Artigo

Structural Violence in Angola

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Abstract

This article aims to analyse the ongoing structural violence in Angola and outline the theoretical framework that are associated with it. Despite the end of the long civil war and the glimmer of peace, post-Cold War and political parties´ ideologies have deeply dived the country up to now. The MPLA government has used brutality against the opposition and incited physical and symbolic violence against the *Bakongo* and *Ovimbundu* ethnic groups. Indeed, the signing of the ceasefire in 2002 after the death of Jonas Savimbi did not bring true reconciliation in Angola. Political motivated crimes, the use of excessive force and brutality, kidnapping, mass killing and human rights abuse are common in Angola. Hence, the following guiding question arises: How can structural violence be fought in Angola? The theoretical research was based on Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic violence. Qualitative, bibliographic, documentary and empirical studies, with the collection of secondary data were carried out. The results can be fundamental in the search for solutions to promote reconciliation, tolerance and social cohesion through the peaceful resolution of conflicts for the progress of Angola and the humanity as well.

Keywords: Structural violence. Physical and symbolic violence. Human rights abuse in Angola.

Violência Estrutural em Angola

Resumo

Este artigo tem como objetivo analisar a violência estrutural em curso em Angola e delinear o quadro teórico que lhe está associado. Apesar do fim da longa guerra civil e do vislumbre da paz, as ideologias do pós-Guerra Fria e dos partidos políticos mergulharam profundamente o país até agora. O governo do MPLA tem praticado a brutalidade contra a oposição e incitado a violência física e simbólica contra as etnias Bakongo e Ovimbundu. De fato, a assinatura do cessar-fogo em 2002, após a morte de Jonas Savimbi, não trouxe uma verdadeira reconciliação em Angola. Crimes de motivação política, uso excessivo de força e brutalidade, sequestro, assassinato em massa e abuso dos direitos humanos são comuns em Angola. Assim, surge a seguinte questão norteadora: Como combater a violência estrutural em Angola? A pesquisa teórica baseou-se nos conceitos de violência simbólica, de Bourdieu. Foram realizados estudos qualitativos, bibliográficos, documentais e empíricos, com coleta de dados secundários. Os resultados podem ser fundamentais na procura de soluções que promovam a reconciliação, a tolerância e a coesão social através da resolução pacífica de conflitos para o progresso de Angola e da humanidade.

Palavras-Chave: Violência estrutural. Violência física e simbólica. Violação dos direitos humanos em Angola

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Structural violence manifests itself in situations where "human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations" (GALTUNG, 2009, p. 80). Chroback (2022) argues that:

> Structural violence can manifest in three ways: (1) as social injustice in the absence of any acts of violence in the narrow sense (for example, lack of access to the education system), (2) as an act of direct violence caused by an unjust social or institutional system (brutality of prison- ers, suicide) and (3) as a constant threat, inscribed somehow in the social system, of launching a reaction based on violence (docility of the discriminated minority to unjust law because of fear of possible reprisals). (CHROBACK, 2022, p. 175)

Based on the aforementioned authors, it is possible to state that structural violence is intrinsically linked to social injustice and the violation of social, fundamental and human rights. "Therefore, structural violence can be understood broadly as the intentional or unintentional violation or limitation of the rights of individuals or groups resulting from systemic conditions. These conditions might occur within institutional, cultural, and social systems" (CHROBACK, 2022, p. 175). It is known that Angola was the bastion of the cold war in Africa, where the United States of America (USA) and the former Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) were battling for the control of the territory and aiming to gain geopolitical and economic interests.

Whereas, few is known about the ideological consequences left by the two belligerents. Soon after the independence of Angola in 1975, the civil war started between, on one hand, the government led by the MPLA (*Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola*), and on the other, the UNITA (*Union for the Total Independence of Angola*) and the FNLA (*National Front for the Liberation of Angola*). In fact, the MPLA was supported by the USSR and both UNITA and FNLA were Americans allies. In addition, it is important to underline that the three Angolan main political parties were created on basis

of ethnic groups. In fact, the FNLA is dominated by the "*Bakongo*" ethnic group in the northern part of Angola; the MPLA by the "*Kimbundu*" ethnic group in the central part, and the UNITA by the "*Ovimbundu*" ethnic group in the southern part. After the failed independence process, the MPLA took power by force and proclaimed the independence, while on the ground troops and the population from the northern and southern Angola, belonging, respectively to FNLA and UNITA, were chased, killed and massacred.

