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**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE**  
**DEPARTMENT OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION**  
**CONFLICT RESOLUTION PROGRAM**  
**MASTER’S THESIS**

**EFFECTS OF YOUTH MARGINALIZATION IN THE  
DECISION MAKING AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION  
PROCESSES. THE CASE OF ZIMBABWE.**

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**İZMİR - 2019**

## THESIS APPROVAL PAGE



## **DECLARATION**

I Kudakwashe Praise Mutukura, declare that this MA Conflict Resolution thesis is a work of my own. It is submitted at Dokuz Eylul University, Izmir, in the Republic of Turkey in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Master's degree in Conflict Resolution. It has not been submitted elsewhere before for any degree related or examination in any other university.



.....  
Kudakwashe Praise Mutukura  
09 May 2019

**ABSTRACT**  
**Master's Thesis**  
**Effects of Youth Marginalization In The Decision Making And Policy**  
**Implementation Processes: The Case Of Zimbabwe**  
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**Graduate School Of Social Science**  
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**Conflict Resolution Program**  
**Master's Thesis**

The study examined the effects of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process in Zimbabwe. When youths (aged between 18 and 35) are marginalised within a given society, the resultant effects can be attributed to relative deprivation according to Ted Gurr's Relative Deprivation Theory (1970). Relative deprivation begins as thin primary fissure whose turbulent effects cause intrastate conflicts in the contemporary world. In the case of Zimbabwe, youth exclusion simultaneously worsened by the growing adverse social, economic and political environment is a subject of conflict speculation. Article 20 of Zimbabwe Constitution (2013) mandates the government to provide for the youth, however government's inability yet to fulfil this provision has gradually turned out to be the source of conflict given the youth bulge on the population demographic structure. The study was conducted using qualitative research techniques to investigate on the preventive and resolution mechanisms in the context of violent and destructive conflict situation involving youths in Zimbabwe. The underlying argument of this study emphasizes on government's constitutional mandate and sovereign responsibility to protect and provide socially, economically and politically for all its citizens, justly and equally regardless of age, gender, race, religion or political affiliation among others. The research outcome

**emphasized on making available the literature that spearhead for the adoption of holistic formulas of conflict resolution that chiefly includes “negotiation” and “mediation” methods. These two approaches are apt and appropriate to deliver the much needed perennial solutions in threatening circumstances where there is disputed elections, loss of life, and the continued economic collapse.**

**Keywords; Marginalization, Youths, Decision Making, Policy Implementation, And Dialogue.**



## **ÖZET**

### **Yüksek Lisans Tezi**

#### **Gençliğin Marjinalleşmesinin Karar Verme ve Politika Yapma Süreçlerine**

#### **Etkileri: Zimbabwe Örneği.**

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**Anlaşmazlık Çözümü Programı**

Bu çalışmada, gençliğin marjinalleştirilmesinin Zimbabwe'deki karar alma ve politika uygulama sürecindeki etkileri incelenmiştir. Ted Gurr'ın Göreceli Yoksunluk Teorisi'ne (1970) göre gençler (18-35 yaş aralığı) belirli bir toplumda marjinalleştirildiğinde, ortaya çıkan etkiler göreceli yoksunluğa işaret etmektedir. Küçük sorunlar/çatışmalarla başlayan göreceli yoksunluk, büyük sorunlar yaratan etkileri nedeniyle günümüz dünyasında devlet içi çatışmalara neden olmaktadır. Zimbabwe örneğinde gençliğin dışlanması, olumsuz sosyal, ekonomik ve politik ortam ile eş zamanlı olarak daha da kötüleşmekte, bu da kurgusal çatışmanın alanına girmektedir. Zimbabwe Anayasası'nın (2013) 20. Maddesi hükümete gençlerin ihtiyaçlarını sağlamayı zorunlu kılmaktadır. Ancak hükümetin henüz bu hükmü uygulamamış olması, genç nüfusun toplam nüfus oranında gözlenen yüksekliğine dayalı olarak ortaya çıkan çatışmaların giderek artmasına sebep olmaktadır. Çalışma Zimbabwe'deki gençlerin içinde bulunduğu, şiddete dayanan ve yıkıcı sonuçları olan çatışma durumları için önleyici ve çözüm getiren mekanizmaları araştırmak üzere nitel araştırma teknikleri kullanılarak yürütülmüştür.

Bu çalışmanın temel argümanı, hükümetin yaş, cinsiyet, din ve politik aidiyetleri her ne olursa olsun tüm vatandaşları adil ve eşit bir şekilde korumasının; sosyal, ekonomik ve politik imkanlarını tüm vatandaşları için

sağlamasının anayasal yetkisi ve egemen sorumluluđu olduğunu vurgulamaktır. Araştırmanın çıktısı olarak, öncelikle “müzakere” ve “arabuluculuk” yöntemlerini içeren bütüncül çatışma çözüm formüllerini benimseyen literatürün kullanılması ihtiyacı bulunmaktadır. Bu iki yaklaşım, tartışmalı seçimlerin yapıldığı, can kaybının ve süregelen ekonomik çöküşün yaşandığı endişe verici koşullarda ihtiyaç duyulan uzun ömürlü çözümleri sunmak için yerinde ve uygundur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler; Marjinalleştirme, Gençler, Karar Verme, Politika Uygulamaları Ve Diyalog.**

**EFFECTS OF YOUTH MARGINALIZATION IN THE DECISION MAKING  
AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION PROCESSES: THE CASE OF ZIMBABWE**

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## **ABBREVIATION**

<b>AIDS</b>	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
<b>AIPPA</b>	Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
<b>CIZC</b>	Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition
<b>CLD</b>	Causal Loop Diagram
<b>DRC</b>	Democratic Republic of Congo
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>FTLRP</b>	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
<b>LGBTQI</b>	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and Intersexual
<b>LPC</b>	Local Peace Councils
<b>MMPZ</b>	Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe
<b>NAYO</b>	National Association of Youth Organization
<b>NPRC</b>	National Peace and Reconciliation Commission
<b>NYS</b>	National Youth Service
<b>OECD</b>	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
<b>POSA</b>	Public Order and Security Act
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
<b>YICZ</b>	Youth Investment Case Zimbabwe
<b>ZANU PF</b>	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
<b>ZANLA</b>	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
<b>ZAPU</b>	Zimbabwe African People's Union
<b>ZIDERA</b>	Zimbabwe Economic and Recovery Act
<b>ZHRC</b>	Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission
<b>ZIMASSET</b>	Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation
<b>ZIPRA</b>	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army
<b>ZPM</b>	Zimbabwe People's Militia

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## INTRODUCTION

The study focused on the socio-economic and political conflicts between the State and the body of Youths in Zimbabwe (individual activists, civic societies, the collective voice of the youths, political parties). Article 20 of the Republic of Zimbabwe's Constitution mandates the State to provide basic services to the youths, importantly these include decision making in governance and inclusion in the policy implementation towards youth empowerment. However, with the prevailing adverse social, economic and political conditions, the government has not done enough to fulfil its constitutional mandate for the past 18 years. Youths are Zimbabwe's majority. As a result, calamities were categorically precipitated into the nation towards human security issues; political insecurity, economic insecurity, and social insecurity. The marginalized age group presents a potential source of instability and violent conflicts to the nation.

The recent resolution 2419 (2018) inaugurated by the United Nations Security Council calls for the increasing role of Youth in negotiation, implementation of peace agreements. The marginalization of youth from equal and full participation in the policy-making process and decision-making levels in the African, Asian and OECD countries remains unabated. Despite the recognized participative role they can play in various processes such as mediation, disarmament, counter-terrorism, and interlinked community violence reduction programmes, elections, entrepreneurship, and many others. Therefore, this study identifies conflict resolution mechanisms that offer a holistic approach in order to harness the possible negative outcomes of the inter-group conflicts that inevitably escalate due to the marginalization of youth in the decision making and policy implementation with reference to the case of Zimbabwe.

The aims and objectives of this study are to evaluate the effects of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process in Zimbabwe; to critically assess the major contributions to the literature on youth marginalisation in socio-economic and political perspectives since the 21st century and draws conclusion on the significance of the studies

-emphasizing conflict resolution mechanisms; to question and reposition some of the existing socio-economic and political controversies concerning the role of youth; and to institute the incompatibilities that were creating conflict between the government and youth in Zimbabwe since 2000. Furthermore, the study aims to answer the following questions; what are the legal framework and institutional arrangements dominating government and youth discourse in Zimbabwe?; how do youth in day to day operations benefit from the implementation of official policies?; how do various actors in civil society and the government also, perceive and evaluate the role of youth in Zimbabwean society?; how can conflict resolution mechanisms be employed to manage the effects of the resultant socio-economic and political conflicts?

The study employed the Relative Deprivation Theory to examine the marginalization of youth in the decision making and policy implementation process. In order to establish the consequential effects of the tension between the actual state of marginalization of youth, and what they would like have achieved through government initiatives. A perceived discrepancy between value expectations and value capabilities (Gurr, 1970). The evidence that emerged through the research was used either to confirm or disconfirm the theory prepositions. A qualitative research method was used to gather data through the use of case study. Importantly, case study was used to demonstrate a causal argument about how general social forces shape and produce results in particular settings. The research made substantial contribution to the need for improved strategies for sustainable participation of youth to the on-going initiatives to promote peace, security and development across the region of Africa. The analysis and resolution of intrastate social conflicts research examined the structural roots of social conflict divisions and social inequalities, and strategies for community building and promoting social justice. The following chapters; Chapter 1 examined the background and justification of the problem, Chapter 2 dealt with the literature review and the theoretical framework of the study, Chapter 3 presented the research methodology applied, Chapter 4 provided the data presentation, and data analysis, and lastly Chapter 5 makes strategic recommendations embodied in the final conclusions.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

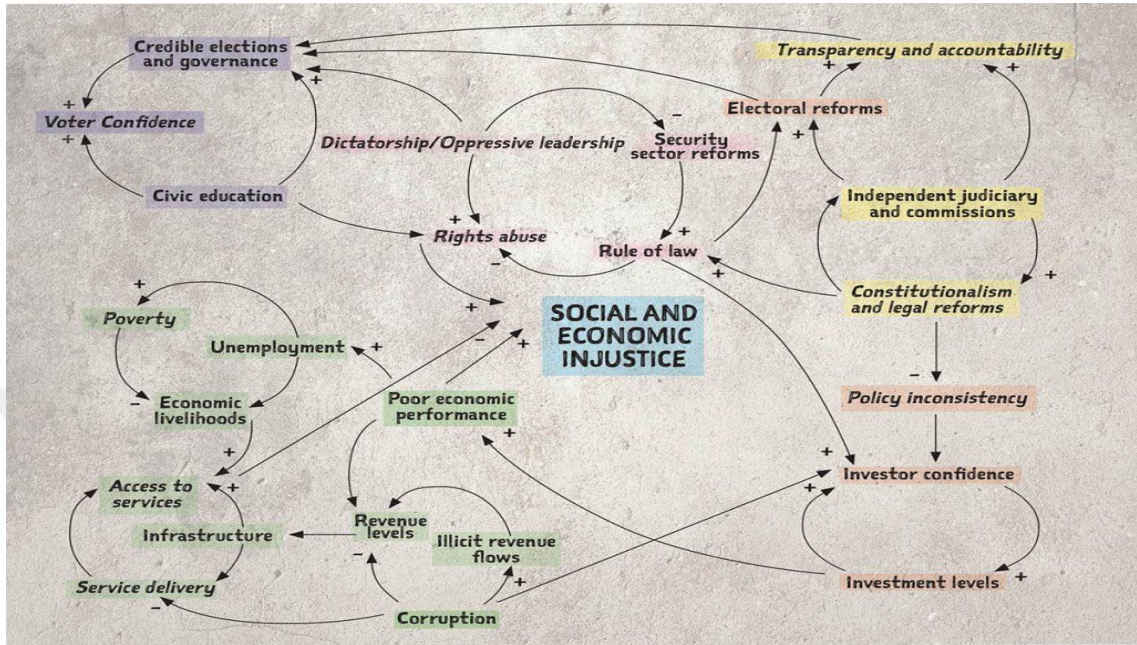
#### **1.1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

Soon after the 1980 independence that gave birth to the Republic of Zimbabwe, conflicts that have been experienced in Zimbabwe can be classified as interstate conflicts. Intergenerational tensions and rivalries between youth and elders seem to gain momentum as the time erodes the days. The relationship between these two generations has often been marked by one generation using the next generation for political mileage and expediency (Forti and Maina, 2012). Referred to as marginalization here, the young generation is rendered powerless and kept in the service of their respective elders. In the case of Zimbabwe, for almost forty years the youth have been at the grassroots playing politics at the receiving end of politics. This has made them ideal to create a concrete hegemony for the elders who dominated the state, political parties and other instruments of power. It is therefore very important to look into the effects of youth marginalization in the decision-making and policy implementation process in Zimbabwe before a great catastrophe rent upon this southern African country.

The current adverse socio-economic and political situation in Zimbabwe is a safe haven for youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process. Since 1980 when Zimbabwe got its independence, a series of conflicts have rented over the nation. To determine and consider fairly and fully youth's circumstances, it is important to begin by examining the causes of the complex web of socio-political and economic challenges. The diagram below termed the Causal Loop Diagram (CLD) was developed by Hillary Musarurwa (2016) and it helps to appropriately unpack Zimbabwe's conflict to date.



**Figure 1: The Causal Loop Diagram (CLP)**



Musarurwa, H. J. (2016) *The Rise of Youth Activism and Non-violent Action in Addressing Zimbabwe's Crisis*, *Conflict Trends* 2016/3, Accord.

According to the CLP clarifies the complexities that had marred and characterized Zimbabwe's nation-state (Musarurwa, 2016). These socioeconomic and political challenges include corruption, poverty, poor service delivery, unemployment, poor economic performance, policy inconsistency, lack of independence of the judiciary, lack of rule of law, human rights abuse, dictatorship, reduced voter confidence, and electoral credibility. Embedded against such a background, the country could easily plunge into structural and cultural violence that led to impaired human growth and development (Galtung, 1969). It can therefore be asserted that marginalization and cultural violence are an underlying impediment that usually follow government's failure to act or deliver on ensuring that its citizens live good lives in all spheres as per constitutional provisions.

Structural violence in Zimbabwe went a long way grounding for youth marginalization. It is strongly argued that the concept of structural violence to imply the policies and statutes that are put in place in a country whose intentions were to do good but however turn out to bring harm and disaster to citizens (Musarurwa, 2016). In

addition, reference can also be made to the actions related to the enforcement of such policies to the extent of infringing of human rights of citizens. Structural violence is thus evident in public institutions such as the legal system, education, health and many other public empowerment initiatives inaugurated by the government. Policies worth mentioning include the Land reform policy, Indigenisation policy, and ZIMASSET policy (NB: these policies shall be dealt with in the next chapter in full detail). Therefore the effects of structural violence are the prime factors contributing to the marginalization of youth as an age group in the midst of the ‘youth bulge’ on the population demography.

For several years there has been policy inconsistency and discord, as policies ended up addressing elitist interests and subject to political expediency. An empirical example can be drawn from the perpetual sense of entitlement mentality exhibited by the ruling party ZANU PF. Having been in power for more than 38 years, the ruling party members seem to have a right to access a number of resources such as land, loans, farming equipment or food hand-outs, since they are distributed within their permission (Musarurwa, 2016). This further alienated and promoted a retributive stance by those who fall within the marginalized circles. Apparently, failure to address these loops of marginalization harbour resentment, anger, and vengeance that can easily trigger a mobocracy<sup>1</sup>. Considering the past three decades of subjective political culture, structural violence is a bone for negative peace punctuated by harsh and unexpressed anger.

Youth position and predicament in Zimbabwe has been confronted by a strong ‘adult idealism’. According to Musarurwa, youth are seen to be lacking knowledge and experience, and they are thus marginalized from the broad political discourse through various tactics such as violence in order to thwart youth participation. The advent of the internet in the 21st century has leveraged efforts of innovative young activists and peace builders in confronting the major societal impediments. However such activities could be done with maximum caution under the former regime of Robert Mugabe that ended in November 2017. According to Musarurwa, politicians in Zimbabwe prefer to provide

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<sup>1</sup> Mobocracy refers to the rule or domination by the masses (oxforddictionaries.com).

limited political space to the youth and restrict them to their youth league formation (Musarurwa, 2016). Such a deliberate act of marginalization in political inclusions leaves them ready for manipulation by the predatory rich elites that own the means of production. Therefore as in the words of (Ackerman, et al., 1994), the resultant outcome is the failure of the state representatives to convince the youth to participate on board due to social inequalities.

For clarity sake regards to the theory, application and expected results of the study, this paper shall give a brief background of the study area. These are a) population demographic structure, b) socio-economic, c) and political factors identified with the case of Zimbabwe.

#### **1.1.1. Population demographic structure.**

Based on the final results of the 2012 Population Census, youths constitute the majority of entire Zimbabwe's population. It was projected to rise from 55% in 2012 to 64% in 2032. The total population has almost doubled in three decades, from 7.5 million in 1980 to 13.1 million in 2012. Zimbabwe's population is projected to grow from 13.1 million in 2012 to 19.3 million in 2032 in the medium scenario (implying a growing majority of youth population). The influence of the old age group that fought for the liberation war, and assumed leadership to defend the country's sovereignty remains dominant and very much given respect.

These projections have implications that need to be clarified in simple terms. A growing population with an increased number of youths implies an increased number of households. Like in any continent, policymakers should be prepared to face pressure on land, housing, schooling, health services, food security, greenhouse emissions, and energy needs. According to ZimStat (2015), in the absence of leadership to manage this demographic transition, the country faces challenges which include high rates of early marriage, high teenage pregnancy, high maternal mortality especially among girls, increase in school drop-outs, unemployment opportunities among others just to mention but a few. Interesting is the fact that the government failed to copy up with this transition

almost two decades ago. And these symptoms are being evident presently. This failure to manage the demographic transition has guaranteed lags in the economy as well increased the risk of social and political turbulence as to be briefly clarified.

### **1.1.2. Socio-economic factors.**

Zimbabwe stands as a victim of its successful Education for All (EFA) policy that was inaugurated in 1980 when it got its independence. The country now proudly stands as the most literate country in Africa. This has given rise to the educated youth unemployment constituting the 90% national unemployment rate. In the year 2000, a fast-track Land Reform Policy was inaugurated aimed at land redistribution to the elites and few war veterans and benefited not the majority masses. In 2008, a Youth Indigenisation Policy was put in place with the intention to empower the youth into the mainstream economy; however, it yielded to the looting of resources and rampant corruption. The socio-economic situation can be likened to a pyramid in nature which may appear as capitalistic.

