanisch, 1969). Therefore, architects need to become more conscious of the importance of space and its influence on communities. Just because the intentions of design are good does not mean the outcome is ensured to be positive or socially sustainable. This is reiterated when Awan, Schneider and Till state "The key political responsibility of the architect lies not in the refinement of the building as static visual commodity, but as a contributor to the creation of empowering spatial, and hence social" (2011, p.38).

"social sustainability can be defined as an ability to sustain society, because 'sustain' means maintaining a certain state that is determined by both physical and non-physical factors" (Yoo and Lee, 2016, p.4). However, although sustainability implies sustaining something, social components are centrally about progressing rather than preserving its current form. Thus, we can suggest that achieving social sustainability relies on the capacity of citizens to use and adapt environments to their needs. This is fundamental when aiming for more socially sustainable design, as architects don't want the 'new' built form to cause an erosion of culture or place identity. Instead, societal qualities need to be improved and enhanced. Which has led a rising obligation to decode the narrow-minded concepts of the art of building, such as the much heavier focus on the aesthetic qualities of the design rather than how the space feels to the user. This can be addressed by introducing the unfamiliar notion of "nonpedigree architecture" a philosophy drawn from Bernard Rudofsky, characterised as "vernacular, anonymous, spontaneous, indigenous, rural" (Rudofsky, 1964, p.1). This theory confirms the key responsibility of an architect is not creating

visually appealing buildings rather, devoting to the creation of empowering spatial and social environments (Awan, Schneider and Till, 2011).

This brings to mind the work of architect Fabrizio Carola, with his profound understanding of African society. He knew the importance of transforming the built realm as an opportunity to redistribute wealth (capital) more equally through a community (Cascone, 2019). The 'dome as a social model' portrayed in fig22 has been selected because it is of comparable size and maturity to the situation in Zimbabwe. This links back to architecture being used as a metaphor for structures of society, as discussed in the previous chapter. Carola explains this theory: "If I apply pressure on a point of the dome this pressure will be extended from the brick that captures it, to the group of bricks along all directions. That is to say, each brick extends its pressure to the next, therefore it is wasted completely. So, a state of collaboration is created in which each brick collaborates in the maintaining of the structure" (2011, 01:52). Therefore, the bricks represent the individual members of society who together compose a nation. A nation is a social construct that performs to create a cohesive society between people and cultures

who, otherwise would be inharmonious.

Carola discusses how "the shape of the dome is completely lost", and how it was once the most symbolic architecture of the Mediterranean region (Carola, 2011, 00:45). This is evident in Zimbabwe where the traditional symbolic architecture is less apparent due to the reduction of cultural representation and an increase of westernised architecture (discussed in chapter 2). Carola, with the enhancements of technology, created architectural forms that conveyed and respected the site, its cultural traditions, values and beliefs. This was achieved by using traditional locally sourced materials and combining them with tools used originally in other areas of the world. A compass which establishes the position of each brick in the space, which was primitively invented and used in Egypt by architect Hassan Fathy (Carola, 2011). Carola's interdisciplinary concept can be perceived as contemporarily advanced, despite the mature techniques that were recycled and modified (Cascone, 2019). His methodology should be considered more in the future as it represents a different, unique approach to the creation and appreciation of sustainable structures.

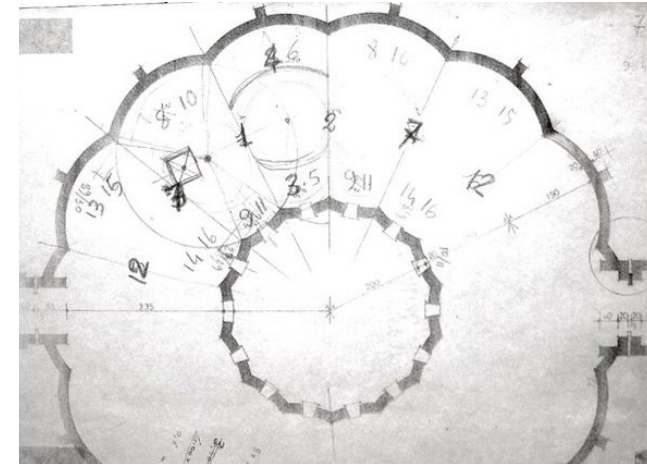


Fig22 His method of includes complex geometric patterns and is known for being more complicated than the actual design process (Carola, F. 2018)



Fig23 The Kaedi regional hospital, where the 'social dome' method has been adopted successfully (Carola, F. 2018)

In the case of Hatcliffe Extension, to create socially successful spaces we must be reminded of Potters realisation while on his trip to Zimbabwe "The true beauty of Africa can't be captured; it can't be seen; it can only be felt" (Potter, 2018, 04:58). Which arises the question, how can architects transfer this intangible sense of belonging into a tangible, physical space? Methods can be drawn from Carola as he rethinks traditional building processes. This suggests that, less formal architecture produced by craftsmen is much more appreciated than buildings by formal architects.