The practice of physical and symbolic violence has been inculcated into the collective consciousness of the ruling class made up of the MPLA members in order to create ethnic hatred and eliminate opposition members. As a result, the inculcation of violence in social and mental structures has become structural violence up to now. Obviously, as highlited ahead, the Angolan State[1], governed by MPLA, forged and inculcated ideological and political lies in the Angolan collective consciousness, forging and instigating ethnic violence and slurs. One clear exemple is since 1975 Angolan refugees from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) ex-Zaïre are seen, considered and called "Zairenses, Langa, Come pessoas" or "Zaireans, Langa" (refering to the DRC orchestra Zaiko Langa Langa) and "*come pessoas*" which means the Angolan refugees from the DR Congo are cannibals.

On the other hand, Angolan people from the southern part, mostly belonging to UNITA are called "domestic workers, stupid people of Angola" while the reality is different. Due to this social perception by the ruling party members, serious atrocities and human rights violations have been committed in Angola during and after the war. In fact, the Angola society still suffer from strife and discord.. As a result, the signing of the ceasefire in 2002 did not bring true reconciliation in Angola. The problematic of the research is the growing violation of human rights against the opposition members. Thus, the object of study is the structural violence in Angola which is expressed through the following guiding question: How can structural violence be fought in Angola? The expected results can be fundamental in the search for solutions to promote reconciliation, tolerance and social cohesion through the

peaceful resolution of conflicts for the progress of Angola and the humanity as well.

Theoretical-methodological framework

Due to its qualitative[2] nature of the research, it was necessary to adopt the constructivist structuralism paradigm of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) and the interpretivist epistemology. By structuralism, Bourdieu (2004) points out that in different social fields, there are objective mechanisms and structures of the dominant classes that inculcate the vision of the world to the dominated classes, independent on their will and consciousness. Pierre Bourdieu understands that it is due to the individual genesis of patterns of perception, thought and action. These schemes certainly correspond to the social structures he calls "fields" or social classes.

However, on the individual scale, he calls them *habitus*: The incorporation of objective structures in each social agent. Faced with this critical observation, the author considers the dominated social agents are impotent and incapable of changing the order that dominates them in different social fields. Even more, Bourdieu (2004) recognizes that the cultural traits embedded in the depths of our individualities are old and immutable, that is, there is an arbitrary reproduction of practices, dispositions, beliefs, representations, images, social status and more.

Hence, based on this analysis, Pierre Bourdieu creates his paradigm "Constructivist Structuralism", that is, in the author's speech, individuals are born determined (social subjects) and are built to become (social agents), from objective and arbitrary structures of the dominant ruling class that inculcates into social and mental structures the *habitus* which legitimize symbolic violence and the domination of the dominated social agents, groups or categories through mechanical accords done by the dominated by accepting the inculcation of the cultural arbitrariness of the dominants. In relation the

article, this kind of paradigm required an interpretativist epistemology in order to nderstand our the ruling party, the MPLA has been dominating the opposition parties through the inculcation of objective and arbitrary mechanisms, structures and strategies since the independence of Angola.

Type of research and data collection techniques

Qualitative, bibliographical and documentary research were done, with secondary data collection in order to describe the perception, feelings and opinions of the victims of structural violence who, of course, constituted the sampling of the research from the secondary datasets. However, "the strictest objectivity passes necessarily by the most intrepid subjectivity" (ZONABEND, 1985, p. 37). Specifically, the author of this article is one of the victim and an eye-witness of the structural violence and his experience enriched the research from an empirical point of view. Regarding the objectives, the research was descriptive and explanatory, allowing to investigate in the literature the various types of scientific research and their set of procedures based on a logical reasoning on the object of study. Finally about the data collection techniques, books, articles, theses, dissertations, newspapers, websites, political magazines and jornals online were consulted.