Due to brain drain the unemployed educated youth, the government loosed because of lack of return on investment to education in the form of taxes and development. Over and above, effects of the indigenization and economic empower have seen the country experiencing great depression. In the words of Bhebhe et al (2015), the review established that;

“Government was most affected by the educated youth unemployment scourge because with it comes governance problems such as crime and social ills which lead to investing additional resources to control and match with high alertness in case of a possibility of social unrest associated with an idle population (Bhebhe et al, 2015).”

### **1.1.3. Political Factors**

Regardless of the fact that youth have enormous potential and inclination as the activists, innovators, leaders, and future workforce. Current statistics on youth population boom, with reference to Africa, points to the increased insecurity, instability, and mass migration.

“Africa is a young continent. Nearly 60% of African is under the age of 25. Compared to 27% of Europeans. The median age across Africa is 18. Compared to 35% in North America or 47% in Japan” (Goalkeepers Data Report, 2018).

Therefore the closing out of political space for youth by current leaders triggers the modus operandi of youth deprivation socio-economically and render them susceptible to exploitation and control by the elites that access and control the means of production within the political hierarchy and thereby end up purchasing the energy of the youth.

## **1.2. RELATIVE DEPRIVATION MODEL.**

Relative deprivation is the tension between your actual state, and what you feel you should be able to achieve; a “perceived discrepancy between value expectations and value capabilities” (Gurr, 1970). The failure of political systems to consistently meet people’s social and material expectations can translate into a negative mood that instigates political action. Thus a violent faction, combined with a long period of rising reaction to an abrupt downturn. In the end, a balance of coercion between the government and the dissident groups determines the nature of violence (Gurr, 1970). The intensity and scope of relative deprivation strongly determine the potential for collective violence. According to Gurr (1970), deprivation occurs when value expectations exceed one’s value capabilities, in this case, values included welfare, security, self-actualization among others just to mention but a few.

Relative deprivation can happen in three ways: (1) detrimental deprivation, (2) aspirational deprivation and (3) progressive deprivation. Detrimental deprivation is value expectations remain constant while capabilities fall (Gurr, 1970:47) e.g. perhaps

immigrants are taking over unskilled jobs, lowering conditions for unskilled labour; (2) Aspirational deprivation value expectations rise while capabilities remain the same (Gurr, 1970:51) e.g. exposure to a better way of life could raise what you expect for yourself, even though you cannot get it now); (3) Progressive deprivation expectations grow and capabilities do to, but capabilities either don't keep up or start to fall (Gurr, 1970:53). Modernization, depression in a growing country, or other change could cause this. In respect to this model, the study will deliberate on its tenants, with the aid of empirical information and evidence from Zimbabwe in order to derive a conclusion on the effects of youth marginalization in decision making and policy implementation.

In addition, few scholars (Schellenberg, 1996) have extensively written on systematic theory about age differences. The fundamental parts of the social structure have given rise to recognize privileges that are often correlated with one's age level. Due to the need to recognize age and gender difference in some societies tend to attach meanings to these basic biological differences. Age differences have however not formed strong cleavage as has been the fact with religion, race, nationality, or gender. Instead, this is so because one's own age status is temporary. It is difficult for one to change age status, hence the existing system may however be amended in order to cater for the needs and interest of the youth generation. Relative deprivation is the quest for sound economic and political equality on the part of the masses that lack it, and the desire of the oligarchs for greater inequality than they have which they have which causes a revolution (Weldon, 1905: 338). Hoselitz and Willner, (1962: 363) has to say, 'the deprived individual feels impelled to remedy by whatever means are available, the material and psychic frustrations produce him deprivation acts as catalyst for revolution action.'

#### **1.4. PROBLEM STATEMENT**

The study focused on social structural conflicts that emanated from inter-group and out-groups within a given demographic structure of a society that led to social, economic and political conflicts. Explicitly, the relative lack of commitment, youth marginalization and absence of a clearly defined legal framework that facilitates equal

and full participation of youth at decision-making levels remains a subject of much speculation. Their exclusion is maintained by a range of factors that widen the gap between government (elected leaders) and the civil society (their constituencies). Factors include traditional culture, and political culture etc. The resultant effect is counter production and greatly detrimental to the building of sustainable peace and countering violent extremism and other acts of terrorism. The effects of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process in Zimbabwe have the potential to be either detrimental to the youth or highly beneficial.

The Constitution of Zimbabwe defines ‘youths’ as those aged between 15-35 years. ‘Youth marginalization’ can be loosely referred to as the exclusion or isolation of young men and women from actively participating in social, economic and political governance mainstream. ‘Decision making’ can loosely be defined as the action or process of making important decisions that relates to the governance of a nation. ‘Policy implementation’ refers to the immediate process after the ratification of a policy or law that will be done to put the law into effect solving the problem. Hence the need for a proactive measure can constitute a win-win for all players mainly the government and the youth. A lack of understanding and consensus with this large pool of young people can possibly lead to ineffective policy implementation and a less than the productive relationship between the government and its own citizens characterized by civil disobedience according to the tenants of the Relative Deprivation Model.

## **1.5. JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY.**

Anchored on an empirical case study of Zimbabwe, the study encompasses the analysis and resolution of interstate or intrastate social conflicts; peace research that examines the structural roots of social conflicts, divisions, and social inequalities; and strategies for community building and promoting social justice. Undoubtedly, it is very essential to address the symptoms of violence and the underlying causes of corruption, inequality and social injustice. Conflict may be unavoidable, but violent conflict can be prevented by ensuring social and political channels are in place to navigate a diversity of

opinions and perspectives. Involvement of youth in the decision making and policy implementation guarantees peace and security which goes far way beyond the absence of violence. Peace is about development and human rights and is essential for the achievement of the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. In their work, young people address different phases of peace and conflict – from preventing the outbreak of violence to post-conflict peace building – demonstrating their commitment to peace building and sustaining peace. This research, therefore, shall also elaborate on two main misconceptions regarding young people: i) that bulging youth populations present an increased risk of violence and ii) the push factors causing young men and women to join violent extremist groups particularly if they are unemployed or uneducated. These myths have triggered a ‘policy panic’, producing un-nuanced policy responses that involve hard-fisted law enforcement and security approaches, which are counterproductive and not cost-effective. These approaches further alienate young people and diminish their trust in their governments and the multilateral system.

## **1.6. LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS**

While there is a general consensus on the positive role that youth can play to attain peace. There has been an underestimation of what can be attained by their inclusion. The independent Progress Study on Youth, Peace, and Security, contextualized it as the ‘The Missing Peace’. In fact, scientific writings have however generalized and some even ignored this subject in relation to conflict resolution mechanisms. One of the other major lacunas in the field of youth studies is;

“The lack of attention to, and thorough documentation of the positive contributions of young people especially in developing societies i.e. Zimbabwe. The vast majority of studies are skewed towards the view of youth as *enfants terribles*, without any attempt to understand and explain tactical ways in which youth have created and continue to create alternative lives for themselves under great adversity (Agbibo, E. D., 2015).”



Quite imperious was that the researcher was a young person who lived through the marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process. Renowned scholars such as Smyth (2005) pointed out that the conduct of research by insiders versus outsiders to a conflict relates to the issues of subjectivity and objectivity needs to be taken into consideration with caution. As a post-graduate international student in Turkey and a former undergraduate student in Zimbabwe, the researcher was an insider ordinary participant in the youth marginalization processes in Zimbabwe. Insider knowledge was used as a source of data striving for objectivity in its analysis for the benefit of the study (Smyth, 2005). As an insider, the researcher failed to access some pertinent information from relevant government institutions because it is also part of the marginalization problem which is the fulcrum and pith of this research study.

## **1.7. CONCLUSION**

The conflict trend in Zimbabwe remains a threat to stability and development. If it is to be left unresolved, might have led to greater violence or even a failed state as having been evidence by events happening between 2000 and 2018. Amending of relations between the government and the youth remains far from reality, the Constitution of Zimbabwe inception in 2013 goes a long way in providing groundwork for social justice to prevail. This chapter sets the foundation for the study by giving brief overviews of the conflict from 2000 to 2018 covering; Introduction, Background, Theory description, Problem Statement, Justification of Study and the Limitations and Delimitations of the Study. It also presented the Relative Deprivation Model as the basis for the theoretical framework that explains the possible resultant effects of marginalization process of the interactions between the government and the youth. The research highlighted areas in need of improved strategies for sustainable participation of youth, to the on-going initiatives to promote peace, security, and development across the regions in Zimbabwe.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.1. INTRODUCTION TO LITERATURE REVIEW**

This chapter reviewed works of literature that were written by other prominent scholars in similar or close relations to this subject. Focus areas include youth's marginalization, youth's participation, decision-making, and policy implementation. More so, the aim is to illuminate the implications for the case study to ascertain areas that still require further research. The phenomenon of youth as a crucial group within the society is contemporary, as such, information was gathered from textbooks, journals, and articles, among others just to mention but a few. Subsequently, the focus was directed to primary sources to get primary information. This chapter focuses mainly on the literature review and the theoretical standpoints surrounding the effects of youth marginalization in the decision-making and policy implementation process in Zimbabwe.

#### **2.2. YOUTH MARGINALIZATION.**

Marginalization can be referred to as the treatment of a person, group, or concept as insignificant or peripheral<sup>2</sup>. In general terms, marginalization describes a social phenomenon by which a minority or sub-group is excluded, and their deeds or desires ignored. Oskana Duchak wrote;

“The process of marginalization of young people is caused by the deformation of state and public institutions, destruction of social, cultural, ideological and political bases of life, loss of value orientations. ...Marginalization combines the concepts of social exclusion and discrimination and it insults human dignity and it objects

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<sup>2</sup> OxfordDictionaries.com

human rights, especially the right to live effectively as equal citizens (Duchak, 2014).”

Equally, as families, ethnic groups may be marginalized within localities; youth continue to experience this as an age group. Marginalization is a shifting phenomenon that can be understood per a given context.

In March 2014, Columbia Global Policy Initiative in collaboration with The Office of the United Nations Secretary-General’s Envoy on Youth organized a conference whose report and policy recommendations were centred on ‘overcoming youth marginalization’. The agenda for this conference was tabled before over forty academics, youth activists, policymakers, practitioners, and civil society representatives. They made an in-depth discussion on marginalization and inequalities faced by youth around the globe. These challenges included youth inequalities (human rights and justice), political participation and decision making, gender and health inequalities, and education, employment and migration opportunities (Columbia Global Policy Initiative, 2014). Ahmad Alhendawi, UN Secretary-General’s Envoy on Youth (2014), said: “Young people are not just ‘decision-takers’; they can be decision-makers too”. Therefore the emphasis on the importance of youth inclusion and participation in the decision making and policy implementation process is crucial.

The marginalization of youth was referred to as one of the main challenges young people currently are trying to solve. The Columbia Global Policy Initiative Report on Youth (2014), identified youth marginalization from both local and national development gains and they being more vulnerable to economic shocks, social instability, and conflicts. Writings of various scholars tend to suggest that youth marginalization/exclusion is at times engineered by the age cohort; this explains their less involvement in governance and decision-making processes due to a plethora of factors that are economic, social and political hindering participation. The Report highlighted that “youth are likely to face marginalization due to their membership in excluded demographic groups, these include women, disabled, LGBTQI, refugee, ethnic minority, migrant, and economically impoverished” (Columbia Global Policy Initiative Report, 2014).

It is imperative to note that the exclusion and lack of knowledge about the government policy stance towards young people results in reduced level of youth participation. It appears as if the majority of the youth are either unaware of the existing National Youth Policies or misinformed about the provisions. This is indeed one of the genuine hindrances to youth participation regardless of high literacy rates. To a similar case and instance, the Youth Agenda, a Kenyan Civil Society Organization (CSO) examined the dynamics of youth participation and concluded the following statistics; 41% of Kenyan youth were not familiar with the former constitution, which was repealed in 2010 (The Youth Agenda, 2010). Another illustration relates to the absolute lack of knowledge on how the youth fund could be accessed from the ministry of youth.

More substantially, disabled youth are frequently excluded from participation in multiple social contexts, partly because of a lack of consideration afforded to their specific needs in terms of access and support and partly because of the persistent devaluing of the agency of young people with disabilities (Cardozo, et al., 2015). Some scholars went further to explicitly say much greater attention devoted to disabled war veterans than to young people with disabilities, which reinforces 'hierarchies of disability' (Miles, 2013; Burton et al, 2013). It is also pertinent to note that in as much as conflicts contribute to greater cohorts of young people disabled through injuries, disabled youth are already operating from a position of marginalization and are particularly vulnerable to abandonment and abuse during and after conflict (UNICEF, 2013). Therefore this research places major emphasis on the contributions of disabled young people and that efforts are made to ensure their inclusion.

### **2.3. MARGINALISATION OF YOUTH IN ZIMBABWE**

In the case of Zimbabwe, the effects of youth marginalization need to be addressed amid the youth boom. According to Chataigner and Gaulme (2005:7), poverty is one of the main reasons and one of the major consequences of marginalization in African societies. Undoubtedly, it is unavoidable characteristic of all types of marginalized groups that include persons suffering from AIDS, convicts, persons with

mental disorders, refugees, homosexuals, juvenile delinquents, homeless among others. Duchak (2014) identified two dimensions of marginalization such as disempowerment/social dislocation and poverty/economic dislocation that can be considered as primary material insults. Given that youth constitute more than half of the national population, a plethora of reasons is instrumental to their present-day marginalization. Approximately half of the youth population do not participate in a political process such as voting not as a consequence of political naivety of the youth but rather it being evidence of three decades of marginalization by nationalist leaders. Gwede (2012) referred to the time between 1980 until present as the three decades of generational marginalization and ostracism<sup>3</sup>.

Belonging to a particular marginalized group comes with it a specific identity and Zimbabwean youth are not an exception. The meaning or definition of such a given identity is in favour of the dominant group in society. It is generally noticed that problems that are faced by every marginalized group within a society are seen as their own making, or maybe emanating from their own nature. Early after independence in 1980, a jocular epithet commonly known as the 'born free' label has since then become a strong philosophy that deterred youth from fully taking part in political life of Zimbabwe regardless of the emergence of multiparty politics. The tale of youth marginalization originated from the early days when Zimbabwe got her independence from the colonial rule (Musarurwa, 2016) and it is against this background that the case of Zimbabwe shall also be assessed.

The rise of the opposition political parties in Zimbabwe in the late 1990s opened up a small window of opportunity to the marginalized youth group. Only a few youths, after independence and before the formation of the main opposition political party, MDC, would manage to speak-out through the platforms of the student movement in various universities and colleges (Gwede, 2012). As if the participation of the youth was a threat to national security, many laws were inaugurated such as Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA)

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<sup>3</sup> Ostracism means exclusion from a society or group according to the Oxford Dictionary.

on the 10<sup>th</sup> of January (2002)<sup>4</sup>. These laws were meant to safeguard the ‘old guard’ at the same time the marginalization of an energetic and politically conscious movement of young people which was on the rise, namely the MDC<sup>5</sup>. It is therefore in the quest to break the blanket of marginalization that some university students were dismissed from higher institutions of learning, and some were even killed in 2002<sup>6</sup>.

The socio-economic and political history of Zimbabwe has never been smooth since its inception as a Republic in April 1980. The country experienced several conflicts, worth mentioning are the Gukurahundi atrocities of the early 1980s, and the 2008 election crises. According to Macleans (2012), in the 1980s the dissidents’ activities in Matabeleland and Midlands provinces resulted in a conflict when two liberation movements namely, ZANU and ZAPU<sup>7</sup> remained hostile despite the end of the liberation war in 1980. Their military wings/forces, ZANLA and ZIPRA<sup>8</sup> respectively, were involved in a war, fighting within their assembly camps while awaiting demobilization and redeployment into the national army (Macleans, 2012). Until today the government of Zimbabwe has not yet officially disclosed the main causes of the conflict. Ex-ZIPRA began to operate as dissidents terrorizing people and then security forces responded with a heavy hand. According to the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe (1997) statistics, approximately 3,750 civilians were murdered and some went missing, 680 homesteads were destroyed, 10 000 people were detained and 2000 were tortured. The conflict was resolved after a period on seven years when the ZANU and ZAPU leaders, Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo signed a unity accord on 22 December 1987, forming the ZANU PF (Moyo, 1991).

Various conflicts faced limited conflict resolution mechanisms that lacked comprehensive and inclusive approaches (Dube and Makwerere, 2012). Years of violent

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<sup>4</sup> Chapter 11:17 Public Order and Security Act of Zimbabwe.

<sup>5</sup> Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) Opposition political party formed in 1999 led by R. M. Tsvangirai.

<sup>6</sup> Zimbabwe Human rights NGO Forum v Zimbabwe Summary of Facts.

<sup>7</sup> Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Zimbabwe African People’s Union ZAPU.

<sup>8</sup> Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA).

conflicts left negative memories and precedence on the people of Zimbabwe. As a result, the country's social and political status has become evidently divided. Efforts to deal with these issues chiefly include the creation of the Peace and Reconciliation Commission enshrined Zimbabwe's constitution<sup>9</sup>, mandated to address the wronging of the past. More-so, the commission is constitutionally mandated to ensure "healing and reconciliation, to develop national procedures and institutions to facilitate parties, communities, and other groups to prevent conflict in the future to develop early warning systems to prevent potential conflicts" (Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013). Acknowledging that development of a comprehensive peace infrastructure is still embryonic. Therefore, it is against the history of conflict in Zimbabwe that this research focuses on the effects of youth marginalization in the decision-making and policy implementation process.

It is against this background that one cannot speak of Zimbabwe's political landscape without addressing the 'youth bulge'. The 2013 constitution of Zimbabwe defines youth as an individual aged 18 and 35 although several countries have a different cut of age. Approximately 70% of Zimbabwe's population is under 34 years old according to ZimStat (2015). At the same more 80% of them are unemployed 60 % of the unemployed population. Youth are generally held responsible for the physical fighting and humanitarian crisis during the 2008 run-off elections. Many young people were organized along partisan lines to carry out strikes and attacks throughout the country to those who voted the opposition into power.

In addition, the associated effects of marginalized youth and the cost of the government doing nothing about youth empowerment and participation are critical. Youth are undoubtedly left out of the policy discourse, policies formulated and legislation enacted will not necessarily be in favour of the youth. The implementation and programming definitely fail to adequately take their views and lessons learned from previous youth programs will not have been taken on board. A wide gap emerges for effective national leadership and youth participation needs to be mainstreamed in full

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<sup>9</sup> Zimbabwe's constitution of 2013 was inaugurated through a government of national unity between ZANU PF, MDC T, and MDC M.

activities to carry forward the history, legacies, morals, and ideologies of the country in different sectors.