The only buildings that predominantly use traditional building techniques and materials are those that are lacking legitimacy, as a direct result of operation Murambatsvina, for example street vendors and informal settlements. This is often referred to as anonymous architecture (Rudofsky, 1964). Therefore, adopting western contemporary technologies and combining them with traditional building materials can help restore the enclaved sense of community cohesion. An adopted methodological approach similar Carola discovers architectural processes that replenish neglected Zimbabwean cultures.

For example, these include: the restoration of destroyed structures and livelihoods, and the inclusion of small-scale income encouraging activities in a managed environment (United Nations, 2006). It should adopt an anthropological and ecological perspective that supports the community. Hence, construction should embrace traditional techniques and local labour to allow for the continuation of knowledge through generations so that it is not erased from their culture, materials should be sourced locally and derived directly from the land as they will hold greater cultural significance. This will result in the new built forms blending into the local landscapes in a natural and harmonious way.

This attitude will protect and even consolidate better the various capitals (economic, social and cultural). Resulting in a stronger impact as it will encompass a full embodiment of sustainability, not just social but environmental and economic. This strategy promotes the preservation of tradition which helps to empower the indigenous community and participates in the development of national identity. Resulting in the dominated people claiming back ownership of what was once their land. However, this relies on the ability

of the people to overcome old prejudices and realise that both communities have knowledge to offer. A paradigm shift from government to governance as previously discussed in chapter 1 is necessary in Zimbabwe, in order to repair the relationship between the government and its people who they turned their backs on. The government should set a good example before it can ask its citizens to do the same, as operation Murambatsvina “breached both national and international human rights” (United Nations, 2006, p.9). Which leads to questioning whether social sustainability is about providing for the basic needs of the weaker social groups or should it be about the need for change in behaviour of those with resources? ((Elkin et al., 1991, p.203)

A ‘Political Architect’

The future and possibilities of architecture as a multidisciplinary sector needs to be explored this is explained by Brooks (2012 cited in Bond, 2017, p.1) “If science could help the design profession justify the value of good design and

craftsmanship, it would be a very powerful tool and quite possibly transform the quality of the built environment”. The use of a mixed-methodology approach within architecture can be extremely beneficial especially when understanding the needs of the inhabitants. Forensic architecture already applies a mixed approach, as a combination of science and architecture. Christina Varcia (Tate, 2018, 00:45) defines forensic architects as “pathologists of buildings, we read buildings, we read their ruins in order to understand what has taken place”. Forensic architecture investigates the patterns and re-occurrence of human rights violations carried out spatially, analysing the traces of destruction left on buildings.

As previously stated, governance is a central domain of social transformation towards social sustainable development. This is fundamental as “governance focuses on processes through which sustainability principles are incorporated into political decision making” (Pettibone, 2015, p.224). According to Stren and Polese (2000), social theory has negotiated societal concerns on a generic global scale however, overlooked the micro day-to-day issues faced in local life. This emphasises that the

neighbourhood is crucial social framework as it is the scale that lives can be improved.

Therefore, when looking at the prospects of Zimbabwe there are two main socio-spatial scenarios. The first, which is an extension of the current situation in Zimbabwe. Where there are two main communities living in the same geographical area but actually the deprived one (Hatcliffe Extension) will develop its own identity and infrastructure resulting in being less dependent on the city centre (Harare). The second proposition is that the government recognises that the excluding strategy failed and instead considers a more humanised approach of inclusion and cohesion. Here a cross discipline solution where society, architects and government work symbiotically to create socially sustainable designs for society as a whole. This includes the exchange of cultural capital between the two communities which can offer a prospect for future generations. This would be progressive as it sets up a social sustainability that respects difference, and enables social cohesion and inclusion resulting in an increased sense of national belonging.