Treatment, data analysis and presentation of results

The empirical (observation and secondary data collection) and theoretical research permitted the choice of the right database by highlighting keywords, filtering the results with the discursive analysis, exploring the key words and saving any important notes. And, the content analysis was based on the thematic. Finally, it was considered the ways in which the information were collected; theoretical and empirical datasets were analysed dialogically before being interpreted and then, the presentation and explanation of the results were done.

Ethnic groups based on political parties emergency

As it was already underlinded, one of the causes of civil war, genocide, atrocities and human right violations in Africa is the fact that most of the political parties were created on ethnicity bases. In his thesis "The Origins of the Angolan Civil War" Guimarães (1992) says:

> These major ethno-linguistic groups in Angola are generally seen to be the main streams from which emerged the nationalist movements. Marcum's important work on the Angolan movements constructed their political constituency and historical significance from their ethno-linguistic origins.11 In this approach, the MPLA was seen as primarily a Luanda-Mbundu movement in terms of its ethnic constitution, and as having established links with historical Mbundu resistance against colonialism. Similarly, UPA, and later the FNLA, established itself around the modern political issues of the Kongo kingdom. While UNITA was seen, first and foremost, as representing the interests of the Ovimbundu and the Lunda-Chokwe. But while they are undoubtedly significant in tracing the origins of each movement, the ethno-linguistic foundations of each movement need not be seen as having been overbearing in the political conflict that emerged. (GUIMARAES, 1992, p. 152-153)

On this perspective, the civil war in Angola, influenced by the superpowers became ethnic goups war between *Kimbundu* (MPLA) and the opposition *Bakongo* (FNLA) and UNITA (*Ovimbundu*) has been caused by the ethnic hatred incitation of the governing party since the eve of the independence of Angola.

> Angola is one of Africa's largest oil-producing countries located on the western coast of Southern Africa. It is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean to the west, Namibia to the south, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Republic of the Congo to the north, and Zambia to the east. It has a total surface area of 1,246,700 sq. km and a population of over 30 million people. Its ethnic composition is as follows, Ovimbundu 37%, Kimbundu 25%, Bakongo 13%, Mestiço (mixed European and native African) 2%, European 1%, and others 22%viii . Due to its colonial history, Portuguese is the official language (spoken by 71.2%), but it also has several other ethnic languages, Umbundu (23%), Kikongo (8.2%), Kimbundu (7.8%), Chokwe (2.1%), Luvale (1%), and other (3.6%). (MIGRANTS REFUGEES, 2022, p. 1)

The concept of a political party in africa is intrinsically linked to ethnicities. Soon after the separation of the African continent by the European colonialists, with no African present at the Berlin conference in 1878, tribes, ethnicities and clans were mixed without regard to pre-colonial geopolitical organization. However, the mixture and coexistence of different tribes, ethnicities and clans have created internal wars for territorial, political-traditional and economic dominance. Consequently, political parties influenced by the geopolitical format and pre-colonial governance were created on the basis of ethnicities. In clear terms, members of the Bakongo ethnic group, for example, could not accept being led by a president of the Ovimbundu or Kimbundu ethnic group, and vice versa.

The impact of the Cold War in Angola

Indeed, Angola was the bastion of the Cold War between the United States of America and the Soviet Union in Africa. The superpowers fought to control territories for geopolitical and economic control strategies. Of course, Schmidth (2013) argues that different nations and political forces within Africa had their own interests, which led them to seek international alliances and sometimes invite external intervention against domestic enemies. Foreign Intervention in Africa during the Cold War was a reflection of polarization of the super powers The USA and the former USSR. However, after the Cold War, African countries were abandoned and civil wars spread in the continent, such as in Zaïre (DR Congo), Mozambique, Nigeria and Angola.