This research seeks to explore and analyse the place of the youth in Zimbabwean state. Considering the adverse social, economic and political conditions in Zimbabwe, the role of youth is very critical. In respect of this, the study juxtaposes an assessment of Zimbabwe state's ability to guarantee enough security for the youth group. According to Forti and Maina (2012), the social contract mandates the sovereign with the responsibility to provide security be it physical or the opportunity to survive. Such that, failure of the sovereign or state to do so creates a great recipe for disaster. It is against this view that this study ferrate the incapability of the government of Zimbabwe to provide its obligation to the social contract agreement with its citizenry. It is this discrepancy and critical level of security understood in the context of marginalization that is likely to cause many and varied effects that will be unpacked in-here.

### **2.3.1. Economic Inequalities.**

As a result of adverse economic conditions and in the midst of a leadership crisis to deal with the distribution and allocation of resources, poverty and conflict appear to be the biggest challenges for sustainable development. According to Castells (1996), the definition of poverty is linked and attached to the social process of marginalization and social exclusion which then entails social mobilization and protest in Marxist ideology. The Relative Deprivation Theory suggests that individuals become aggressive when there are obstacles (obstacles and real) to their success in life (van de Goor et al., 1996). Social psychologist identified fraternal deprivation and egoistic deprivation (to be discussed briefly in the following sections). In several parts of Africa, due to poor governance structures and unequal access and distribution of economic resources, some segments of the population tend to have better opportunities than others. The resultant effect is the perspective of poverty amongst certain groups with very serious consequences for social stability due to the perceived relative deprivation (Draman, 2003).



According to the YICZ (2015), studies were carried out to answer critical questions if interventions where the country should invest and viability of such investments. The demographic dividend potential of Zimbabwe is influenced by the youth bulge where 35.7% are youth (15 - 34 years) and 13% are young adolescents (between the ages 10 - 14 years). This implies a need to invest in promoting and preventing among others, education system, health sector, social and recreational facilities, equipping the population with relevant innovations and entrepreneurial pieces of training to grow and generate their own income. It is therefore important that the government works on counter-marginalization by making strategic investments in the health sector, education, vocational training, economic policies that create jobs and governance system that reduce mismanagement and corruption, which can definitely turn into an economic fortune (YICZ Report, 2016).

Economic models of growth postulate that labour and capital are key drivers of economic growth. The relationship between investments in social and economic development produces a labour force of high quality that is well resourced and comprehensively sustainable. The Harrod-Domar Model of Growth advanced the philosophy that, directed social investments empower the youth and create the quality of labour fit for self-generation of jobs and modernization of industries to address both unemployment and underemployment challenges faced by young people in Zimbabwe (YICZ Report, 2016). Youth involvement in the decision making and policy implementation is very critical right now amid the adverse social and economic conditions to enhance inclusivity in governance across the nation. It is imperative to counter exclusion by looking at agricultural recovery through 'revising the land reform and commercialization, industrialization for value addition, regional integration, diversification of resilience to imports, and growth in the service sector' (Welker, 2012).

### **2.3.2. Weak government institutions**

The strengths of any institution are anchored on the existing laws and legal framework. From an institutional and policy perspective, the participation of youth is

generally viewed as ‘a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over priority setting, policy making, resources allocations and access to public goods and services’ (Dube and Makwerere, 2012). The major underpinnings being to increase transparency, improve government standards of accountability to its own people and work tirelessly to increase the overall governance and economic efficiency of development activities and initiatives. In as much as security and peace building issues are expected not only to be a preserve of the government. It is expected that strong institutions must be established from horizontal and vertical synergies between peace building structures and a well-defined formal structural relationship that is inclusive. The establishment of the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission incorporated in the Zimbabwe 2013 Constitution is one of the few milestone achievements in policy formulation which is however devoid of a successful implementation. For this and other reasons, it still remains embryonic and incapable of institutionalizing peace building at the grassroots level.

In the interest of setting up strong key institutions, some African countries have established the Local Peace Councils (LPCs), ministries, and commissions dealing with peace. According to Dube and Makwerere (2012), the first country to establish an infrastructure of Peace was South Africa. This happened two years prior to the historic 1994 elections that brought to an end the apartheid system. In Ghana, a National Peace Council was established in 2006. The Council is credited for having ensured peaceful elections in 2008, and to maintain a smooth transfer of power in the aftermath. Its critical role was facilitating discrete meetings with stakeholders that proactively diffused the considerable tension that had built up (Dube and Makwerere, 2012). The Wajir Peace Development Committee was established in the 1990s in response to violence in Kenya. Its presence and effectiveness were proven during the 2007 post-election violence. With the media reporting that less significant violence was witnessed in the District Peace Councils were present.

Establishment of strong policy and institutional frameworks can be a vehicle towards achieving peace building and conflict transformation that is indeed a current requisite in Zimbabwe. Conflict transformation denotes to envision and react to the order

and course of social conflict as life-giving prospects for forming, positive change process that moderates violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures and respond to real-life problems in human relationships” (Obiekwe, 2009:6). Proactive institutional vision and approaches to conflict that may arise due to youth marginalization process provide the ability to embrace contrary views, securities and encirclement of humanness and transform conflict into progressive energy, progress, and social change. It is therefore in this respect that this study argues that a holistic transformational framework will allow for multi-level participation, empowerment of the grassroots, a focus on long-standing traumas and hurts, and on any deeply rooted sense of past injustices and injuries, and inaugurate systems that will resolve the current conflicts at the same time prevents further conflicts of such manner from repeating.

Prior to the formation of the 2013 National Peace and Reconciliation Commission, the Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust established Local Peace Committees in all provinces. Despite the Committees being constituted by multi-players that include political parties ZANU PF and MDC, traditional leaders, religious leaders, women, and youth. Committees were formed in the aftermath of the post-election violence, the aim being to bring together the victims and perpetrators of the violence. Major challenges and hindrances for these formations were that they lacked national mandate, lacked moral and financial support from senior politicians.

More substantial, since Zimbabwe’s independence in 1980, the country was involved in remarkable seasonal civil conflicts under the tutelage of the now former President Mugabe. These conflicts can be traced soon after the war of independence, the narration of major events that reflects the manipulation of institutions for political expediency is as follows; between 1980 and 1987 disturbances took place in military assembly points during the ceasefire in conjunction with the dissident’s activities in Matabeleland and Midlands provinces (Macleans, 2012:142). In 2000, following an unpopular referendum in 2000 that was meant to usher in a new constitution between 12 and 13 February in 2000, the government advocated for a YES, lost by 54% NO while it only managed to secure 46% support (Kagoro, 2005). Simultaneously this also signified

the birth of a strong opposition party full of young people led by the now late trade unionist Dr. Tsvangirai.

As a way of retaliating to the failure of the referendum, the Mugabe-led regime mobilized its party supporters which mainly included the war veterans and the loyal party youth supporters to forcefully occupy white-owned commercial farms (Timbe, 2005:124). It is from this institutional decay that gave passage to political expediency that heightened the situation leading to the tragic internationalization of the land issue. The International community namely the United Kingdom, United States of America and the European Union responded by slashing the government of Zimbabwe with targeted sanctions (Timbe, 2005). Therefore it can be drawn that the existence of weak institutions paves way for top politicians to further elitist agendas.

### **2.3.3. Elections in Zimbabwe**

Elections in Zimbabwe are heavily contested events that have never come up with a favourable outcome to the opposition political parties. What it takes to, and constitutes to a free, fair and credible election remains a subject of much speculation. The political character of ruling elites and the free use of hate since the Mugabe-era are present sparks for violence during electoral periods. In both 2000 and 2008 presidential and harmonized elections respectively, Zimbabwe recorded the most violent elections ever. A vivid example is that in the 2000 presidential election campaign, 1096 acts of violence were recorded and 35 incidences of death were recorded by Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe (MMPZ, 2009). In 2005 elections, Zimbabwe human rights watchdog reported 1221 acts of violence including the reported case of murder. In 2008 harmonized elections, it was reported that there was approximately 8858 incidence of political violence including scores of murders, unlawful arrest and detention, harassments, abductions, assault, torture and property vandalism (MMPZ, 2009).

Contestations of elections, with violence targeting primarily political opponents before, during and after the elections in Zimbabwe are so disheartening. Human rights violations during these periods have included imprisonment, enforced disappearance, murder,

torture, and rape (Dube and Makwerere, 2012). In 2008, violence broke in the aftermath of a heavily contested presidential election outcome leading to a presidential runoff. It is evident and noticeable that victims of these conflicts have been left vulnerable. Among other groups and players involved, youth are also eating the receiving end as many of them have also in one way or the other killed, injured, raped or left as orphans.

“According to the International Coalition For the Responsibility to Protect (2012), prior to the run-off presidential election in June, the security services and ZANU PF militia unleashed a campaign of intimidation, torture and murder against opposition activists, journalists, polling agents, public servants, civic leaders and ordinary citizens suspected of voting for opposition party, MDC. The violence came to a climax when, after losing the March 2008 presidential election, President Mugabe carried out widespread state-sponsored violence and error” (Dube and Makwerere, 2012).

With regards to the recent 30 July 2018 harmonized elections, the EU Election Observation Mission’s final report on the Republic of Zimbabwe’s Harmonised 2018 documented a series of events that shaped the course of events in Zimbabwe’s international engagement efforts. These were the first polls in Zimbabwe to be conducted in 38 years, following the ouster of the veteran leader, President Robert Mugabe. His leadership style was mainly characterized by Machiavellian tendencies. The report pointed out that, the generality of elections during his era was marred with heightened levels of violence that resulted in serious human rights violations. In this recent election, the now President Mnangagwa who first came into office in November 2017 through military ‘assisted’ transition, committed to hold free, fair, and credible elections in a bid to raise up the bar of trust in the democratic process and institutions, which permeated the electoral environment (EU Report, 2018). The EU Observation Mission of 2018 highlighted that, during the pre-election period, the right to stand for an election was provided on the actual, also on the very day of polling voters exercise their rights to vote. Overall both during the campaign and on the Election Day it was largely peaceful. However, major shortcomings in both pre- and post-election environment impacted on the free expression of the will of electors.

## **2.4. YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISION MAKING AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS.**

As demonstrated above, the situation in Zimbabwe makes it hard to fully realize the involvement of youth in the decision-making and policy implementation process. Despite constituting the most important age group within a society, youth participation remains unabated. There is empirical evidence to support that investing in the youth is beneficial to society as a whole because they have enough energy, creativity and networking capacity leading to significant national development (Knowles and Behrman, 2003 as cited in UNFPA, 2005).

The process of effective youth policy marginalization and the participation in the decision making and policy implementation hinges upon the democratisation process. Researches that were carried out in the late 1990s (Burton et al, 1992); Burton and Higley, 1987), pointed out that democratization gave primary focus to the divisions, alliances, choices, calculations, and strategic alliances among elites in both the authoritarian regime and its democratic opposition. It is within this context that political elites and politicians in general could be seen as indispensable to the fruition of democracy. Larry Diamond gave an incredible description that resonates well with Zimbabwe's present day scenario. Youth participation in the context of democratization process tend to be impinged by the unstable, and highly uncertain periods of authoritarian breakdown and regime transition. The choices made and alliances forged among a relatively small set of leaders and strategies in the government, the military, political parties, trade unions, and other interest groups may pressure violent or peaceful, gradual or abrupt, to democracy or to new authoritarian regime change (Diamond, 1997:1).

In line with the preceding argument, the success of youth participation in the decision making and policy implementation process can be influenced and determined by the elites and various political players. Diamond (1997), argued that elites and political players determine whether new democracies became stable, effective, inclusive and consolidated. Such a will and commitment can be cemented and encompassed by

various types of institutions and rules that elites craft regardless of the type and level of government. Such a spirited argument finds its firm foundations on the basis that politicians or government officials have the fundamental onus to exercise state power. Furthermore, their ability to bargain with one another from coalitions, to draw public attention and support, to respond to public pressure and preferences complements very well the quest for an all-inclusive democracy. These efforts are neither sufficient nor an end entirely, instead democracy in its totality is not just a system in which elites acquire power to rule others through a competitive struggle for people's votes (Diamond, 1997). It should rather be an open system in which government is held accountable to the people regardless of their age, and in which mechanisms must exist for making it responsive to their passions, preferences and interests.

Critically the structural exclusion of youth from decision-making positions undermines the likely effectiveness of youth policies that are obviously dependent on the efficient implementation process. Until recently in September 2018, youth representation in Zimbabwe has been acutely dismal. Despite youth empowerment policies such as the Youth Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act of 2018, the resultant outcome has been youth disempowerment. Frederickson (2010) crafted the argument regards to 'legitimate' youth activity and 'illegitimate' youth activity. The former is said to take place with the involvement of mainstream churches, sports clubs, and non-governmental organizations, in a bid to attract 'respectable' youth with salaried jobs and legitimate business positions. Whereas the latter refers to indigenous or charismatic youth movements, gangs, subculture and political youth wings which often attracts lower-class individuals who pursue success in spite of shortfalls in the legality of methodology.

Age limits to run for a political office or to establish an independent organization effect and prevent youth engagement. Globally, only 1.65% of parliamentarians are young people in their twenties and 11.87 % are people in their thirties (UNDP 2012 Global Parliamentary Report, p.108). 'Young people are citizens now, rather than citizens in preparation' and consequently their perspectives should not be overlooked in the current process and their rights to participation ensured (McEvoy-Levy, 2001). This view connects well to the ongoing lack of international consensus on the definition of youth.

A classic example, the African Union Charter defines youth as ages 15 - 35, whereas the U.N. bodies define youth as ages 15 - 24. On this basis, the measuring of progress on youth marginalization remains abstract in nature. It is therefore imperative to note that youth are marginalized because they are not yet adults or members of the society capable of participating in government because they are equated to lack something which then breeds the idea of incompleteness.

An Afro-barometer survey compared the political attitudes and behaviour of youth with those older generations in 18 countries (Chikwanha and Masunungure, 2007). Striking conclusions were reached, with all in favour of support for democracy across age groups. However, it is the lack of sound democratic principles within these societies that is a bone of contention with the youth. Youth are described as pessimistic about the future of their regimes and have less confidence and trust in public institutions. All forms of political participation, for instance, holding meetings, fundraising campaigns etc. as lower amount youth, youth are rather less partisan than adults and, although they are expected to protest more. The World Development Report (2011) that cited high unemployment rate and idleness as the primary cause of youth involvement in violence.

Youth participation in the decision-making and policy implementation process can be linked to the engagement of youth in violence in Zimbabwe. Apparently, there is no correlational data that marginalized youth or young people are at risk of violence. Engaging young people to promote their participation in decision-making in Zimbabwe is problematic (Ndebele and Billing, 2010). Over the past three decades, youth have been recruited in quasi-military groups or 'youth wings' of political parties, often to perpetrate politically motivated acts of violence. The public and state actors in Zimbabwe tend to generally perceive any form of the institution with links to young people as serving political agendas. This makes it difficult for young people to participate in governance, democracy and development work, and for NGOs to support them to do so. According to results for the research carried out by Ndebele and Billing (2010) in the Matabeleland region, many youths decide to stay away from politics as they believe that they have no role to play or cannot influence the process. More-so there



is found evidence that youth- women in particular- have an internalized sense of inferior within the society. They demonstrate this through low-level confidence and inability to articulate ‘governance language’ in respect to decision-making and policy implementation.

#### **2.4.1. The Land reform program in 2000**

The Land reform policy was officially launched in July 2000. The programme is referred to as the ‘Fast Track Land Reform Programme’ (FTLRP). The major objective of the programme was to reverse a racially skewed land tenure system which the country inherited at independence in 1980 (Chipenda, 2018). Re-appearing with a seemingly different version, the land question is at the heart of all the genuine concerns petitioned by the youth. The excessive politicization and controversy surrounding the land redistribution since independence led to the tragic internationalization of the land issue in the early 21st century. Like the situation in Kenya, amid the growing threat to ZANU PF’s hegemony in 2000, Mugabe manipulated racial identities which then exacerbated competition for land and fuelled the violent methodology to ensure the acquisition of land.

The land reform in Zimbabwe is one of the important and sensitive policies whose methodological process was less satisfactory. Termed ‘Fast Track Land Reform Programme’ denoting the environment in which it was implemented. The whole process is described to have been below what was intended and the economic return generated by land reform beneficiaries became a mediocre (Hoogeveen and Kinsey, 2014). Some scholars went on to debate the legality of the land reform, however, this power shall ignore that part and go an extra-mile to deliberate on the group of land reform beneficiaries (youth). According to Clement Chipenda’s paper on the reconfiguration of rural relations and social structures after land reform policy, now there can be found young persons who are increasingly demanding a greater share of the social and economic benefits which they feel entitled to by virtue of being a citizen (Chipenda, 2018: p 3). It is therefore quite imperative that to deal with these resultant effects of an

excluded generational agenda, policies need to be aligned with the demographic demands in favour of socioeconomic and political discourse.

#### **2.4.2. The indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act [Chapter 14:33].**

First and foremost, the Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act [Chapter 14:33] was put in place on the 7th of March 2008. Primarily, section 3 (1) of the Act stated that all foreign-owned companies in Zimbabwe whose share capital was above US\$500 000, would surrender at least 51% shares to the indigenous Zimbabweans. This policy development was supposed to be executed with the inclusion of the Ministry of Youth Development, Indigenization and Economic Empowerment. In conjunction with these Ministries, the Government of Zimbabwe wilfully enacted this Act in order to address the historical disparities that existed during the colonial period. Along with the Youth Development Fund that had been established in 2006, the government worked with various banks such as, CBZ Bank, CABS, Stanbic Bank, and the Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe (IDBZ) targeting youth aged 18 to 35 years to support youth involved in entrepreneurship.<sup>10</sup>

When the Act was inaugurated, problems faced by marginalized Zimbabwean youth revolved on empowerment and participation. According to the Zimbabwe Youth Investment Business Case Report of August 2016, “Policies, laws, strategies, programmes, and projects that will be formulated and implemented will not necessarily be in favour of the youth”. On this regard, youths emphasized that “anything done for youth without the youth is not for the youth” (UNICEF Report of 2015). The failure to involve the youth views to feed the policy process and allow them to shape the course of events created a vacuum that is then noticed in the vague implementation process of the Acts or policy. Without adequate participation of youth in decision-making, the policy discourse failed to address the real problems meant to be addressed as a result of youth

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<sup>10</sup> Zimbabwe Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act: Chapter 14:33

diversity. Henceforth youth will either voluntarily or involuntarily exclude themselves from top-down programmes to reduce their success.