Conclusion

This dissertation has contributed to the discussion of how the dynamics of power are played out in space. A closer investigation into Operation Murambatsvina, introduced socio-spatial challenges faced as a direct result of cultural, political and power instability. The built environment is a reflection on the past; Hatcliffe Extension, the cluttered spatial composition and lack of sense of place within the broader geographical context of Zimbabwe, is a direct consequence of the actions enforced in Operation Murambatsvina. This emphasises how the composition of the built environment facilitates oppression.

The in-depth study of Hatcliffe Extension addressed and analysed the extent and scope of Operation Murambatsvina. This proved that the Operation acted as a mechanism of control and power through the spatial composition of everyday life. This was seen when the government demolished the local built environment, which, as an affect, deteriorated the social space and inevitably led to the decline of social sustainability. The

displacement of people was “unprecedented in terms of geographical scale and the number of severe amount of people affected” (United Nations, 2006, p.78). The magnitude of people affected was around one fifth of the total population, approximately 2.4 million people (United Nations, 2006). Which resulted in the already disadvantaged people being driven deeper into poverty (Sokwanele Civic Action Support Group, 2005). This participated in understanding that space is interconnected to power structures and social structures. Ultimately taking a Foucauldian perspective that space is designed to accommodate power, as architecture often acts as a metaphor for social hierarchies and constructs. In other words, “space is fundamental in any form of communal life; space is fundamental in any exercise of power” (Foucault, 2004, p.252).

Bourdieu’s anthropological theories of capital (cultural and social), habitus and symbolic capital allowed me to question how architecture reflects the structure of society and how politics influences this. Analysing the

notions of capital triggered the possibilities of a hypothetical political capital. Which, as discussed in the dissertation, would participate in a similar way to social capital, where politics is seen as a field where parties are fighting for domination. Therefore, the more political capital one has the more legitimate and politically dominant it is. This is something that needs to be considered more when understanding the way power is enforced on society. In Bourdieu’s terms the government’s actions temporarily exhausted the local people’s capital. This is evident when studying the Operation as it was a bleak depiction of how architecture is used as one of the principal means of creating social and political order.

A criticism that social sustainability is too abstract to be practically implemented (Bostrom, 2012) was tackled by combining two maps. This created a methodology to investigate how social sustainability can be maintained or challenged through the spatial composition of the built environment. Focusing on indicating the physical and psychological features of space and determining whether they were sustainable or unsustainable. This resulted in an anthropological analysis of Hatcliffe Extension,

which proved that it is essential that the physical and psychological aspects of the built environment function simultaneously to ensure for social sustainability.

Analysing the works of Fabrizio Carola, in particular ‘the domes as a social model’, which resembles a successful cross-cultural solution where architects and society work symbiotically so culture and identity can thrive. A similar approach had been recommended for future designing in Zimbabwe that adopts a more humanistic approach. The combination of traditional materials and contemporary technologies (adopted from the west) offers a way of translating the intangible sense of belonging into the physical environment. This attitude of designing will protect and even consolidate better the distinct forms of capital. As a result, will be a stronger strategy as it embodies a full state of sustainability not just social. It promotes the preservation of tradition which helps to empower the primitive community and participate in the re-development of national identity.

The possibilities of architecture as a multi-disciplinary field is something that needs to be explored further. The mixed

methodological approach and techniques of forensic architecture stands as a good example. The process includes investigating patterns of evidence that is left on buildings in humanitarian crisis. This led to the investigating if it could this work in reverse. Analysing the destruction of communities to develop more socially sustainable designs based on the victims needs.

The promotion and appreciation for designs that are devoted to the creation of empowering spatial and social environments rather than heavily focusing on the design's aesthetic needs to be taken needs to be recognised. Therefore, this notion of social sustainability as an urban agenda towards social inclusion rather than social control needs to be enhanced.

Personal Conclusion

The argument arose from my personal experience of visiting the Carmignac Foundation exhibition of photojournalism, showing the works of Robin Hammond on his trip to Zimbabwe in 2005, the time of Operation Murambatsvina. I felt compelled as a Zimbabwean to understand the spatial consequences of controlling

power systems that I managed to escape.

Writing this dissertation forced me to recognise how little I knew about my own country. I failed to notice that colonialism is subconsciously still widely prevalent. I myself, represent a privileged western colonialism but aspire to the cultural capital of an authentic Zimbabwean. However, in reality my own values and beliefs have been tainted by western influence. I feel as though I have been robbed of a truly authentic Zimbabwean upbringing that I pride myself on. Which has made me question my own beliefs and habitus. Would they still be the same if Zimbabwe was never colonised? This conclusion also hopes that Zimbabwe represents an opportunity: despite being a country devastated from the top. Although, the long and silent suffering of the victims, the people have still managed to show resilience and determination.