Undoubtedly, the Angolan civil war was influenced by the Cold War and caused the ethnic hatred. As in many other african countries, political parties emerged from social groups and categories based on tribes, clans and ethnicities. This kind of political parties' formation has contributed to the collapse of many countries and is one of the causes of national and cross border structural violence, war and genocide between neighboring countries

and ethnic groups. One clear example is the Rwanda's genocide between the Hutu and Tutsi. In the same perspective, James (2017) considers that:

> […] agreed, based on the terms of the Alvor Agreement, to a tripartite government for the fledging nation. The liberation groups massed in Luanda, the capital, but […] ideological, and ethnic conflicts quickly arose. The MPLA, with the Soviet and Cuban assistance, drove FNLA and UNITA from the Capital and declared the People´s Republic of Angola on November 11, 1975 […] the Angolan civil war was the product of personal jealousy, contrasting ideologies, and ethnic animosities. Fifteen years later, despite the glimmer of peace signed in Lusaka, the causative elements remain unchanged. […] the three major Angolan liberation groups depended on one of the leading ethnic groups for supporters and, during the liberation struggle, as a solid geographical base of support. (JAMES, 2017, p. 7, 9, 42)

On the other hand, Schmidth (2013, p. 8) still argues that the fourth proposition suggests that during the period under consideration, foreign political and military intervention in Africa often did more harm than good. Actually, the presence of foreign troops, fighting for economic, ideological, geopolitical and military interests has impacted enormously Angola, after the failed independence, when the MPLA took power by military force and incited ethnic hatred among the populations. Undoubtedly, the MPLA took power by force and desrepecting the Alvor Agreement by committing serious human rights violations with murder, ethnic hatred and massacre of the Bakongo and Ovimbundu populations.

Regardless of that, it is important to underline that the super power countries USA and the former USSR used Angola as a Cold War battlle ground, as stated by Guimarães, in his thisis "The Origins of the Angolan Civil War International Politics and Domestic Political Conflict 1961-1976" defended at the London School of Economics and Political Science, at the University of London in 1992.

> The cold war was very much the context of the Angolan civil war, as it is for this study. The ideological and political competition between East and West was one of.the battlefields on 11 which the Angolan adversaries sought to fight each other. The post-war bipolar international system formed the background to other levels of conflict which also played a part in the Angolan civil war. [...] The

> Angolan civil war in the history of the cold war is related to the end of detente and the beginning of a major Soviet profile in Africa. In this way, the Angolan civil war became another cold war incident. What will be considered is the manner in which this competition was imported into the internal Angolan conflict. (GUIMARÃES, 1992, p. 11, 12, 25)

Due to the impact of the USA and the former Soviet Union during the Cold War in Angola, the post-Cold War era with the ongoing conflict and war in Angola was characterized by and as the continuity of structures of the Cold War, with violent dispute of power, capitalism (UNITA and FNLA) and communism (MPLA) ideologies framed the conflict and the return to war after the failed so called democratic elections in 1992. In conclusion, the events of 1975, after the failed "Alvor Agreement" on the independence were repeated in 1992, after the failed first so called democratic elections. In sequence, all the elections organized in Angola are characterized by serious human rights abuse.

Physical and symbolic structural violence in Angola

Soon after the proclamation of the independence by the MPLA, a genocide took place in Angola, where the "*Bakongo*" and "*Ovimbundu*" people, respectively, from the north (FNLA) and the south (UNITA) were persecuted, tortured, slaughtered and assassinated by the governing MPLA. The enmity and ethnic hatred have been ancored in the social and mental structure of Angola. Furthermore, in 1992, after the failed first general elections, the same atrocities were committed. Millions of people, among them, the soldiers and the opposition people were killed and and buried in mass graves. In addition to that a genocide was commited against *Bakongo* ethnic group in 1975, after the failure of the Alvor accord of 15 january, 1975.

The resulting platform for power transfer, the Alvor Accord of 15 January 1975, further entrenched their historical divisions. The Alvor Accord succeeded in setting the date for Angola's independence – 11 November 1975 – and defined the parameters for achieving this target. It recognized the three

liberation movements as "the sole legitimate representatives of the people of Angola" and stipulated that they and representatives from the departing colonial authorities form a transitional government to lead the colony to independence.