#### **2.4.3. The Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Social and Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET) in 2013**

The Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZimASSET) was birthed in 2013. Following a landslide victory of the ruling ZANU PF party, the policy document was put in place as a five-year economic blueprint. According to the policy document, the economic blueprint intended to achieve accelerated economic growth and wealth creation between October 2013 and December 2018. As a well to create youth employment as well as tackling national economic wounds, ZimASSET had four pivotal clusters which are; Food Security and Nutrition, Social Services and Poverty Reduction, Infrastructure and Public Utilities and Value Addition and Beneficiation. Scholars have come to conclude the country has never been short of blueprints rather the lack of implementation which could have been a result of lack of enough resources, political will and unprecedented levels of corruption (Makaye and Mapuva, 2016). It is therefore at this juncture that one needs to reflect on the youth marginalization in the decision-making and policy implementation process for the betterment of such policies.

### **2.5. THE THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

In any society, the marginalization of a particular group comes with it, uncertainty and instability. This can be demonstrated by a plethora of theories that have been propounded by classical and modern philosophers. This research makes a specific reference to the Relative Deprivation based on some of the ideas put forward by Gurr, Ted Robert. The resultant effect of this can possibly lead to an unsustainable relationship between the marginalized group and the state. This paper shall refer to previous pieces of literature where the theory has been applied and to the case of Zimbabwe, and some

that have gone a long way to demystify and to apply the Relative Deprivation Model to demonstrate the effects of marginalization and exclusion within an intergroup society.

### **2.5.1. The Theory of Relative Deprivation**

The theory of Relative Deprivation asserts that violence and dissenting behaviour within a nation is based on political discontent, and it is in the course of trying to remove that interference which then becomes a sign of frustration in the individual. Frustration and discontent develop if there is a marked discrepancy between an individual's perception of his value expectation (the value the youth believe they are rightfully entitled to) and value position (the level of value, in reality, /actually achieved) (Gurr, 1970). This discrepancy is what is then termed Relative Deprivation; - the fulcrum of frustration and discontent which may trigger or precipitate political instability and often, violence in a nation. Relative deprivation is different from absolute deprivation; the latter covers a minimum level of need rendering a person able to participate in society. According to Ladin (2014), absolute deprivation is synonymous with absolute poverty, with the minimal resources meant to afford the basic necessities for life. These basic needs chiefly include food, clean water, clothing, sanitation, education, and health care. Ancient philosophers like Aristotle, stressed the existence of some level of deprivation, as a precondition of a revolution. According to Weldon, "Relative deprivation is the quest for sound economic and political equality on the part of the masses who lack it, and the desire of the oligarchs for greater inequality than they have which causes a revolution" (Weldon, 1905 p. 338). A sense of repression develops if people feel that legitimate aspirations are being repressed and their entirely legitimate desired values are beyond their reach (Majeed, 1979). It is therefore into account that, when youth are marginalized, they are likely to reach out for an alternative solution to react against the state which may turn out to be a revolution as we have seen happening around the globe in the 21st century.

A major social hypothesis postulates that conflict is generated out of grievances based on inequalities. Galtung, J. (1964), attributed aggression to the status discrepancy.

Adding on that, “Unrelated aspirations produce feelings of disappointment, but unrealized expectations result in feelings of deprivation”. Disappointment is generally tolerable. The deprived individual feels impelled to remedy, by whatever means are available, “the material and psychic frustrations produce in him... deprivation acts as a catalyst for revolutionary action” (Hoselitz and Willner, 1962, p 363). Henceforth the events leading to what is now known as the Arab spring provides some glittering evidence to the above theoretical frameworks citing the role of social media and the internet.

In line with the above prepositions, Relative Deprivation is a psychological precondition for any civil strife emanating from the continued marginalization of a particular group and can be briefly defined as; the perceptions of discrepancy between the value expectations for the goals and conditions of the life to which a particular group believe they are justifiably entitled to, and their value capabilities amounting to the goods and conditions that they think they are able to get and keep (Gurr, 1969). Values include welfare, security, self-actualization, etc. The perceived deprivation is the underlying factor that satisfies the prerequisites for aggression. This may be sudden just for instance hyperinflation, thwarting of opposition political parties, among others which therefore results in collective frustrations.

The extent to which ‘individuals’ or a particular group of people feels the resentment against interference is linked to the level of motivation and involvement to an attained level of values. A classic example can be drawn from the liberation struggles that were fought in Africa and other parts of the world to gain independence. The efficacy of nationalistic and socialistic ideologies played a pivotal role in inculcating civil strife. The resultant effect was the establishment of comprehensive-collective grievances among the colonial subjects. This can be substantiated by the historical example of Zimbabwe, where the 2nd liberation struggle in the mid-20th century brought about independence in 1980 through the collective efforts of the present day old generation in the country.

Another school of thought further argued that the model of relative deprivation is the basic condition for civil violence. John T. McAlister, Jnr., illustrated this by citing

the case of well-educated Vietnamese socio-economic advance that was impinged by unemployment, and “other group of local intelligentsia had achieved some socio-economic advance but with no corresponding political power” (Majeed, 1979 p 145). McAlister thus put forward a new variable into Gurr’s model. He maintained that the deprivation of political power to the intelligentsia and the subsequent discrepancy between socio-economic status and political power is the central cause for panic which then leads to a revolution<sup>11</sup>. In concluding remarks, McAlister highlighted on the ability of the so-called relatively small group segment of the Vietnamese population that had experienced some social mobility but no commensurate power.

Moreover, relative deprivation is not simply just a common phenomenon in societies where there is limited availability of resources to guarantee a reasonable standard of living to all. In general human beings have a quest for a higher standard of living which makes them subject to making comparisons. Rising expectations within a society are chiefly based on new sets of expectations created by a psychic need to keep up with others. This mental state of creates resource scarcity and relative deprivation, even when resources are available, thereby becoming an acceptable cause of social conflict. Majeed (1979) highlighted that, it is the dissonance that emanates from the status quo that becomes unendurable, and those individuals who have experienced mental discomfort often wreak vengeance on those they consider to be responsible, therefore causing the eruption of social structural conflicts and violence.

Some prominent scholars have taken it upon to review classic relative deprivation literature in order to assess the perspective on the basis of its theoretical coherence and clarity and its empirical validity. Gurney and Tierney (1982) gave an explanation on the likelihood for the development and emergence of social movements using the tenants of the Relative Deprivation Theory. They employed it as an intervening variable to explain the relationship between background characteristics such as age, education, marital status, and soldier’s attitude towards military life (Merton and Kill, 1950:45). Relative deprivation was concluded to be a result of cognitive dissonance

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<sup>11</sup> John T. McAlister, Jr., quoted from Majeed, A. (1979), Relative Deprivation and Political Behaviour. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (June 1979), pp. 140-155.

having its origins in status inconsistency. The development of social movements is thus triggered due to revolts, social movements, collective aggressive movements becomes an excellent way of dealing and displaying frustration (Lenski, 1951). Therefore considering the feeling of frustration in relation to relative deprivation, attention is needed to find out the possibility that a person whose expectations have been thwarted may respond by scaling down future aspirations.

Furthermore, attitudes and behaviours of people of a given society have great implications on relative deprivation. Individual action is cautioned not to act as a reflection for future action (Deutscher, 1966). Gurney and Tierney (1982), noted that relative deprivation formula rests upon a partial assumption of a correspondence between individual frustration or cognitive discomfort and participation in collective action. Implying that collective action only occurs with the coming together of frustrated individuals. It is from this perspective that this research intends to make findings on the sizeable proportion of the population that needs to share a perception of illegitimate status or privilege discrepancies in order to emerge in significant conflict. Similar and related questions asked in previous studies may also be applied in this research. These can include questions relates to how do marginalized youth in Zimbabwe could arrive at feeling that their situation required collective action or solution, in relation to population proportion of the demography. Henceforth, the collectivization of grievances needs to be examined further in order to clarify the effects of youth marginalization such that appropriate proactive measures can be employed from a conflict resolution perspective. Some contemporary scholars have drawn further conclusions that the Relative Deprivation Theory is still potentially powerful both theoretically and heuristically for intergroup relations in general (Smith, et al., 2012). Relative Deprivation can be attributed as reinforcing the connection between social evaluations leading to endings inauspicious to the individual or the individual's affiliated group and diversity of behavioural consequences. In their definition (Smith, et al., 2012), "Persons may feel deprived of some desirable things relative to their past, another person, persons, group, ideal, or some social category". It is from this perspective that one can derive that Gurr's Relative Deprivation Theory obfuscates the distinction between individuals and groups,

hence the reason why his model may be best applicable and justifiable on huge events and groups such as youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process. In the words of Gurr;

“Events and patterns of conditions like the suppression of a political party, drastic inflation, or the decline of a group status relative to its reference group are likely to precipitate feelings of relative deprivation among whole groups or categories of people” (Gurr, 1970: 29).

Relative Deprivation Theory has been applied to the different cases in the literature especially the Middle Eastern countries and North African States. A closer analysis of the Arab Spring origin, ideology and demands of civil society underlines the effects of youth marginalization. The political turmoil that took place in the Middle East and North Africa describes the role of well-educated youth and the power of social media to express deprivation and frustration. Socio-economic shortages i.e. unemployment, education and poverty, and political inefficiencies and inequalities led to collective turmoil in the Arab countries which includes; Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Libya, and Syria. Recent researchers have identified root causes of the Arab Spring as a dictatorship, total monarchy, human rights violations, corruption, unemployment, and high rate of inflation and economic decline that dissatisfied the young population of the Arab World (Farooq, et al. 2017).

Arab world citizens experienced a prolonged couple decades of social inequality and deprivation from their governments. The quest for democratization precipitated a number of revolts through the formation of civil movements (Osasumwen, 2012). Increased rate of educated unemployment happened simultaneously to the increased in the rate of poverty. Internet was used by protesters, especially through social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. The flames of anger and the motivation to aggressively engage against the government were enhanced around the Arab world (McKay, 2011). Despite the ongoing heavily contested ‘intractable conflict’ in Syria, these demonstrations succeeded to bring down authoritative regimes to some extent despite the violent reactions from the government. It is against this background that,



Relative Deprivation Theory holds the view that, a gap between expectations and reality leads men to political violence (Meehy, 2014).

The case of Egypt provides an empirical example of the effects of youth marginalization. Following the revolt in Tunisia, demonstrations erupted against the corrupt regime led by President Hosni Mubarak who had ruled for 30 years without a democratic election (Farooq, et al., 2017). Amid economic challenges; high poverty rate, inflation, and unemployment, the change was recognized when the well-educated youth joined hands together on the basis of similar interest and started to protest in Egypt. The protests were characterized by unity, courage, common goal within the social movements. Restrictions on access to the internet were the bone of contention that inspired a lot of citizens to protest against the government. The death of Khaled Said who was dragged from an internet cafe and brutally killed by state security triggered a very heavy cloud of participatory culture (Lynch, 2011). Eventually, the President tendered resignation to the Supreme Council of the Armed forces.

In the final analysis, it can be drawn that, the Relative Deprivation Theory can be used as a vehicle to achieve the desired social change. Chances are primarily detected by the differences in power resources between contenders. The increase in relative deprivation may in some case increase proportionally to the actual possibility of alleviating the situation due to the balance of power. In the case of youth marginalization (relative deprivation) in the decision making and policy implementation (participation), the failure of political systems to consistently meet people's social and material expectations can translate into a negative mood that instigates political action. Therefore a violent faction, combined with a long period of rising reaction to an abrupt downturn may at the end result meet up with a balance of coercion between the government and societal groups that groups that determine the nature of violence.

## **2.6. THE RELEVANCE OF RELATIVE DEPRIVATION THEORY TO ZIMBABWE'S SITUATION**

Several theories were propounded by various theorist have been proposed and some have been applied in the case of Zimbabwe. Among other scholars, Mzumara Macleans (2012), examined and analysed various theories relating to the causes of civil conflicts. Theories dealt with included the Grievance Theory, Economic Theory of Conflict, Relative Deprivation Theory, and the Marxist Theory of Rebellion. This study identified natural and man-made elements that would make civil conflict inevitable. The identification of these elements contributes and provides provocative measures to be put in place before the crisis occurs (Macleans, 2012). One of the conclusions reached from his findings was that abundant resources in Zimbabwe are the primary root causes of conflict. Therefore the generality of theories he applied claimed that if certain conditions are created, they can lead to civil conflicts.

Application of theories to explain the effects of youth marginalization are very critical (Collier et al., 2008) has to say, conflicts have left several economies in bad shape. Conflicts impact economic growth through weakening and destroying institutions resulting in stagnant and declining activity (Mlambo et al, 2009:59). Structural formations that have been put in place to support the system of marginalization are what now look like the modern day triangle trade. According to Chataigner and Gaulme (2005:7), the triangular trade comprises Southern countries, Western countries, and European countries. In this case, Southern countries are producers of illicit resources and valuable primary products such as diamonds. Western countries act as the merchants (medium of trade and exchange) whereas the Eastern-European countries make payment in the form of weapons. Due to the rampant corruption that occurs in these countries, illegal trade is the root causes of poverty which therefore hatches thick lines of marginalization in quite a number of third world countries (Chataigner and Gaulme (2005:7).

One of the theories that were applied in previous studies to explain the causes of conflicts in Zimbabwe is the Grievance Theory. Since it does not form the basis of this

research study, the following aspects are important to note. According to Macleans (2012), the Grievance Theory is based on how grievances are expressed and managed between those who feel aggrieved and those who promote inequalities and inflict injustices. Collier and Hoeffler (2000), identified three types of grievances namely between groups, political exclusion, and vengeance. The theory was tested using 'proxies such as ethnic fractionalization, religious fractionalization, ethnic polarization, ethnic dominance, democracy, peace duration, income inequality, land inequality, population, geographic dispersion and mountainous terrain' (Maclean, 2012). In the case of Zimbabwe, as the country became less democratic and authoritarian, prevailing adverse conditions lately in 2016 and 2017 fuelled conflicts leading to the ouster of the now former President R.G Mugabe through a military assisted peaceful transfer of power.

Macleans (2012), applied the Relative Deprivation Theory in the case of Zimbabwe to explain the causes of conflicts without applying it to a particular age group of the demographic structure. He asserted that a general gap feeling the society feels between what they are currently getting and what they deserve to get, creates discontentment. Douma (2006) emphasized the element of poverty in facilitating the deprivation although it does not constitute to be a central variable and neither does it directly linked to the theory. Instead, the theory was alluded as focusing on how individuals think about their positions within the community and this leads to discontent, anger, resentment, and a host of emotional factors. In this case, Macleans (2012), substantiated his arguments by citing the fast-track land reform programme of 2000, when the war veterans felt society owed them a farm they mobilized themselves in their numbers and invaded white-owned commercial farms. This really signifies a terrible perception of dissatisfaction, anger, resentment, and emotions from what they had got since the end of the liberation war in 1980.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1. INTRODUCTION**

This chapter interrogated the chosen Relative Deprivation Theory to critically examine the effects of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process in Zimbabwe. The study used already developed theory to conceptualize the implications of a marginalized youth group within society. The research methodology was carried out using qualitative simple case study. The primary conceptual focus was to ascertain the degree to which the Relative Deprivation Theory fits fully on Zimbabwe's intergroup conflict such that necessary steps are inaugurated accordingly should need to arise. Scientific research denotes a structured, systematic, data-based, critical, objective, methodical inquiry or analysis into a precise problem, carried out with the purpose of finding answers or solutions to it (Sekaran, 2003). This Chapter provides a detailed explanation of the selected research approach, research design, data collection methods, data analysis and rigour.

#### **3.2. RESEARCH APPROACH**

The primary focus of the selected research approach in this study was to dive into the realities of the marginalized youth in Zimbabwe. The research explored and provided insights into how youths as individuals, groups, etc. understood aspects of their world. A social theory can be defined according to Neuman (2003) defines as a system of interrelated concepts or ideas that abridges and categorizes knowledge about the social world. It can be insinuated that great thinkers like Marx, Weber, and Tonnies set the groundwork in generating innovative ideas. It is then an underlying fact from classical theories and theorists that they provide various creative and interrelated ideas at once. As could have been noted in Chapters 1 and 2, theories exist chiefly because of deductive and inductive methods which are critical in coming up with concepts. A

concept is an idea expressed as a symbol or in words (Neuman, 2003). A word like ‘marginalization’ is a simple familiar English word however is a concept that symbolizes or stands for a particular understanding. This study focused on clarifying and refining the concept based on existing empirical information as it is important to prevent weak contradictory or abstract concepts that restrict the advance of knowledge.

Schellenberg (1996:28) selected and asserted that there are six main methods of conflict resolution research. These methods chiefly include observational studies, survey research, experiments, historical studies, archival research, and content analysis. In this study, in particular, research was conducted based on a selected few methods from the above. More briefly on each research method, observational studies encompass the direct observation of behaviour. The researcher may seek to be part of the situation under scrutiny and this is known as ‘participatory observation’, which is ideal when the researcher intends to acquire a better understanding of the meanings and affection of the group under scrutiny (Schellenberg, 1996:28). A classic example can be drawn from the way this study was carried out, the researcher was part of the situation through ‘non-participatory observation’, in order to ascertain the effects of marginalized youth in the decision making and policy implementation process. The researcher was part of the research unobtrusively as possible, of the area under diagnosis.

A research survey is one of the important research methods that can be employed to conduct a study in the field of Conflict Resolution. In this case, a questionnaire is designed, developed and presented to a sample of relevant respondents. According to Schellenberg (1996), then maybe fairly general in the way it elicits information, this may be a result of a variety of strategies and techniques. These chiefly encompass; the use of open-ended questions during interviews among others; precise standardization of questions, a successful random selection of the right sample to represent a defined population. Otherwise, the sampling may turn out to be less informative and organized due to inadequate systematic planning. Another main method of research is experiments, whereby one or more variables (independent variables) are carefully manipulated to study the effects they may have on variables measured later (dependent variables) (Schellenberg, 1996:29). He also placed emphasis on the key elements to the success of

an experiment which are ‘the systematic manipulation of one or more independent variables, the careful measurement of a dependent variable, and a random assignment of subjects to treatment groups’. It is therefore quite imperative to note that experiments are divided into laboratory experiments and field experiments the main difference counts of the provided conditions whether they are natural or artificial.