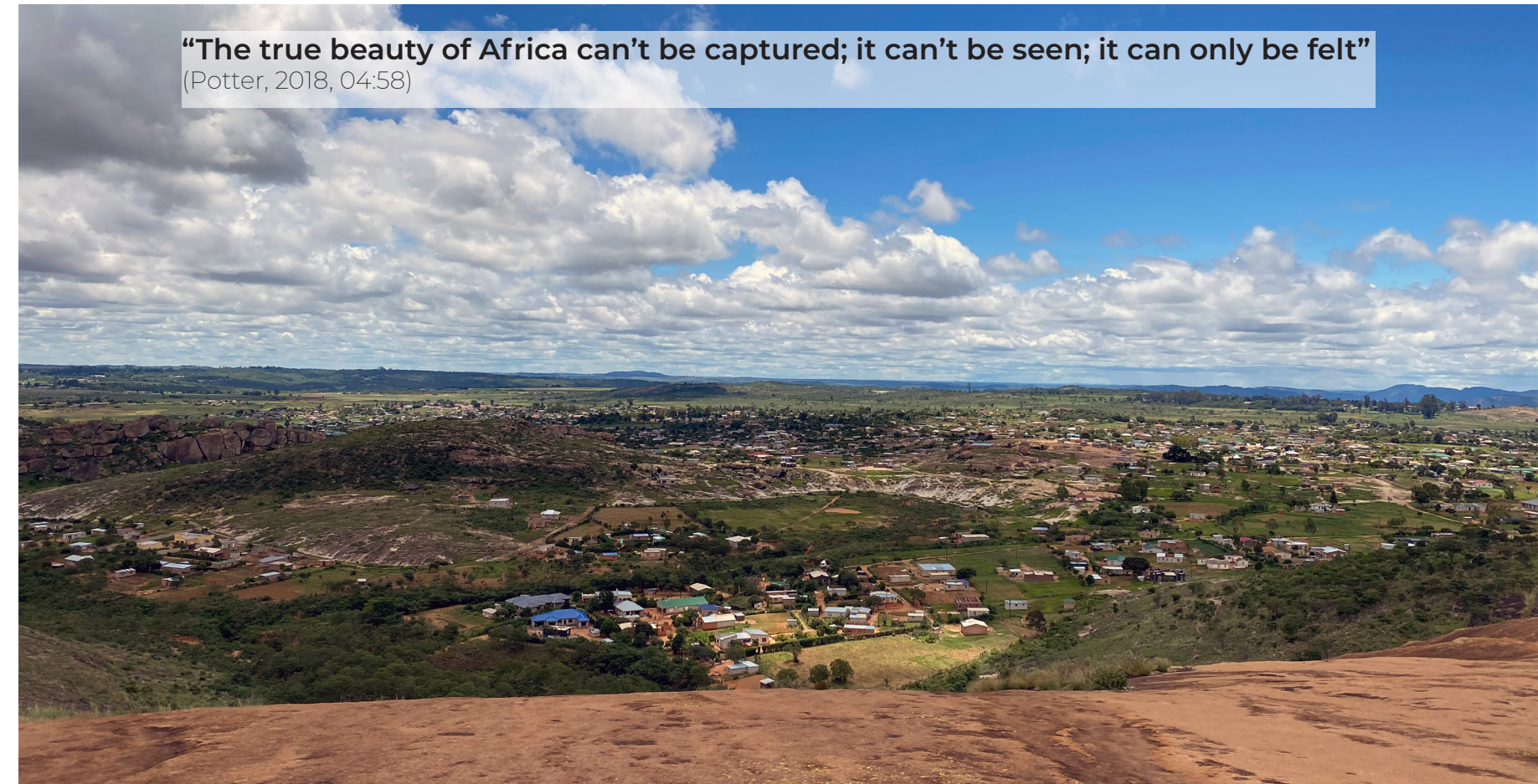


Fig24 The true beauty of Africa, Domboshawa (Dickens, M. 2020)

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Fig17 Dickens, N., (N.D). A more sustainable past

Fig18 Dickens, M., (2020). The first appearance of Hatcliffe Extension

Fig19 Dickens, M., (2020). However, from a closer perspective they have strong communities

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