But the Alvor Agreement failed disastrously because it was founded upon the erroneous premise that the nationalist movements would be willing to work cooperatively for the benefit of the soon-to-be independent state. Instead, shortly after it was signed, the agreement and the transitional government it brought into being were rendered irrelevant because MPLA expelled FNLA and UNITA from Luanda as the country descended quickly and irretrievably into civil war. True to form, the nationalist leaders, placed personal and group interests – not national aspiration – at the top of their political calculations as MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA engaged in a zero-sum fratricidal struggle for supremacy, articulates Malaquias (2007). The failure of the Alvor independence process was caused by MPLA when the party armed troops and civilians to attack and kill millions of FNLA and UNITA members, uncluding civilians. This was the first Angola´s genocide in 1975.

Soon after the first democratic elections in 1992, MPLA killed politicians, soldiers and members of the opposition parties: Jeremias Chitunda (Vice-President of UNITA), Salupeto Pena (UNITA representative in the joint political-military commission), Alicerces Mago (UNITA Secretary-General), Eliseu Chimbili (head of the political organization's administrative services) among others politicians, militaries and civilians. In 1993, another genocide was again commited against *Bakongo* (FNLA) and *Ovimbundu* (UNITA) people in Luanda.

> Military, national police and civilians massacre civilians, mostly Bakongo, in several cities. Reports suggest this is a deliberate attempt to destroy the Bakongo (ethnic cleansing) who are referred to as "Zaireans" in Angola. The number of dead is thought to be in the thousands (most reports suggest between 4000-6000 dead). Some Ovimbundu were also killed. Following this massacre, known as "Bloody Friday," (UNHCR-MINORITY AT RISK PROJECT, 2004, p. 1)

Despite the so-called democratic elections, frauds, political kidnapping, police and military excessive use of force and brutality, post-elections killing is recurrent in Angola. For instance, during the 2022 general elections, utters Muchena (2022), "Amnesty International´s Director for East and Southern Africa: "Angola has been characterized by an increase in brutal crackdowns on human rights in recent years, including repression of any form of dissent". Nowadays, despite the cease fire of 2002, the governmentality of the MPLA has not changed. Ethnic slurs against the *Bakongo* and *Ovimbundu* people, forged in 1975 during the Russian and Cuban intervention are still being used in the Angolan society.

Slurs like: "*Bakongo* people are canibals", they are not Angolans and must go back to their country the DR Congo and the population from the south are called: "stupid domestic workers", *Ovimbundu* ethnic group. These facts sutsain, on one hand, that the signing of the ceasefire in 2002, after the death of Jonas Savimbi, did not bring true reconciliation in Angola and on the other, the structural physical and symbolic violence in the country keeps growing.

Furthermore, the MPLA has ruled the country by force since the independence as a ruling dominant party by imposing and insiting physical and symbolic violence against the *Bakongo* and *Ovimbundu* ethnic groups.

> When the Portuguese African empire fell and liberation was secured in 1974, the three groups – Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA), the Movimento Popular pela Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and UNITA- agreed, based on the terms of the Alvor Agreement, to a tripartite government for the fledging nation. The liberation groups massed in Luanda, the Capital, but personality, ideological, and ethnic conflicts quickly arose. The MPLA, with the Soviet and Cuban assistance, drove FNLA and UNITA from the Capital and declared the People´s Republic of Angola on November 11, 1975. (JAMES, 2017, p. 7)

The Capital Luanda was the natural base of support for MPLA, but other factors also played a decisive role, the portuguese armed forces continued to aid and abet MPLA activities, and MPLA had armed large numbers of civilians with weapons obtained from the Soviet Union and the Cuban troops. All non-MPLA Members belonging to Bakongo were chased,

killed and victims of ethnic slurs. This practice goes along with Bourdieu´s argument saying that symbolic violence serves to legitimize domination, it is the principle of effectiveness of all obedience.