Some scholars do use the historical studies method to seek understanding from what happened in the past. This is possible through the use of original sources like old documents that help to demystify events of the past. In some instances, reports from previously conducted works can also be used. Moreover, archival studies are also one of the research methods that involves previously gathered data, data that could have been gathered routinely or acquired for applied research in this method. According to Schellenberg (1996), the researcher work’s with data from the past, which thus implies the investigator does not actually gather any new data. As suggested by the term ‘archival’, it signifies that the preserved data is formal such that it can be found in archive state institutions or specialist organizations. In social research, the term is attributed to denote any kind of data that was previously gathered and stored for future purposes. Last but not least, on content analysis studies, the researcher dealt with the contents of mass media or of social interaction in order to align relevant material with the identified variables. Content analysis may sample the frequency of certain themes in the mass media, or it may be applied to recorded samples of interaction (Schellenberg, 1996).

This research is premised mainly upon the conceptual underpinnings of the selected theory. According to Neuman (2003), ‘a theory can take different aspects, and five of its forms are categorized as based on the direction of reasoning, the level of social reality it explains, whether it is formal or substantive, the forms of explanation it employs, and the overall framework of assumptions and concepts in which it is embedded’. It is established that researchers use either deductive or inductive approaches as the direction of theorizing. Briefly, some approaches begin with abstract concepts and thinking to which they logically connect to tangible evidence to establish facts. The approach can suggest data should be gathered and analysed, the results are

then used to validate or refute the theory. Whereas some require empirical evidence first, then move on to generalize and build abstract ideas at which theory was found. These two approaches are best referred to as a deductive approach and inductive approach respectively. It can be deduced that an inductive approach was more appropriate given that the researcher first collected data and then derived explanations from it. Notwithstanding the fact that the researcher started by identifying the Relative Deprivation Theory, this study adopted an inductive approach in conducting the study on youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process in Zimbabwe.

Duneier (1999) noted that both quantitative secondary analysis research and qualitative field research in social science, a researcher develops a theoretical understanding only after the completion of data collection. It is attributed that many researchers and scholars that use or adopt an inductive approach use ground theory (Neuman, 2003). The ground theory is defined as “a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived theory about a phenomenon” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:24). In addition, the ground theory is described as a theory that seeks to juxtapose with evidence that is absolutely ‘precise and rigorous, capable of replication, and generalizable’ (Nueman, 2003:51). The application of the ground theory in this research sought to demonstrate that micro-level events set the foundation for a more macro-level explanation. Evidence and empirical cases brought forward in this study were meant to show ‘connections among micro-level events and between micro-level situations and larger social forces for the purpose of constructing the theory and informing the theory and informing social action’ (Neuman, 2003:52).

The choice of a theory in a research study serves one or more of the following purposes; prediction and explanation, causal explanation, eliminating alternatives, structural explanations, and interpretive explanations. The weight of choice for this study through the use of the Relative Deprivation Theory favoured its form of explanation to be more of the prediction and explanation, and interpretive explanation. According to Neuman (2003), a theoretical explanation is considered generally as a logical argument that explains why something occurs whereas some scholars asserted

that it makes something clear or describes something in a way that illustrates it and makes it intelligible. It can be drawn that prediction is, therefore, a statement that is bound to occur. For this reason, it is said that prediction is easier than to explain. The explanation, therefore, implies that ‘one logically connects what occurs in a specific situation to a more abstract or basic principle about how things work’ (Nueman, 2003:54). Moreover, to foster understanding, the interpretive explanation was applied. An interpretive theorist attempts to discover the meaning of an event or practice by placing it within a specific social context to comprehend how the social world operates.

The research approach employed in this study covered the meaning of youth’s views and perspectives. In addition, it covered the contextual conditions that are socioeconomic and political in which they are depicted. Evidence gathered from multiple sources contributed to the existing concepts such as the Relative Deprivation Theory and further contributions may be applied in other studies to build up new concepts.

### **3.3. RESEARCH DESIGN**

The study critically examined the on-going conflict in Zimbabwe to ascertain whether Gurr’s Relative Deprivation Theory explains the effects of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process. According to Aspers (2009), an interpretive design involves these steps; ‘defining the research question, conducting a preliminary study; choosing a theory and using it as a scheme of reference; studying first-order constructs and bracketing the theories and concepts; constructing second-order constructs, checking for unintended effects; and finally relating the evidence to the scientific literature and empirical field of study’. In this study, the research was conducted as follows; primarily, established the Relative Deprivation Theory’s main tenants from previous literature; secondarily, kept the tenants on standby whilst using interpretive qualitative research to collect evidence from observations, official documents, and media reports; Furthermore, the abstracted higher order constructs from the obtained evidence from the field was then compared with the



propositions or tenants of the Relative Deprivation Theory to ascertain whether the emerging evidence confirmed or disconfirmed the theory; and lastly, drew the implications and effects of marginalisation, relative deprivation Theory and the conflict resolution process.

The researcher's preference for a single case study was informed by the need to confirm or challenge theory in relation to ongoing interstate conflicts. In the view of examining the Relative Deprivation Theory, the researcher opted to carry out the study using a qualitative case study described as a 'holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a programme, an institution, a person, a process or a social unit' (Merriam, 1998). Using a case study research method is a less formidable effective way of empirical inquiry in investigating a given contemporary phenomenon regarding its ideal and real-life state and context. The case study was on the youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process in Zimbabwe for the period between 2008 and 2018. The phenomenon under study denotes the effects of youth marginalization in Zimbabwe citing the youth bulge (demographic structure). According to Neuman (1994), a case study research is 'an in-depth examination of an extensive amount of information about very few units or cases for one period'.

The explanatory design is regarded as the best-suited category of case study design to interrogate a theory. Data is examined both on the surface and beyond in order to explain the phenomena. According to Yin (1994), a research design of a case study should comprise the following components; 'unit of analysis; the study questions; its propositions; the logic linking the data to the propositions; and, the criteria for interpreting the findings'. The researcher examined features of individuals, groups, and critical events within the geographic unit of Zimbabwe. Detailed data on this case study primarily focused on events between 2008 and 2018. The use of a case study to intensively investigate a given particular case of marginalization enabled the objectives and aims of the study, it linked individual acts and macro-level processes and structures (Vaughan, 1992). It is against this background that some scholars concluded that the logic of the case study is to demonstrate a causal argument about how general social forces shape and produce results in particular settings (Walton, 1992b: 122).

The employed case study was used to link abstract ideas of marginalization to specific scenarios that gave birth to internal disorders (inter-group conflict) in Zimbabwe. With respect to the tenants of the Relative Deprivation Theory, the case study helped in this research to calibrate and adjust the prepositions of theory to real experiences. The application of the case study approach served to familiarise with in-depth detail of specific cases, the examination of this case helped and went a milestone to intricate details of the social process and cause-effect relations to become more visible. Therefore there was the development of richer, more comprehensive explanations that can capture the real issues that took place. The study attempted to answer questions that are outlined in Chapter 1. Questions that are meant to demystify the research problem need to be done indirectly, to avoid pre-empting the research objectives (Chamboredon, and Passeron, 1991). It is imperative to note that this study never carried out questionnaires or direct interviews, instead secondary data analysis was conducted without any prerequisite to disclose the research objectives and the notion of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process.

The presented information in Chapter 4, evidenced that gathered data from literature and media reports made it necessary to search for the effects of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation. Focusing on the period between 2008 and 2018, the study sought to establish the signs and implications of youth marginalization had implications on the conflict resolution mechanism. Ethics in research refers to a code of conduct or expected societal norm of behaviour while conducting research. The observance of ethics in this study was essential to the researcher who is expected to abide by principles of good faith, scrutinized results, and conceding the ego, pursue scientific rather than self-interests of the study. Generally, ethics are quintessential as they reflect on the interaction with participants who provide the data, the experts who made available the results, and the whole research team that presents the interpretation of the results and suggests unconventional solutions' (Sekaran, 2003). Therefore, the hallmarks or main distinctive characteristics of scientific

research include purposiveness, rigor, testability, replicability, precision and confidence, objectivity, generalizability, and parsimony.

### **3.4. DATA COLLECTION METHODS**

Just like other researches, multiple data sources of qualitative case study research were used to enhance data credibility. Major data collection methods used in conducting qualitative case study include observation, document analysis and interviews (Wadham, 2009). The author examined written documents and other records on the socioeconomic and political life and events in Zimbabwe comprising the relationship between the government and the youth. Data gathered from participant observation included an analysis of chapter meetings i.e. commission of inquiry hearings, social events and community projects through the access of live-coverage internet platforms. Scholars argued that ‘persons spoke with, conversations conducted, events or interactions seen and participated in, documents read, are not co-terminus with the number of locations in which the study is carried out’ (Yanow, Schwartz-Shea and Freitas, 2008). Therefore, emanating from the above assertion, it can be drawn that this study was carried out targeting institutions, summits, meetings, and persons that had the required data concerning the case of Zimbabwe.

The case study on the effects of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process in Zimbabwe reflected much on the patterns of interaction, organization the practices, social relations, routines, and actions that provided significant data for the study. Observations took a central role in this study. According to Marshall (2006), ‘observation denotes the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviours, and artefacts in the social setting selected for the study’. It is of great significance to stress that, the observation was used in carrying out this research study chiefly because of the researcher’s closeness and involvement in the structures that could have contributed or resulted in the marginalization of youth. Basic steps that were followed in this study were well planned and systematically in tandem with the tenants of the Relative Deprivation Theory, also they were behaviours of what to look out for

data collected through observation include descriptions, impressions, quotes, and other noticeable features. Importantly, the researcher attended conferences and seminars on youth empowerment that were held in Zimbabwe between 2016 and 2018.

The study was heavily dependent on document analysis. Document analysis can be referred to as ‘the detailed analysis of documents produced across a wide range of social practices, taking a variety of forms from the written to the visual image’ (Wharton, 2006). The choice of selection for the documents used in this study was mainly influenced by the major thematic areas that were part of the key research questions and objectives. Furthermore, documents gathered chiefly included; downloaded pdf of government reports. The author acquired data from ZIMSTAT, Zimbabwe Population Census, European Union Observation Mission, Commission of Inquiry, studied popular songs of the period in question and studied fraternity other various media. Where it was necessary, the researcher inquired for permission to use the relevant information from relevant authorities. In some instances, information was found from official websites of publishing institutions such as the UN Peacekeeping, to avoid junk and fake information.

Multiple scientific methods of data collection can be simultaneously be employed such as interviews, observations, pre-recorded documents, and secondary data in order to gather rich, detailed and well-contextualized data. According to Mohajan (2019), a case study is a method of intensively studying a phenomenon over time within its natural setting in one or a few sites. The use of case research strengthened this research simply because it gave a firm foundation on theory testing and building of the relative deprivation. Instead of generalizing the results of this study, the case study made it possible to derive a richer, more contextualized and more authentic interpretation of the phenomenon of interest. Lastly, the research questions were formulated and modified in line with the case study’s research phenomenon of interest using various participants characterizing different perspectives such as individual and organizations. Individual youth, groups and organizations were used as multiple units of analyses. The study combined individual constructs in group activities in an attempt to ascertain the effects of group level marginalization.

Interviews were not used in order to gather data in this research. In as much as interviews can be employed to gather data purposefully from targeted informants, some scholars are of the view that incorporating the views of the relevant actors in the case under study is necessary. Some scholars consider qualitative interviewing as ideal for collecting rich and detailed information about how the individual actor's experience interprets the ongoing social systems. Since it was argued that personal interviews should be intensive targeting a minimum number of respondents averaging between 30 and 40 people, and covering a duration of one to three hours (Nicholas, 1991). The researcher preferred not to use interviews due to the barrier of geographic location.

Instead, the study relied on extracts and data acquired from strategic rich controlled interviews of the key main parties that participated in the Commission of Inquiry into the Post-election Violence 2018. The seven-member Commission was chaired by the former South African President Kgalema Motlaleli. International members comprised of British Advocate Rodney Dixon, Tanzanian retired General David Mwamunyange, and ex-Commonwealth Secretary General Emeka Anaoku. Nationals included; Professor Lovemore Madhuku (Constitutional Law Expert), Charity Manyeruke (Political Science), and former Law Society of Zimbabwe President Ms Vimbai Nyemba. The findings of its controlled interviews were important and provided significant data relevant to this study. There was no room that was left loose for conversations, instead, the interviews were founded on structured exchanges of structured questions.

### **3.5. DATA ANALYSIS**

The process of transforming data into findings can be understood as data analysis. The main aim here was to go through an in-depth analysis of voluminous data generated and presented it in a concise and logical way. According to observations of various researches that have been carried out, there is no single strategy or formula for the transformation. There may be principles and general ethics that maybe homogeneously applied in various studies however the final destination of research

remains unique for each inquirer (Patton, 2002:432). According to Kawulich (2004), qualitative data analysis is 'more of an art' of extracting meaning from the data collected in a study guided by the purpose of the study, research questions, and the theoretical framework. Data analysis is regarded as an iterative process and reflective process that begins as data are being collected (Stake, 1995). Data analysis is a process of weaving together, recognition of emerging themes, identification of key ideas or units of material acquired from the literature (Mohajan, 2018).

Transcribing each piece of the data from all various data sources and typing it into word processing documents for this study enhanced data analysis. From controlled interviews, observational notes, etc., the research proceeded to data segmentation. The study may rely much on research questions to classify data into stratified thematic data. Data for content analysis tend to take any form, these include all types of written documents. The primary gist for data content analysis is to analyse and examine both manifest content of item content, and latent content (what is recorded or depicted, and subtle messages or meaning encoded in an item such as unspoken assumptions that give the content or meaning in the social world). In general, data analysis is best conducted when all information is gathered and prepared. Therefore, emerging patterns from the conducted analysis were very much aligned with the research questions and literature reviewed.

It was observed that in social research, interviews are generally useful for collecting the perspectives of various respondents. A classic example can be drawn from a Commission of Inquiry that was set up by the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Emmerson Mnangagwa. Seven member Commission interacted with various witnesses to the causes of violence in the 2018 harmonized elections. They moderated to produce a shared narrative of the phenomenon of interest. The hearings were not highly structured, some turned out to be free flowing like a normal conversation with people of diverse backgrounds, age, political affiliations, and top-level government officials. All testimonies were conducted on the live camera such that in this research, analysed was video recordings that recorded exact phrasing, emphasis, hesitations and other emotions relevant to the area of study.

Content analysis was employed to examine the content and symbols or information contained in written documents and other communication media. Content analysis is defined as the systematic analysis of the content of a text in a qualitative or quantitative manner (Mohajan, 2018). In simple terms, it was conducted as follows, the researchers selected a set of texts from the population of texts that includes journal articles, financial reports, and online reviews, official government press statements among others. Only texts that had more pertinent content were selected. A major focus was to determine recurring themes appearing frequently, in what context, and how they are related to each. The research identified the 2018 Harmonised Election Observation Report, 2015 Population Census Report as part of the key sources of analysis. Main aspects of the content analysis looked at the recurrence of certain words and themes. This method was efficient and relevant because the creators of the content did not know whether such information would be analysed for the study of youth marginalization. The sentimental analysis was a crucial technique used to capture people's opinion or attitude towards an object, person, or phenomenon.

The most efficient way of presenting voluminous evidence without compromising the structure of the report was applied. According to Ponterotto (2006), 'the thick description refers to a researcher's task of both describing and interpreting observed social action within its context'. The description was intermittently used to capture real thoughts and feelings of participants as well as to examine under a microscopic diagnosis, to illuminate the basis for coming out with tangible outcomes. The use of thick description is attributed to be very important in social research that can also lead to thick research findings (Shenton, 2004). It is therefore in this respect that the author tried to interpret the subjective meaning of the given texts within their socio-historic context by iterating between the singular interpretation of the text and a holistic understanding of the context.

### **3.6. RIGOR**

To ensure rigor of a case study research, there is the need to construct validity, internal validity, and reliability. The need for rigor in purposive study guarantees a good theoretical base and a sound methodological design that is necessary and was employed in this study. Rigor connotes carefulness, scrupulousness, and the degree of exactitude in research investigations (Sekaran, 2003). Unlike in quantitative research where objectivity is so significant and researchers make efforts to disassociate themselves with the research, qualitative research embraces their involvement and contribution to research as a necessity to guarantee rigor. Guba and Lincoln (1981) cited the need for subjectivity in qualitative studies which override reliability and validity that holds much water in quantitative research. They proposed the reliance on the parallel concepts of trustworthiness of the study basing on: credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability. Over and above, to achieve rigor the research claimed to construct validity by gathering verifiable evidence, that it can be replicable by others as far as reliability is concerned.

Dependability refers to the level of authenticity that is created if two or more researchers use the same set of evidence to independently arrive at similar conclusions (Mohajan, 2018). To guarantee dependability, the researcher in this study provided details about youth marginalization and social context in which it is embedded so as to allow readers substantiate their interpretive inferences. Credibility in rigor is referred to as the inference of the researcher's extended engagement in the field. According to Mohajan (2018), transferability refers to which findings of research can be generalized to other settings. The research tried to give a detailed description of the research context and examined some structures, assumptions and process revealed from the available data. Such a standard would also help readers to independently find out whether the research findings could be transferable to other settings.

A carefully crafted research topic was crafted for this study and was aligned with the research objectives and the research questions to construct validity. O'Brien and Dillion (1996) asserted that one neglected component in qualitative research is the role



played by the researcher that may be underlined by bias and mixed perspectives resulting in the distortion of both construct and internal validity. It can be drawn that there is a very close relationship between the researcher's goals and the theoretical frames selected. Theoretical frames used are highly linked and associated with all previous researches, findings or theories that have to do with the area of study. Therefore, how cases are selected, information is collected, and how data is analysed influences the methodological choices (Crescentini and Mainardi, 2009).

### **3.7. CONCLUSION**

In the final analysis of this chapter, it can be drawn that the study used a complementary paradigm research approach in which an instrumental qualitative case study on Zimbabwe was interrogated. Sequential explanatory design was employed for the research methodology to interrogate existing rationalist based theory in which the effects of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process was the unit of analysis. These methods and approaches checked and found relative deprivation (marginalization) between the youth and the government since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. An attempt was made to discuss elaborate and examine how the conditions that necessitated youth marginalization could be dealt with, to resolve potential conflict. In brief, this chapter examined the employed research approach, research design, data collection methods, data analysis, and rigor. These various research instruments ensured thick interpretation and thick research findings.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA PRESENTATION**

#### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

In situations where the forces of change are exerted to the government, the use of excessive force is likely to be witnessed which may not be proportionate to civilian demands. This gives a new face and interpretation of events from simply just being a matter of marginalization and gradually becoming a political and economic crisis that causes the suffering of ordinary citizens and scares away investors and many other international players. Despite different warnings to the government of Zimbabwe, the marginalization of youth resulted in several effects that included political manipulation; transparency and corruption; gender-specific challenges in participation; lack of clarity on policy document abandoning or task interest in marginalized areas due to remoteness; and the lack of self-confidence. This chapter presents the evidence on the genesis and effects of youth marginalization; a process tracing of youth participation in the decision making and policy implementation; giving rationalist explanations; the role of youth and the government's Responsibility to Protect (R2P); the incidents of violence surrounding the 2018 elections; impediments to the inclusion and empowerment of youth; and lastly conflict resolution mechanisms that can be employed. The major focus of this study is to highlight the effects of time and changed circumstances on the notion of relative deprivation and associated implications on youth participation.

#### **4.2 GENESIS AND EFFECTS OF YOUTH MARGINALIZATION IN ZIMBABWE (2008 – 2019)**

Youth marginalization can be witnessed and observed from the economic practice of youth in the streets. According to Shand et al (2017), little attention is given about how street connected young people maintain their livelihoods and earning

strategies as they enter adulthood. Shand et al (2017) carried out a research on children and youth in Zimbabwe, Ghana and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) capital cities in a bid to highlight the importance of the informal economy and revealed how income is generated to address the adverse external environment. It can be drawn that the genesis of youth marginalization is connected to youth living precariously in street environments, markets and informal settlements which thus caused them to develop complex responses to their social and economic exclusion, working on the fringes of the formal and urban economy.

The rapid growth of informal economic activities is evident in Zimbabwe. Just like other sub-Saharan African cities (Lindell, 2010) expanding informality has affected both the spatial configuration of urban centres and ways in which people shape their socio-economic relationships (AlSayed, 2004). Informal sector can be defined as a more complex encompassing understanding of the informal arena as a model of urbanization that connects spaces and economic activity. This definition is beyond the scope of simply unregulated business activity (Roy and AlSayed, 2004). Shand et al (2017) have to say, urban informality has a human dimension, manifest in the actions of people, contribution to the social fabric of cities and played out through who is included or excluded as legitimate users of public space. It can, therefore, be drawn that youth in Zimbabwe are thriving in the informal economy where they may be insecure and precarious but at the same time being an important source of work and opportunities for income generation for youth who may lack the qualification, stability and official identification to compete for formal employment (Gough et al., 2013).

The genesis and effects of youth marginalization in Zimbabwe suggested the need for economic practices that preserve safety and well-being. According to the research conducted in Harare by Shand et al in 2017, to understand the choices and constraints affecting street children and youth as they became adults. It was established that the effects of youth marginalization are visible in the city of Harare predominantly as vendors, some begging or undertaking other forms of labour such as cart pulling and collecting recyclable materials. Other street youths were accounted as living on a subsistence basis and typically unable to build the material of financial assets to stabilize

their position to escape negative cycles of poverty due to their precarious social and economic position. The nature of work that youth are engaging in the economic practice like casual employment, petty trading, and waste picking, recycling, and selling metals and plastics, illegal acts of theft, sex work, and begging among others (Shand et al, 2017). These provided glittering evidence on the effects of youth marginalization in decision making and policy implementation.

Several adverse effects of youth marginalization have resulted due to the government of Zimbabwe's failure to address meaningfully Article 20 of the Zimbabwe Constitution of 2013. According to Article 20 S 1(c), the state and all institutions and agencies of government at every level is mandated to ensure that youth are afforded opportunities for employment and other avenues to economic empowerment. As a result, various characteristics and factors shaped the types of jobs available in the informal sector which is now the hub of marginalized youth. According to Shand et al (2017), firstly youth in Harare and those in other African cities typically operate on subsistence basis with the aim to earn a living and are left with no alternative opportunities that can be formal or informal and often involve illegal activity, Secondly, typically the ephemeral opportunities or work were short term and lacked security. Thirdly, leg earnings are often regarded as inadequate to meet young people's needs. It is henceforth imperative to observe that youths' lack of stable and sufficient income due to nature and circumstances they are depicted, in many cases leaves them for violence, abuse, and robbery.

As illustrated in the table below, a number of youths were reported to be involved in a wide range of work activities across three different cities. Of relevance to this study pertains to the findings on Zimbabwe's capital city Harare. The information gathered reflected on the nature of work to which marginalized youth resorted to doing due to empowerment. According to Shand et al (2017), youth have a diversity of experience that reflects the ingenuity to create income opportunities. The relative exclusion of youths in the decision making and policy implementation process makes the informal sector develop the capacity to utilize the marginalized group's labour. The unavailability of limited capital for young people to invest in various enterprises, access

to loaning facilities vindicates them to the reliance on physical work which offers no respect to education background except their bodies as the most priced assets (Shand et al, 2017). A comparative analysis was carried across three cities which are Accra, Bukavu, and Harare. Below is an illustration of the notable differences between the opportunities that are found in three African cities. Harare (Zimbabwe) in particular is notable for the prevalence of sex work, theft, and recycling for generating income, which is apparently not healthy for a national economy to invest and rely on higher risk activities.

**Table 1: Work types – Accra, Bukavu, and Harare**

Work type	Accra	Bukavu	Harare
Carrying Goods	Off-loading containers Running errands Loading/driver's mate Carrying for shoppers Kayayei (female porters)	Commercial loading Ship unloading Driver's mate	Supermarket customers Luggage at bus stations Moving furniture Commercial Goods Newspapers
Cleaning	Sweeping market areas Cleaning chop bars Shoeshine Laundry Toilet attendant Car windscreen	Car washing/cleaning Collecting waste Cleaning canoes Sweeping Motorbike washing	Sweeping market areas Cleaning shops Waste Bins Car washing Cleaning "combi" buses Laundry
Vending	Alcohol/water Fruit/cooked food Belts/clothes/shoes Candies/biscuits Earrings/jewelry Soap/toiletries	Stones Disinfectant Bicycle renting	Sweets and biscuits Cigarettes Airtime Alcohol Fruit and eggs Music and film CDs
Drugs	Marijuana (wee) Tramadol (pain killers)	Ganja (Cannabis) Le chanvre/fege (Hemp) Kazamba (inhaling	Marijuana ( Mbanje ) Strong beer ( Zed ) Diazepam ( tranquilizer ) Cough syrup ( Broncleer )

		petrol) BT (Boss Tangawisi whiskey)	
Recycling for sale	Scrap Metals Plastic bottles	Scrap Metals Plastic bottles	Plastic bottles Aluminum Cans Copper cables Clothing/cloth/hair weave Food (repackage for sale)
Guarding	Security company	Cars	Market night watch Cars
Sex work	Pick up clients at bars Street prostitution Sugar mama/daddy	Pick up clients at bars Street prostitution	Pick up clients at bars Pornography filming Sugar mama/daddy
Theft	Pickpocketing From sex work clients Confidence trick Sale of stolen goods Snatching phones Internet fraud	Snatching (shocking) Thieves' lookout Stealing car parts	Pickpocketing A violent assault on adults Assault on smaller children Snatching phones/money From shops/shoppers

*Extracted from Shand, Blerk, and Hunter (2017)<sup>12</sup>*

The genesis and effects of youth marginalization can also be traced on rural to urban migration. Initially, young people travel from places of birth to cities such as Harare and Bulawayo with an idealized view of work they will be able to find and settle for. However, the reality of life requires one to provide pre-requisites such as work experience, knowledge, skills, resources and social connections that automatically exonerates them out of the main picture of the economy to its margins. It was observed that in Harare there are public markets and high volumes of potential customers. A vivid illustration on the potential of young people was described as follows; "...children and

<sup>12</sup> Wayne Shand, Lorraine van Blerk, and Janine Hunter (2017). Economic Practices of African Street Youth: The Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, and Zimbabwe.

youth trade a vast array of goods from toffees and biscuits to music CDs, clothing and cleaning materials. Anything that can be hawked on the streets, and can generate a profit will be considered a sellable item” (Shand et al., 2017). It is out of this energy and potential that some young people are then taken advantage of by the more established traders. In this case, they became subject to small profit-sharing arrangements.

Commercial districts and retail areas of several cities and towns in Zimbabwe have been the key places where youth generate income through informal illegal activities. Young people congregate in these public places which are enabling for begging, theft by snatching and pickpocketing (Shand et al., 2017). It is in the same areas that are also prone to predatory behaviour of young people seeking out to rob mobile phones, money and other valuables. Thus the above behaviour is a pure manifestation of youth ways of survival in relation to the economy. Young seemingly are taking advantage of the porous informal sector character which embodies a wide range of opportunities for both legal and illegal work. Youth are looking for conducive space that provides them with means to cope up with disadvantages of age, lack of education, and social status in order to make a livelihood. The adverse conditions in the lives of youth are identified with the diversity of work activity, the risks associated with street life.

The earnings of young people greatly reflect the genesis and effects of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation. Due to the widespread dominance of the informal sector across Zimbabwe, risky and illegal channels seem to reward a lot more. Most types of these include theft, sex work, and occasional gambling whereas itinerant work considerably generates \$2 per day (Shand et al., 2017). One of the simple characteristics of informal works is that people can expect periods with no work which automatically means no money. When this occurs, young people rely on hand-outs from relatives, donors, organizations and external funders depending on how well established they have. Below is a striking example of research that was conducted in Accra (Ghana), Bukavu (DRC) and Harare (Zimbabwe). The research gathered the earnings of different tasks that vary considerably, it is also these types of works in which youth are currently actively involved in. In the worst words of Shand et al., (2017) “youth think that they are being exploited by employers and

customers because they are desperately looking for money”, at times they have to haggle for payment after completion of the task either to void being cheated or not being paid. It is against this background that youth develop a sense of being isolated and injustice.

A more substantial factor denotes combining the types of work and the level of income or earning for the youth. It is against this background that the effects of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process can be realized through a wide range of economic undertaken in cities. Connolly and Ennew (1996), pointed out that the informal sector is the primary hub for the youth to earn money and also reflects their lived experience of being socially embedded in streets, markets and urban settlements. Engaging in the urban economy, for street children and youth, blurs dichotomized boundaries of formal and formal legal and illegal employment enterprise in ways that reflect their marginal position (Shand et al, 2017). Regardless of the various talents, the youth may have a level of education among others, the majority constantly find themselves in both formal and informal sectors where they continuously negotiate access to work, an extension of contracts just to mention but a few. Therefore focus has to be placed on the possibilities of another way to get rid of the usually contested livelihoods of youth.

#### **4.3 PROCESS TRACING OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION.**

Youth participation has been improved in recent years through the use of social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp, and Twitter. Events of the Arab Spring provides with an empirical example of how some long-serving regimes were overthrown. The use of social media to enhance political participation has like in other countries risked national security. Various concerns have been expressed by the government based on its potential to mobilize users (Mutingwina, 2008). Researches that have been conducted in other fields of media and journalism mainly circled around the communicative power and national security laws. The capability of social media platforms to influence policy can be regarded towards the Arab Spring uprisings in 2010



(Tunisia, Egypt and Lybia), the ‘occupy moments’ in Europe and USA, the occupy parliament movement in Kenya (Mukhongo, 2014:329), Rhodes Must-Fall in South Africa’s Cape Town (Chaudhuri, 2016).

Since 2009, Zimbabwe faced two different waves of social media contestations. Like other events of the Arab Spring, social media became a counter-initiative to government’s monopoly over information. ZANU PF remained an established political party has retained absolute power since 1980 when the country gets independence from white colonial minority rule. The need for political space and good governance in Zimbabwe was backed by frightening high unemployment rates, and growing criticism of the state’s failure to uphold democratic principles, human rights and rule of law. According to Marima (2016), Zimbabwe entered a seasoned of discontent in 2016 which is reminiscent of the Arab Spring upheavals. Youth participation was hindered through arrests of the alleged organizers of the protest and incidents of violence as security steps to restore law and order. A vivid example can be drawn from the arrest of Pastor Evan Mawarire an independent activist who mobilized the whole country to a standstill national shutdown on June 6, 2016, using social media Facebook and WhatsApp.

The growing use of social media in political participation predominantly started in 2013 ahead of the harmonized presidential and parliamentary elections in Zimbabwe. A classic example is that of an anonymous Facebook page with the pseudonym ‘Baba Jukwa’ which vehemently stood out loud to oppose the ruling party ZANU PF. Its followers grew at an exponential rate to a total of 322,892 likes within a short space of time less than four months (Bugalo, 2013). In a move attributed to being the government’s counter effort to create parallel propagandist platforms, related pages were created with names such as ‘Sahwira waJukwa’ (*Baba Jukwa’s best friend*) and ‘Sekuru Jukwa’ (*Uncle Jukwa*) (Chibuwe and Ureke, 2016). In the later days, another well-known page emerged called ‘Mugrade Seven’, with over 200 000 followers (Mujere and Mwaturara, 2016). Unique about these pages was the fact that they revealed highly classified information from both government and the ruling political party ZANU PF. Should the government had easily gotten the opportunity to capture the person behind these pages, arrest, and imprisonment would have been imposed right away.

Considering the legal and institutional arrangements dominating government and youth discourse in Zimbabwe, it was reaffirmed that the potential social media platforms can be used to facilitate citizens' freedom of expression for their political views and actively influence decision making and increased political participation lacked evidence (Mutsvairo and Sirks, 2015:330). In other studies, Mhiripiri and Mutsvairo (2013:402) dismissed claims that social media could facilitate uprisings in Zimbabwe that may result in a regime change just like the Arab Spring experiences. Apparently social media had been instrumental in bringing out hidden issues such as human rights abuse to the international community. As part of the social contract, the government has duties enshrined in Section 20 of Zimbabwe's constitution. Social media has largely substituted conventional media as a reliable means to express views. A report the Research Advocacy Unit (RAU, 2016:17) referred to the research that concluded that various institutions place priority on political issues whereas there are some major pressing issues that deserve such attention as follows; unemployment, management of the economy, corruption, agriculture, roads, poverty, income, water supply, education, and food shortage.

The use of social media by young people has seen the government taking deliberate measures to express national security concerns. A number of restrictive measures with little or no substantive evidence have been inaugurated or put in place signifying an existing conflict between the government and national security. A vivid example took place mid-January 2019, the Minister of State in the Office of the President and Cabinet issued a directive to all mobile operators namely Econet Wireless Zimbabwe, Telecel and Netone. The written warrant quoted Section 6 of the interception of Communications Act to suspend all internet services and related social media applications across all telecommunication networks and Internet Service Providers. According to the statement issued;

“Failure to comply would result in 3 years imprisonment for members of local management in terms of section 6. 2(b), (2) A service provider who fails to give assistance in terms of this section shall be guilty of an offense and liable to a fine

not exceeding level twelve or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 3 years or both such fine and such imprisonment”.<sup>13</sup>

The role of youth in Zimbabwe society has been perceived and evaluated differently by the civil society and the government. Informed by the communicative action theoretical prepositions the understanding of how the participation of youth and other citizens shapes democracy is indeed a mammoth task (Habermas, 1996) in light of social media input as contributing to communicative power and legal considerations. In recent years, social media has become a crowded arena, almost every youth is in one way or the other a social media user in Zimbabwe. The government has made it a pragmatic fact that through the law they determine the context within which young people conduct political participation at the same time it is underscored by those in power that young people play a critical role in the establishment and amendment of laws. It is essential therefore to conclude that there is a rift between the government and the young people who are now resilient to use whatever is within their disposal to influence the change of the status quo.

The #ThisFlag social movement is a striking example of one of the radical pressure groups that started in 2016 and triggered a participative political culture in Zimbabwe. Mutingwa (2018) quoted the group describing itself as ‘a citizen’s movement dedicated to empowering and partnering with citizens to be engaged and active in national issues that affect their livelihood’ (This Flag Facebook page, 2016). It is through various social media platforms that its administrator and creator, Evan Mawarire recorded live videos discussing societal problems into the societal sphere. Like all other citizens youth desire for accountability from the powerful elites who always play a blame game whenever they cannot hide the truth, instead they attributed anyone who stands up to challenge them regarded as being funded by external forces. It is because of these incidents that the government revoked the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act [Chapter 9:23] that makes it criminal for a person to organize or advocate the overthrow of a constitutionally sworn-in government through the use of unconstitutional means.

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<sup>13</sup> Econet Wireless Zimbabwe press statement on the 19<sup>th</sup> of January 2019 regarding internet shutdown.

This study answers a question on how youth benefit from day to day implementation of official policies. Tracing it back, more than three decades, land reform in Zimbabwe ended in an ambiguous victory for youths (Thebe, 2018). In the eyes of the political elites focus on the cumulative outcome both the scale and scope of the process was figuratively regarded as a success hence overshadowing the grey areas of exclusion. It is well documented that youth played a pivotal role in undertaking the fast-track land reform programme in early 2000. It was recorded that on 16 April 2000, young people were driven to white commercial farms and begun beating both male and female farm workers as they claimed to symbolically claim the land (Blair Rutherford, Development and Article, 2008:74). In the case of Chiredzi District in early 2000, 'self-proclaimed war-veterans disaffected jobless and landless youth' (Chaumba, Scones, and Wolmer, 2002:22). It is against this background that this study pays attention to how youth ended up being victims in the land reform program in which some did participate.

The land reform policy was and is still a very important step that was taken by the government of Zimbabwe. This is so because in simple terms the government corrected the historical disparities that had seen the racial discrimination of the native blacks. This study also submits that possibly the policy would have addressed young people's economic well-being and livelihoods of rural youth and rural society (Thebe, 2018). With the growing youth unemployment, several documents and organizational initiative tend to suggest that agriculture has the potential to address the world's youth crisis (Poctor and Lucchesi, 2013; White, 2012). It is therefore in light of land reform policy issues that this study examined the involvement of youth in agriculture both subsistence and commercial levels.

The way the land reform policy was handled in Zimbabwe gives a striking hint on how policies are deliberated in general. The era of land reform dispensation became very much contemplated by international institutions such as the development institutions (World Bank, 2006). Lack of political will and investing in agriculture have seen young people deserting farmlands in search of greener pastures. The government has to come up with proper policies that pull youth to farmlands as opposed to pushing them away. A vivid example of doing it was provided by Thebe (2018), the government

may have introduced capacity building initiatives in agriculture that literally means having people with capable skills, access to credit lines and improved agricultural technology among others. Faced with the effects of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation, the government's efforts to sustainable agriculture through the land reform programme could have worked well, should there had been sufficient support. Such could have improved the well-being of many young people both educated and uneducated.