In fact, ethnic slurs have been anchored in the Angolan colective consciousness and considered by many victims as legitimate and normal due to the imposition of the ideology, political and social objective structures of the members of the dominant political party the MPLA. Soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union, a so called democratic election was organized in Angola. Due to elections contest by the opposition led by the late Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi of UNITA, thousands of militaries, police officers, politicians and civilians were assassinated by the MPLA; as stated by Jornal de Angola:

The 'massacre', which both UNITA and the FNLA attribute to government forces, arose in the wake of the peace phase that followed the Bicesse agreements, signed by the parties on May 31, 1991, and would trigger a new escalation of violence in Angola, with the extension of the civil war until the death of Savimbi, in February 2002 - peace was officially declared on April 4, 2002 (JORNAL DE ANGOLA, 2019). Years later, on Friday January 23, 1993, the Angolan Government killed thousands of *Bakongo* people in Luanda and the date is still remembered and called "Sexta feira sangreta" -the bloody Friday-, says Quino (2016). In the same year, on January 5th, 1993, more than 600 people (250 in Namibe and 360 in Tombwa) were killed by the MPLA Government for political motivations, declares VOA Angola (2015). In short, the mass killing of the opposition has started since the independence of the country.

In addition to that, symbolic violence envolving ethnic slurs against *Bakongo* and *Ovimbundu* population is common in Angola. The French sociologist, still agues that, symbolic violence is [...] a soft, insensitive violence, invisible to its own victims, which is exercised essentially through the purely symbolic means of communication and knowledge, or, more precisely, of ignorance, recognition or, ultimately, of feeling. This

extraordinarily ordinary social relationship also offers a unique opportunity to grasp the logic of domination, exercised in the name of a symbolic principle known and recognized by both the dominant and the dominated, a language (or a way of speaking), a way of life. (or a way of thinking, speaking, or acting). On this perspective, MPLA has governed the country by ancoring fear among the opposition, and the dominated population (*Bakongo* and *Ovimbundu*) has developped along these years fear, submission and sentiment of inferiority in relation to the dominant ethnic group (*Kimbundu*).

In other words, the collective consciousness, the social and the mental structures of the Angolan society have been built upon the Cold War, the civil war, the ethnic hatred behavior. This is what Bourdieu (1985) calls *habitus* - a structure structured which serves a structuring structure. Besides, on the eve of the independence in 1975, ethnic cleansing, physical and symbolic violence were committed simultaneously by the Angolan government for almost fifty years. Ethnic conflict represents one of the major destabilizing forces in politics around the world. Linguistics, religious, cultural or racial differences divide populations in most of world´s states, says Kurian (1990, p. 43-44). In Angola, after the first national elections in 1992 […] UNITA's rejection of the results and its return to war provoked countermeasures: waves of 'ethnic cleansing' of *Ovimbundu* and *Bakongo* broke out in several cities.

It is important to underline that while the MPLA government has concentrated on remaining in power, the social, economic, cultural, educational and health conditions of the population have been worsening. According to the World Health Organization -WHO (2017), Angola is a country vulnerable to outbreaks, like yellow fever, malaria, cholera, Zika; registering events that overload the health services and compromise the life and health of their citizens. Communicable diseases account for more than 50% of deaths recorded within the population. On the other hand, UNICEF (2021) states that Angola is ranked 148 out of 189 countries in the Human Development Index. The resulting impact on Angolan children's health,

development, and safety threatens the progress made in child survival and sustainable development over the past several decades. It is putting Angolan children's lives at risk today and threatens future generations.

In addition to that, violence against girls and child marriage in Angola continue to represent major child protection Country Office Annual Report 2021 Angola - 6810 Page 1 of 8 Page 1 of 8 concerns, with almost one in every four girls between 15 and 18 years old having suffered physical or sexual violence; almost one in every three girls are married (or in a union) before the age of 18, and one in every ten before their 15th birthday (UNICEF, 2021). In fact, it is possible to say that the leading party MPLA has influenced negatively the social construction of Angola by dividing the country on basis of former Cold War belligerents: The USA (capitalism) and the former USSR (communism) and the ethnic groups division. Thus, ethnic hatred, assassinations, kidnapping and politically motivated violence amongst the population, mostly against women, have been part of the social construction of the Angolan society.

Symbolic Violence, *Habitus* and Cultural Capital and domination in Pierre Bourdieu

The concepts developped by Pierre Bourdieu are the kernel of his theory of domination. Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) consider that symbolic violence aims to perpetuate domination between social categories based on relations of force and arbitrary power, or that is, through the imposition and inculcation of a cultural arbitrary. Bourdieu (1992) argues that symbolic violence is the form of power that manages to impose meanings as legitimate and natural by hiding the relations of power, the cultural arbitrary and domination that underlie them, linked to moral constraint. It is a form of power that dispenses with physical constraint to impose practices or representations. It allows to legitimize a social order and hides the social

arbitrary order making it appear normal, natural, legitimate and as the only possible social order.

Furthermore, symbolic violence is a gentle violence1imperceptible and invisible even to its victims exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition (more precisely, misrecognition), recognition, or even feeling (BOURDIEU, 2007, p. 1-2). The author still argues that it is a particularity of domination that can happen if only granted to the dominants through unconscious agreements of the dominated or the victims of domination. It is "[…] as if, being the product of an unconscious adjustment to the probabilities associated with an objective structure of domination, the submissive dispositions [...] (BOURDIEU, 2007, p. 37).

The French sociologist still argues that: "[…] the foundation of symbolic violence lies not in mystified consciousnesses that only need to be enlightened but in dispositions attuned to the structure of domination of which they are the product, the relation of complicity that the victims of symbolic domination grant to the dominant can only be broken through a radical transformation of the social conditions of production of the dispositions that lead the dominated to take the point of view of the dominant on the dominant and on themselves. Symbolic violence is exercised only through an act of knowledge and practical recognition which takes place below the level of the consciousness and will and which gives all its manifestations injunctions, suggestions, seduction, threats, reproaches, orders or calls to order - their 'hypnotic power' (BOURDIEU, 2007, p. 41-42).

On the other hand, Landry (2006, p. 88) states that "Symbolic violence generates lasting effects" While Bourdieu (2000) states that symbolic violence serves to legitimize symbolic violence and domination, it is the principle of effectiveness of all obedience. domination takes place through language or signs based on the balance of power and seems natural and legitimate from the inculcation of objective structures and the incorporation of these structures in social agents. This process shapes and structures the culture of both the dominant and the dominated. Therefore, within the concept of symbolic violence, Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) and Bourdieu (2014)

address the concepts and notions of (i) State; (ii) unconscious agreements and legitimization of symbolic violence and domination; (iii) cultural capital; and (iv) *habitus*.

Regarding the concept of State, Bourdieu (2014) says that "I made an addition to the famous definition of Max Weber, who defined the state [as the] 'monopoly of legitimate violence', which I corrected by adding 'monopoly of legitimate physical and symbolic violence', inasmuch as the monopoly of symbolic violence is the condition for possession of the exercise of the monopoly of physical violence itself (BOURDIEU, 2014, p. 3-4). By considering the State as the monopoly of physical and symbolic violence, Bourdieu shows how power works in both cases: physical and symbolic. The perception of Bourdieu goes along with the Angolan State with the structural violence against the opposition parties and members of the Bakongo and Ovimbundu ethnic groups.

With regard to the unconscious agreements and the legitimization of symbolic violence and domination made by the dominated, Bourdieu (2014) says that: symbolic violence, which is exercised thanks to the perfect unconsciousness of those on whom it exercises is a result of a coercion that rest on unconscious agreements between objective structures and mental structures, that compel the dominated to be accomplices of their own domination. This is the magic of symbolic power when it operates in social and mental structures and possibly alianate the dominated by accepting the *habitus* of the dominant groups.