Process tracing of youth participation in decision making and policy implementation can be informed from the perspective of resettlement, youth settlers and agriculture. The narrative of land reform was crafted by the older generation that had occupied executive powers since independence. In their articulation of the guided narrative of the 'land is the economy land' (Thebe, 2018), resettlement was crafted as a way or means of creating places for a new agrarian class that would ensure food security guarantee economic security for the whole nation. However, the reality on the ground resulted in political patronage of the land-resettlement process. Chiumba et al., (2003) made a description that in Umguza District, war-veterans exceeded the 20 % official quotas in villages at the expense of the minority youth and single women who could not get the land. Research showed that the generality of youth that benefited from the land reform only got access through the political power of war-veterans.

#### **4.4 RATIONALIST EXPLANATIONS OF YOUTH MARGINALIZATION IN DECISION MAKING AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION.**

Applying the Relative Deprivation Theory to examine efforts of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process can be explained rationally as follows. The tension between the government and the young people can build up until it becomes ripe for the deliberations to yield or cascade into either positive or negative outcomes. According to Gurr (1970), the perceived discrepancy between value expectations and value capabilities results in various effects that may be regarded as a threat to human security. It is the scope of relative deprivation

that determines the intensity for potential tones of collective action. In this section, the study shall provide empirical findings on the systematic propositions about age differences that are fundamental to the case of Zimbabwe. Studies deliberated on relative deprivation of youths' needs and interests circled on the quest for sound economic and political equality which they lacked, and on the other hand with the few elites in favour of status quo.

To begin with the transition of power that saw the long-serving leader President Mugabe forced to resign at the late age of 93 in November 2017. After serving for more than 38 years, the President was replaced by his erstwhile fellow comrade, Emmerson Mnangagwa through a military assisted political gridlock. In a televised press statement through the national state broadcasting on Monday 13 November 2017, the Army Commander of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces issued direct words to a group of people he regarded as 'counter-revolutionary infiltrators' within the ruling ZANU PF. On the 14<sup>th</sup> day, there was a military take-over that was reported by Major General Sibusiso Moyo. Apart from it saying the operation was meant to bring to justice criminals that were around President Mugabe (Rutherford, 2018).

"We wish to make this abundantly clear that this is not a military take-over of government. What the defense forces are doing is to pacify a denigrating political, social, and economic situation in our country which if not addressed may result in violent conflict" (eNCA, 2017).

On the 18<sup>th</sup> day, a massive public marched sanctioned by the military and the ZNLWV draw thousands to demand the resignation of Mugabe. Dramatic events occurred following a huge voice of people calling for Mugabe's forced resignation. Firstly, the ZANU PF central committee announced the removal of Mugabe from the party at the same time replacing him with Mnangagwa. Secondly, Mugabe handed over his resignation letter on Tuesday 21 November amid parliamentary proceedings to impeach him using two-thirds majority votes. Thirdly on the 24<sup>th</sup> of November, Mnangagwa was inaugurated as the President of Zimbabwe. The bloodless military assisted transfer of power was named Operation Restore Legacy and a new dawn was felt in Zimbabwe across all age groups. The celebrations were genuinely emotional as

they embodied memories of torture, suppression, killings, violence and a dysfunctional national economy (Rutherford, 2018). More-so, the generality of Zimbabweans celebrated the removal of Mugabe through the army hoping for an economic and social services infrastructural revitalization following strong decades of economic meltdown plus the need to safeguard political dominance on the anti-colonial guerrillas.

The post-Mugabe era began on a hopeful note despite the very poor representation of youth in its cabinet. As was televised on South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC, 2017), President Mnangagwa declared in a meeting with business stakeholders he declared that “Let bygones be bygones and look forward with hope. From now Zimbabwe is open for business, yes there will be political issues but primarily it is economics, economics, and trade for Zimbabwe”. Despite the above hope from President Oracles, the young people only enjoyed a short ‘honeymoon’ celebration when the whole puzzle began to re-shape. Firstly it can be observed that the relationship between Mugabe and his successor, Emmerson Mnangagwa was very grave (more than five decades). Secondly, they all belonged the same political party and had apparently worked very closely in many shadowy and violent practices such as the Gukurahundi<sup>14</sup>. Thirdly, Mnangagwa and the military leaders are attributed to be the chief master planners of extensive violence in 2008 soon after the harmonized elections in order to maintain ZANU PF’s grip on power (Sachikonye, 2012b:50). Therefore the same system that has marginalized young people has not yet changed as the power still remains with the old.

Social media played a very central and crucial role in reinforcing political participation in Zimbabwe. Crucial incidents may be referred to the successful mass stay away in June 2016 and January 2019, the ability to mobilise demonstration that demanded the resignation of Mugabe, and its effectiveness to bring a convergence zone between the Zimbabweans local and abroad in pre and post-election participation. Bearing the precedence from the Arab Spring political protests in the Middles East, it is generally argued that social media has the ability and influence to promote effective

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<sup>14</sup> A series of military operations that was carried out by the Zimbabwe National Army from 1983 to 1987 that left more than 4000 people dead (The catholic commission for justice and peace in Zimbabwe, 1997)

social and political changes in contemporary societies. A related scenario can be drawn from the 2013 incident of Baba Jukwa's Facebook page. Fundamental to this page was the fact that it buttressed democratic participation of all Zimbabweans both local and abroad, although there is lack of tangible evidence that indeed the page helped to facilitate increased democratic participation in the country (Mutsvairo and Sirks, 2015). Nevertheless, views of the social media users that are predominantly youth started to flourish on unconventional platforms, voices began being heard across the nation that had been formally side-lined by mass media, thereby social media now become a podium for debates.

Despite inequality and closing off opportunities in occupying government offices, Information and Communications Technology are revolutionizing the way of communication, interaction, and gathering of information. A good example is that, unlike conventional media platforms that require formal channels to get through, social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram are available for use to anyone who has access to the internet. This breaks the formally known conventional media culture of 'big men syndrome' that dominated African politics (Mutsvairo and Sirks, 2015). Youth marginalization now appears to be just a system of exclusion by a group or generation of older people whole think that they are entitled to rule the country of Zimbabwe and not anyone younger than them. It can also be underlined that social media has drastically removed the systematic prerequisite of wanting some common people regardless of age to be 'someone' first before being on air and became a functional member of the community towards contributing to social and political participation. It is, therefore, suffice to say that government must open up official channels that accommodate youth in the formal process of decision making and policy implementation as this concerns Zimbabwe and its future generations not only limited to families of a selected privileged few.

Furthermore, it is apparently clear that there is cosmetic cooperation between the youth and the government stakeholders in political participation through digital platforms. In the words of Feenberg (1991), "it is a seemingly nonchalant instrumentalist assumption that technologies by virtue of what they are, have the power to effect



change”. A classic example of how social media can offer freedom of expression but yet its users are not free at all is the case of Professor Jonathan Moyo who uses his Twitter account as a lethal weapon (*@ProfJNMoyo*) whilst he is in exile since the ouster of President Mugabe in November 2017. He is referred to as one of the targeted criminals that were around President Mugabe as per the popular statement from the army Major General S.B. Moyo (2017). Since then, Professor J.N. Moyo uses his Twitter to vehemently attack and express his frustration, dissatisfaction with the events unfolding in Zimbabwe. His present location is not yet established, however, the indisputable fact is that where ever he is residing he is not free to be in public, and he lacks the freedom to join organizations. Henceforth, this study affirms that young people are also caught in the same predicament where the government has no superior control of their views on social media however in real life the quest for democracy is inherently limited and in cases denied.

#### **4.5 THE ROLE OF YOUTH AND THE GOVERNMENT’S RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT (R2P).**

Responsibility to Protect commonly abbreviated as R2P is a modern international intervention norm for human rights protection. Basically, it entails a revisited concept of state sovereignty as an obligation and responsibility rather than a right. According to Dzimir (2014), the R2P norm was welcomed in Africa and its principles have been strongly embraced by the African Union’s (AU) Constitutive Act. In many African countries, this norm is very crucial given youth in population demographic structures found in humanitarian crises. Young people are vulnerable to various aspects of conflicts owing to their socio-economic vulnerability and marginalization (Dzimir, 2014). There exist strong evidence that young people are used for political expediency. Youth in Zimbabwe are targeted and exploited to participate directly and indirectly in armed and violent conflicts. It is against this background that below is a rationalist narrative on how youth have been used as agents of violence at the edges of power.

The R2P was adopted in 2005 at the UN World Summit as a codified humanitarian intervention at the global level (UN, 2005). Article 20 in Zimbabwe's Constitution of 2013, underlines basic provisions of the R2P anchored on three responsibilities that appears to be of much significance to the aims of this study. Firstly, states have bestowed the responsibility to prevent and address the root causes of conflicts and various other human-induced catastrophes. Secondly, is the responsibility to react which entails the methodology and ways of responding to situations of serious humanitarian proportionate measures for instance sanctions, international protection of civilians and in extreme cases the deployment of the military. Thirdly, the responsibility to build, this encompasses peace building, provisions of aid, reconstruction, reconciliation and addressing the sources of the whole conflict (International Commission of Intervention and State sovereignty [ICISS], 2001). These key components are very important to every society, more importantly to young people in ensuring holistic, legitimate and accountability approach to their security. It is therefore very important to note that the R2P is a necessity to the youth as they are a victim of a variety of conflicts.

The political, social and economic crisis in Zimbabwe started two decades ago with the militarization of youth corruption and the predatory elements within the ZANU PF political cycles (Mlambo, 2006). The former UN Secretary General, Ban Ki-Moon, emphasized on the need to protect children in armed conflict and has to be prioritized (UN, 17 July 2008). There are traces of conspicuous militarization of the youth by ZANU PF (Masunungure, 2011). The National Youth Service (NYS), was birthed likened to a previous military affiliated group of the Cadet System and the Zimbabwe People's Militia (ZPM) around the 1980s (Chitiyo and Rupiya, 2005; Mada 2007:174). The NYS was an establishment meant to shape youths in a truly Zimbabwean manner (Solidarity Peace Trust, 2003:4). The National Youth Policy in Zimbabwe (2000) spells out the NYS program was meant to still a sense of patriotism, responsible leadership and prepare the youth for the world and work for their country. The NYS became political and acted as a gate pass for youth who would like to work for government parastatals (Nyakudya, 2007). It can, therefore, be argued that economic hardship and the shrinking

job market has by no means directly affected the government, instead has worked affected as an injection to the grip of political power.

The 2008 pre and post-election violence is an example of a worst case scenario of how the politicized and militarized youth can affect youth political participation negatively. It was claimed that the Zimbabwe Youth Service that was constituted by ZANU PF party boasted themselves as the 'team B' while the national Army as 'team A' meaning that they all executed same services in the line of operations (Solidarity Peace Trust Report, 2008). According to a study that was done by the Solidarity Peace Trust in 2008, ZANU PF led youth militia percentage share of violence was 43%, far above than other security apparatus. War-veterans were ranked at 17.3%, police 13%, army 18.8%, and other ZANU PF supporters 25% (Solidarity Trust Report, 2008:53). The Human Rights Watch Report (2008), documented that youth were accused of being perpetrators of violence in rural areas, setting up roadblocks to identify Movement for Democratic Change opposition party supporters (Dzimiri, 2014). A lot happened through the hands of the trained youth, briefly, there was unfollowed up cases of looting, impunity and lack of accountability and cases of gang rape (AIDS-Free World Online, 2013).

The marginalization of youth in the decision making and policy implementation process gave rise to youth's experiences in Zimbabwe on R2P concern. Youths' involvement in violence arise in the context of them being used to committing crimes against humanity intentionally (Dzimiri, 2014), and thus have social economic and political implications. The R2P is a global initiative meant to assist government's exercise of total responsibility to uphold this principle; youth have been recruited to act as gangsters against their own brothers, relatives kith and kin (Dzimiri, 2014). Some researchers have indicated that the government of Zimbabwe has not done enough through acts of commission to prevent inhuman acts which includes the persecution of members of a group collectively, intelligence perpetrated disappearance, torture, murder, rape, imprisonment or severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rules of international law and forcibly displacing people among other crimes against humanity (Evan, 2008; ICISS, 2001).

More substantially, the government of Zimbabwe can be spotted violating other international conventions through the continued marginalization of youth in the decision making and policy implementation process. A classic example can be drawn from the experiences of Mugabe's regime in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. The rights and protection of youth enshrined in the 1990 African Union Convention on the Rights and Welfare of Children and Article 38 of the 2002 UN Convention on the rights of the involvement in armed conflict all became endangered by the level of vulnerability observed in youth across Zimbabwe (Dzimiri, 2014). Reports from testimonies of the 2018 Commission of Inquiry clearly pointed that the government deliberately gave impunity to the youth so that they could act in impunity against any force deemed to contest power from ZANU PF. After the 2008 elections, the most notable and horrific incident was the Operation Makavhotera Papi (*Operation whom did you vote for*), with the help of the youth, a lot were used to kill, maim, torture and rape (Masunungure, 2011). It is against this background that untold stories of mass grave were later-on unearthed during an exercise of mass exhumation of Comrades killed during the liberation wars and many bodies of recently secretly buried young people were found (Dzimiri, 2014).

In the final analysis, it can be safely concluded that the effects of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation are evident in the society in Zimbabwe. The culture of violence is being entrenched in the whole country. There is a pressing need to ensure that the government should seriously adopt the R2P as a strong doctrine upheld as a bottom-up approach. The 'bottom-up approach' signifies the youth's responsibility to challenge one another to their colleagues to think, reflect and push them towards moral uprightness (Krauss, 2008). Moreover, young people find institutional support to cease being instruments for political expediency but rather because agents of change and assist other actors to arrive at self-knowledge through the process of transformative learning.

#### **4.6. THE INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE SURROUNDING THE 2018 ELECTIONS.**

Amid the transition from the Mugabe era that was characterized by electoral violence, the leadership of Emmerson Mnangagwa came with its two main phrases that became catch-words; “the people have spoken” and “the voice of the people is the voice, God”. These main phrases were used to sanitise the ‘military assisted power transfer’. According to the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition (CIZC), the army of Zimbabwe intervened in order to deal with ZANU PF factional battles rather than to solve national issues (CIZC, 2019). Apparently, military actions since November 2017 have shaken human rights in Zimbabwe thereby causing an escalation of the constitutional crisis in the country. Contrary to the popular will of the majority that removal of Mugabe would end decades of repression, what came in the immediate aftermath was contrary to people’s hopes and expectations. Incidents of violence that took place in Zimbabwe after November 2017, happened in an environment whereby the military had consolidated power and control of both the government and the ruling ZANU PF party.

Incidents of violence that took place a day after national voting left 6 civilians dead, 35 were injured and massive damage of property resulted due to the protest against electoral fraud on August 1, 2018, in the Central Business District of Harare. Undoubtedly the people that were killed and several wounded were youth people who met with the deliberate ugly hand of the military that was witnessed airing live ammunition to the defenceless civilians (CIZC, 2019). A commission of Inquiry was established by the President of Zimbabwe to investigate into the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 2018 post-election violence that took place in Harare with the aim to conduct a comprehensive investigation in an inclusive and transparent manner. The Chairman of the Commission of Inquiry was Kgalema Motlanthe (the former interim President of South Africa). Through his stewardship, the Commission of Inquiry used the multiparty methodology in making the findings and inquiries that brought about recommendations with regard to the horrific tragedy that had taken place. In order to come up with a resounding report, the Commission of Inquiry employed the following methods, ‘obtaining written

affidavits, verbal testimonies at public hearings, conducting inspections in loco and examining video footage from credible national and international sources' (Commission of Inquiry Report, 2018).

The Commission of Inquiry concluded that the gathered evidence that was presented by various witnesses across the political sphere. As a way of substantiating their fact-finding mission, the following findings were made to be the root causes of the violence that took place;

“a) The demonstrations which became riotous and caused extensive damage to property and injury had been incited, pre-planned and well organized by the MDC Alliance; b) The particular circumstances prevailing on the day justified the deployment of the Military to assist the Police in containing the riots; and c) Six (6) people died and thirty-five (35) were injured as a result of actions by the Military and the Police.” (*Commission of Inquiry [2018: vii] – Executive Summary*).

These findings reflected on the Commission of Inquiry presented above answers the following research question of this study; “*What are the legal framework and institutional arrangements dominating government and youth discourse in Zimbabwe?*” This study holds the view that the Commission of Inquiry appointed by President Mnangagwa in terms of section 2(1) of the Commission of Inquiry Act [Chapter 10:07] through Proclamation Number 6 of 2018, Statutory Instrument 181 of 2018 brought to the fore, four critical contestations. Its findings were quite pertinent in line with the research question as it established the following;

i) Zimbabwe is indeed divided into a polarized state as it was reflected by the power contestations between ZANU PF and MDC Alliance. Such a political grid-lock cuts across from top to bottom, ii) the antagonistic forces between the aspirants of political power as an end itself substitute the common goal towards building and state reconstruction, iii) In the midst of economic decay, and political unsustainability to macro-economics, young people remain, victims of political elites agenda disguised as struggles for economic recovery, and iv) lastly the Commission attempted to unravel the mystery surrounding the role and deployment of armed military personals that brought upon misery and trauma to the peace-loving Zimbabweans.

More substantial and relevant to the objectives of this study relates to the victimization of youth. There was pieces of evidence and testimonies given out by some of the perpetrators, demonstration instigators, victims, and bystanders (Chibango, 2018). The Commission of Inquiry Report (2018:36-38), presented a list of those injured by gunfire as a result of the use of live ammunition that was obtained from Parirenyatwa and Harare Hospitals. In brief, 22 individuals were injured, and among them, 14 victims were between 18 and 35 years, whereas 8 other victims were between 36 and 52 years. According to the Commission of Inquiry Report (2018:29, 30), among the 6 people that deceased, three of them were aged between 18 and 35 years. The following table summarises a list of people and their age groups who suffered as victims;

**Table 2:** List of Victims Killed Due To the Disputed 2018 Elections

NAME	SURNAME	AGE
Gavin	Dean	45
Silvia	Maphosa	53
Ishmael	Kumire	41
Jealous	Chikandira	21
Brian	Zhuwawo	26
Challenge	Tauro	20

*Commission of Inquiry Report (2018:29, 30)*

Circumstances that necessitated the military in accordance with the terms of Section 213 of the Constitution and Section 37 of Public Order and Security Act (POSA) demonstrators became riotous and vandalized property including several cars, billboards among others just to mention but a few. Zuva Service Station at number 100 Chinhoyi Street in Harare was attacked (Commission of Inquiry Report, 2018:29). Indeed such a scenario may have triggered a very huge commotion. However, investigations from the Commission of Inquiry Report (2018:47) pointed out that, “The use of live ammunition directed toward unarmed civilians when they were fleeing and clearly unjustified and disproportionate. More so, the use of sjambocks, baton sticks, and rifle butts to assault a member of the public indiscriminately was also disproportionate”. It is against this

background that the Ministry of Industry and Commerce of Zimbabwe submitted to the Commission of Inquiry (2018:106-7) that a thousand workers stayed out of work due to threats and intimidation, notable shops were closed, approximately \$1.8 million in damages to property. In relation to the course of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) violence undoubtedly reflected a conflict zone. Scepticism signifies that nation fell into a perceived investment risk and stood to miss out a projected US\$ 16 billion worth of pledges that had been committed to the country's re-engagement process (Commission of Inquiry Report, 2018:106-7).