As for the cultural capital, Silva (1995, p. 124) considers that it "is more than a class subculture; it is taken as a resource of power that equals and stands out – in the double sense of separating and having a special relevance". Therefore, Bourdieu (1985) establishes a link between the cultural capital and social reproduction insofar as the transmission of cultural capital is a extremely efficient factor of reproduction of the social classes and the establishment of the domination through social, cultural and political arbitrary. In other words, the cultural arbitrary perpetuate the social and

cultural reproduction, but also the domination of the opposition parties and members in Angola.

About the concept of *Habitus*, Bourdieu (2004, p. 98) considers the *habitus* "as a system of dispositions to practice, is an objective basis for regular conduct, therefore, for the regularity of conduct […] is because the *habitus* makes the agents who possess it behave in a different way. "[…] By constructivism, I mean that there is, on the one hand, a social genesis of the schemes of perception, thought and action that are constitutive of what I call *habitus* […]. Therefore, the State is given the power and monopoly of structuring and construction of *habitus* that are structuring structures of society. In the context of this article, the *habitus* tructured by the MPLA serve to pratice symbolic violence and perpetuate the domination.

Finally, to speak of domination or symbolic violence is to say that, except in the case of a subversive revolt leading to inversion of the categories of perception and appreciation, the dominated tend to adopt the dominant point of view on themselves (BOURDIEU, 2007, p. 119). "Symbolic violence is instituted through the adherence that the dominated cannot fail to grant to the dominant (and therefore to the domination) […] being no more than the embodied form of the relation of domination, cause that relation to appear as natural (BOURDIEU, 2007, p. 35). This can be verified in Angola where most of Bakongo and Ovimbundu populations tend to naturalize ethnic slurs and legitimate the MPLA domination by fear of retaliation.

Conclusion

The MPLA, after gaining independence by military force with the foreign military (Cuba, URSS, Congo Brazzaville, Namibia etc.) intervention in Angola, has governed the country by dividing the population and inciting structural violence. The ruling party governmentality had fueled the three decades civil war and has taught ethnic hatred which has resulted to social inequality based on ethnic groups. The three main political parties and its

members live like enemies and not opponents; this enmity is a peculiarity of the former belligerents: The USA and the former USSR. Therefore, structural violence in Angola is expressed on one hand by the imposition of rules, laws and social structures in favor of the governing or ruling party (MPLA)and its members, and on the other hand, by the use of physical force, brutality and symbolic violence against the opposition.

Since the independence of Angola, the country has faced an unprecedented crackdown on human rights, including political motivated killings, social injustice, social discrimination and humiliation based on origin and ethnicities, arbitrary arrests on daily basis done by the ruling party (MPLA). Generally, the *Bakongo* and *Ovimbundu* ethnic groups are the victims. However, the United Nations and all the Human Rights International organizations should consider this human rights violation and prevent further consequences in Angola. But also, the Angolan governing party has the responsibility to create a platform of debate in order to reconcile and reconstruct the country by organizing, for example, the 'national Conference".

All in all, the analysis of the secondary data on the basis of the bibliographic contents indicates that the MPLA government practice the structural violence against members of the opposition. In other words, physical and ethnic slurs are common and there is no social cohesion in Angola, despite the signing of peace agreement soon after the death of the late warlord Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi. The results suggest that a *'National Conference'* or a *'Truth and Reconciliation Committee'* be organized in Angola, in the light of South Africa in order to bring to light all the atrocities and search for peaceful solutions and reconcile the Angolan populations for the progress not only of their country but for the progress of the humanity as well.

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Notas

1 The state has the ability to impose in a universal fashion, on the scale of a certain territorial foundation, principles of vision and division, symbolic forms, principles of classification, what I often call a nomos - taking up the etymology proposed by Benveniste, in which nomos comes from nemo, 'share', 'divide', 'partition', by a kind of *diakrisis*, as the Greeks said, meaning 'original division1. (BOURDIEU, 2014, p. 166).

2 The strength of qualitative research is its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. It provides information about the "human" side of an issue – that is, the often-contradictory behaviors, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships of individuals. Qualitative methods are also effective in identifying intangible factors, such as social norms, socioeconomic status, gender roles, ethnicity, and religion, whose role in the research issue may not be readily apparent. (MACK Et al., p. 1-2)