The second time heinous crimes committed against unarmed civilians took place not much later after the much-disputed elections, in January 2019. The legitimacy of President E.D Mnangagwa clearly manifested hand to hand with the negative implications of democracy and economic development. An outrage between government institutions broke out following the hiking of fuel prices that was announced by the President himself as he simultaneously bid farewell to his five-country visit to Eastern Europe. The resultant effect was the death of 12 civilians, 80 injured by gunshots and over 1000 arrested on the conditions of a fast track trial (CIZC, 2019:2). The military and the police continued to deny their involvement in the acts of brutality and such denial does not in any way exonerate both of them from activities, instead, they pointed to rogue elements in the military. Therefore it is against this background that allegations substantiated by pictures of ZANU PF youth who appeared in court for having put on military camouflage are sufficed to show how young people are marginalized and being used.

Following public disobedience that took place in the week of 14 – 20 January 2019, the government directed the shutting down of the internet with reference to the Interception of Communications Act, the government initiated a prolonged shutdown. Although the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) and Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights urgently filed a court application that was heard on the 21<sup>st</sup> of January 2019 that was ruled in their favour. Damages of the property had occurred and civilians were terrorized and no one left dead (CIZC, 2019). It is against this background that despite Constitutional Guarantees of Freedom of Expression in Section 61; “freedom to



seek, receive and communicate ideas and other information”. Nevertheless government took a bold step in violating supreme laws that included international law was enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 19) which says, ‘Condemning unequivocally measures in violation of international human rights law that prevent or disrupt an individual’s ability to seek, receive or impart information online, calling upon all states to refrain from and ease measure’ (Article 19 of the UDHR).

#### **4.7. POSSIBLE IMPEDIMENTS TO THE INCLUSION AND EMPOWERMENT OF YOUTH**

This study focused on the effects of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process in Zimbabwe. Several challenges remain unsolved with regards to youth inclusion and empowerment. According to the Constitution of Zimbabwe, Amendment (No.20) Act 2013, Section 20 provides that youth are defined as people whose ages are between 15 and 35 years. The same section outlines an agenda for the government to provide and protect the rights of youth. The state through its institutions and agencies is tasked to consider reasonable measures and affirmative action that ensures;

“**a.** have access to appropriate education and training; **b.** have opportunities to associate and to be represented and participate in political, social, economic and other spheres of life; **c.** are afforded opportunities for employment and other avenues to economic empowerment; **d.** have opportunities for recreational activities and access to recreational facilities; and **e.** are protected from harmful cultural practices, exploitation and all forms of abuse (Constitution of Zimbabwe, Amendment (No.20) Act of 2013, Section 20).”

Critical to this constitutional mandate is the emphasis to ensure that the state functions in an inclusive, non-partisan and national character. Despite the state’s obligations, youth in Zimbabwe face challenges such as unemployment, unaffordable education, and lack of access to health care due to excessive rural and urban poverty, forced mobility due to limited opportunities, child marriage and sexual abuse of young women among others (Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission [ZHRC], 2017). In brief, young people in Zimbabwe are at the receiving end of poor governance, corruption and pandemic diseases. The resultant effect of the marginalization has been the vulnerability

of youth and manipulation particularly by politicians with some of them being used to purge violence for political expediency. It is against this background that the main challenges faced by youth in Zimbabwe are the focus of the following discussion.

According to the 2014 Human Development Report of the Zimbabwe majority, youth constitute 67%. The annual population growth rate was estimated to range from 2.4% to 3%, and official projections had pointed an increase from 13 million in 2012 to 23 million by 2030. A survey that was conducted by the Zimbabwe Youth Task Force in collaboration with the National Association of Youth Organization (NAYO, 2017), noted that the following challenges that are being faced by youth 'high unemployment, expensive education of less quality, limited space for socioeconomic and political participation in both parliament and political parties, drug abuse, and polarization among others'. The Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (ZHRC, 2017) reported that Zimbabwe's youth were ranked among the world's poorest, as they are living in an extremely difficult environment (Survey by the International Labour Organization). Ranked among the 75 – 100 category by the World Employment and Social Outlook 2016; Trends of Youth. Among other studies observations that were concluded, the generality of youth earns less than \$2 per capita per day. The Zimbabwe Youth Development Index was recorded at 0.46, having Zimbabwe ranked 127 out of 170 countries according to the Common Wealth Young Programme, 2013.

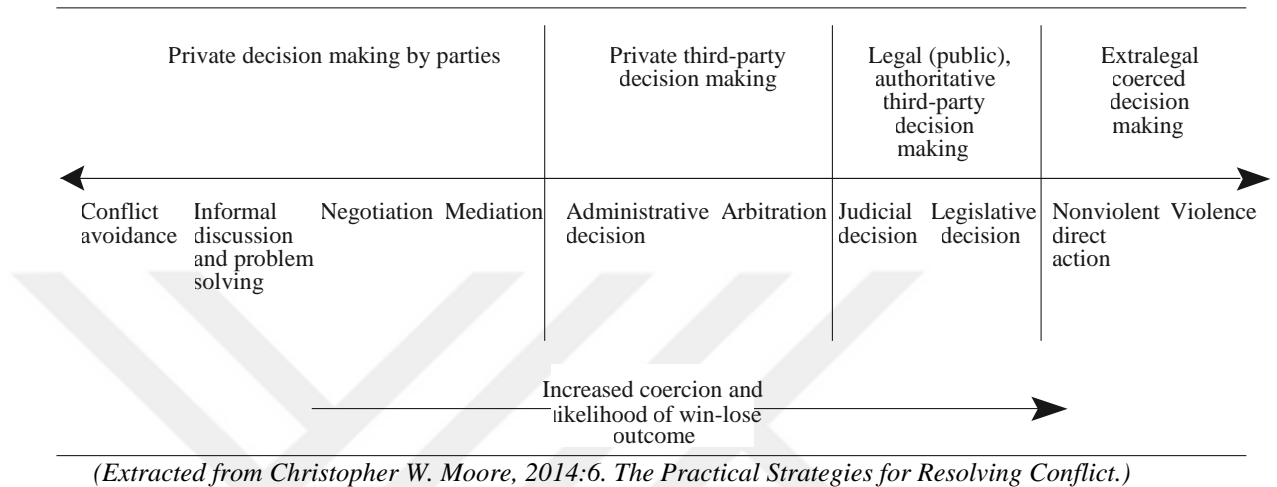
Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), Chapter 10 (27) and the Public Security Act (POSA), Chapter 11:17 remains as a draconian law that impinges on the liberties and youth participation hence the need to repeal that. The ZHRC's report of 2017 cited that Zimbabwe Youth Council (ZYC) Act and Statutory Instrument 14/2013 (Zimbabwe Youth Council Regulations, 2013); youth organizations are prohibited from receiving any foreign funding. It is therefore important for this study to note that in the face of these challenges since the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the year 2016 and 2017 ushered in a new version of active political participation. As compared to the previous decades that had been characterized by the parochial and subjective political culture, a sudden upsurge in citizen demonstration and activism by young people expressing their discontent in the governance of the country became a subject of national security. In the

face of it, the various protests and demonstrations met with police brutality, and repression of freedom of speech. The birth of a new opposition Leader Nelson Chamisa aged 40, undoubtedly presented limelight of hope to the majority of youth regardless of the great risk and challenges attributed to electoral rigging and heavy militarization of the government by the ruling party ZANU PF. Therefore a lot needs to be done by and for all the youth in Zimbabwe.

#### **4.8 THE CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISMS THAT CAN BE EMPLOYED TO MANAGE THE EFFECTS OF THE RESULTANT SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONFLICTS IN ZIMBABWE.**

As a result of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process, it is within the confines of relative deprivation that appropriate approaches of managing and resolving conflicts are employed in solving disputes in Zimbabwe. Various procedures have been developed and put in place by various institutions in order to effectively and efficiently satisfy the conflicting parties' interests, to construct or alter relationships for the battle, to alleviate suffering and mitigate unnecessary expenditure of emotions and physical energy or tangible resources (Moore, 2014). It is also maintained that from the beginning of recorded history, there is indisputable evidence of disputes between children, spouses, neighbours, co-workers, superiors and subordinates, organizations, communities, people and their governments, ethnic and racial groups, and nations (Moore, 2014). Due to the pervasive presence of conflicts, the following table summarizes the possible conflict management and resolution, approaches and procedures that can be chosen to resolve differences;

**Figure 2:** Continuum of Conflict Management and Resolution Approaches and Procedures



This study recommends the adoption of negotiation and mediation to settle political gridlocks and other outstanding issues that precipitates the suffering of ordinary Zimbabweans. According to Moore (2014:8), ‘negotiation is a structured communication and bargaining process that is commonly used to conduct transactions and reach agreements on issues where serious differences do not exist, or to resolve a dispute or conflict.’ Article 2 of the Turkish Law on Mediation in Civil Disputes on 22 June 2012, defines mediation as follows; a method used for dispute resolution, employing systematic techniques, done voluntarily and with the involvement of an impartial and independent third person with expertise, taking along the parties together to discuss fundamentals and negotiate, and founding a suitable way of communication process between the conflicting parties as a way of assisting them to understand each other and thus enabling them to work out their own solutions;”

Vividly the use of negotiation and mediation falls within the private decision making by parties involved in a dispute as illustrated on the diagram above. Quite critical to these approaches are the following guidelines; the involved participants (political parties, civil societies etc.), the extent of collaboration and adversity of the process, the degree of coercion that may be employed by disputants, the level of

formality of procedures, the privacy arrangement throughout the negotiation, and the quality of expected outcomes, and the roles and influence of third parties linked to the dispute (Moore. 2014:7). Distinctive from the above diagram, the left end of the continuum shows informal, collaborative, and private approaches and stages that involves only the disputants or a third party without overall authority (mediator) to make a solution or with no power to offer a verdict. Whereas on the other end of the continuum, disputants rely on coercion that is often exerted proportionally and legitimately to the opposing party violently and non-violently to accept a particular settlement. It can therefore be concluded that decisions that are resolved informally are likely to yield to a win-win outcome opposed to the legal and extra-legal means that result in increased coercion and a win-lose.

In a way to reduce prejudice between age groups, the following contact situations can be followed; equal status between groups, common goals, cooperation between groups, and institutional support (Allport, 1954). It can be drawn from the research that the older people tend to be prejudiced towards the young. Having lived longer within the society, the older tend to be deep rooted in orthodox cultures and traditions. To begin with establishing an equal status in the situation, the War-vets in Zimbabwe should be respected for having participated in the liberation war, at the same time it is incredible for young people also to be granted equal status within the social, economic and political spheres. Secondly, the involvement of compatible goals across the groups that calls for a joint effort and commitment to attain them. A good starting point in Zimbabwe is the recently crafted vision 2030. Thirdly, intergroup cooperation is very important in complementing and fostering compatible goals. Compatible goals should not be maintained as lines of competition or sabotage as this has been the simple vehicle for political expedience. Last but not least, institutional support is then supposed to be used to maximise equal status, intergroup cooperation and creation of common goals. It can therefore be concluded that Allport's suggested ways of dealing with intergroup prejudice can alleviate relative deprivation in Zimbabwe.

It is critical for the government of Zimbabwe to implement reforms that leads to the repeal of the international sanctions Zimbabwe Economic and Recovery Act of 2001

(ZIDERA) imposed by the USA. The contentions surrounding the sanctioning for almost two decades now has yielded nothing tangible except the evident misery upon the lives of the ordinary citizens. Whether or not the discussions are continued or not sanctions against Zimbabwe have been felt for a very long time and it is now high time that all interested parties should settle down and come up with a road map to get rid of them entirely. From the findings of this research, it is unabated that the ZANU PF government has precipitated a lot of troubles that have since combined with the effects of sanctions. The removal of ZIDERA will not happen as a result of America's unilateral decision to repeal them as per the popular thoughts. The document laid out the fundamental conditions that are supposed to be followed in order to have Zimbabwe on its feet again. It can therefore be concluded that the government of Zimbabwe should address the issue of sanctions by adopted the appropriate possible approaches, procedures, and strategies to address and resolve them once and for all.

Youth should strive to upgrade themselves in order to be included in the policy discourse and policy formulation. There will remain an on-going crisis for effective national leadership that can efficiently carry forward the history, legacy, morals and ideologies of the nation, Zimbabwe. In the event that the government decides to introduce the youth quotas in the spheres of politics, society and economy, the youth must be ready and well empowered to execute the expected duties and roles. A classic example is that of youth quota in the parliament and national budget that is likely to set strenuous eligibility prerequisites. It is very essential for the present day young people to bear in mind that nothing comes on a silver plate, those who are currently in power 'paid a price for it', the sacrificed. The old generation has a right in their eyes simply because of their willingness and sacrifice to participate in the guerrilla wars of liberation against the Rhodesian regime. It is against this background that young people should now identify themselves with tangible sacrifices they are doing apart from netting likes on social media, or buying expensive electric gadget in this 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution.

#### **4.9. CONCLUSION**

It can be drawn from this chapter that youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process is a serious matter that needs to be addressed in Zimbabwe. This chapter deliberated on the following; the genesis and effects of youth marginalization in Zimbabwe; process tracing of youth marginalization in Zimbabwe; rationalist explanation for the effects of youth marginalization in Zimbabwe; the incidents of violence surrounding the 2018 elections; and the possible impediments to the success of the empowerment and social inclusion. The government of Zimbabwe faces a very huge mammoth task to fulfil its constitutional mandate to accommodate young people. The outstanding demand is to have intergenerational cooperation between the old and the new, laws and institutions that exist in Zimbabwe showed be applied backed by institutional support.

## **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The research examined youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation process through the interrogation of the Relative Deprivation Theory using the case study of Zimbabwe. The main aims of the research was to critically assess the major contributions to the literature on youth marginalisation in socio-economic and political perspectives since the 21st century and to draw conclusion on the significance of the studies by emphasizing conflict resolution mechanisms; to question and reposition some of the existing socio-economic and political controversies concerning the role of youth; and to institute the incompatibilities that were creating conflict between the government and youth in Zimbabwe since 2008. Throughout the study the research dealt with the following central questions; what are the legal framework and institutional arrangements dominating government and youth discourse in Zimbabwe?; how do youth in day to day operations benefit from the implementation of official policies?; how do various actors in civil society and the government also, perceive and evaluate the role of youth in Zimbabwean society?; how can conflict resolution mechanisms be employed to manage the effects of the resultant socio-economic and political conflicts? In answering these critical questions, the research methodology employed in this study interrogated the Relative Deprivation closely and bridged its tenants using the case study of the conflict in Zimbabwe. This chapter presents the conclusion and recommendations of the research work with reference to the main findings from the youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation.

The research examined on the genesis and effects of youth marginalization in Zimbabwe; process tracing of the nature of conflict and its structural manifestation; the rationalist explanations of the Relative Deprivation Theory and how it influences incidents of violence surrounding 2018 harmonised elections; and the negative impact on the general livelihood of people and the population demographic structure of Zimbabwe. Relative Deprivation Theory was found to have been considerably dormant since 2008 up to 2015. Its significance became more visible in the mid 2016 as it triggered an active and participative political culture. The situation further worsened in



2018 following the gravely disputed elections whose spill over violence effects have caused loss of life, injuries and more notably brought the national economy at a standstill in January 2019.

The case study of Zimbabwe provided primary evidence that the Relative Deprivation can result due to government's failure to provide its constitutional mandate. Article 20 of the Republic of Zimbabwe's Constitution mandates the State to provide basic services to the youths, importantly these include decision making in governance and inclusion in the policy implementation towards youth empowerment. However, with the prevailing adverse social, economic and political conditions, the government has not done enough to fulfil its constitutional mandate for the past 18 years. While the economy of Zimbabwe had been deteriorating and election results disputed occasionally, relative deprivation or marginalization became evident due to the alarming levels of abject poverty and irregularities in the electoral procedures. Due to the absence of dialogue between the government and its citizens, the relations became solely founded on subjective judgement due to its nature and complexities.

Zimbabwe faced a plethora of problems that have was summarized by the Figure 1, Causal Loop Diagram (CLP) (Musarurwa, 2016). Such an environment provided a ripe and ready environment for a participative political culture that then led to more pronounced levels of violence. The advent of the 4<sup>th</sup> Industrial Revolution have to a certain degree liberalise democratic standards through the use of technology for instance the use of social media applications (Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter and Instagram) to defy government monopoly. The worsening economic environment in Zimbabwe formed the basis of a strong foundation for protests and violent activism despite its adverse effects backfiring. A combination of both historical and contemporary factors are in account for the causes of relative deprivation of youths.

The ideological differences between ZANU PF and the main opposition party MDC Alliance further worsened the way youth are viewed in Zimbabwe against the state. It is against this background that the following factors further deepen the conflict; the economically failed land-reform programme; the failure of the Youth Indigenization and Economic Development Policy; the state's failure to abrogate colonialist oriented

laws and replace them with democratically oriented laws, vivid examples are those such as the Public Order and Security Act and Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act. The rise of opposition political parties with sponsorship and support from Western Countries; and the effects of international sanctions such as Zimbabwe Recovery Act (S. 494) imposed by the United States of America.

The constant referral to the Constitutional Court to settle political gridlocks in Zimbabwe have become a safe passage for political longevity for the ruling party while at the same time writing an epitaph to the dead economy. The constitutionally established Commission of Inquiry of 2018 did not equivocally satisfy this quest either. The study also highlighted that a combination of factors are in account for the youth marginalization triggering the climax of relative deprivation. The disproportionate deployment of military or the state apparatus to thwart protests and other actions dissatisfying polarized state interests are detrimental. The study also established that marginalization in Zimbabwe have reached heightening levels that young people can be militarized and fight against the ruling regime.

This study recommends further studies in the area of the effects of youth marginalization in the decision making and policy implementation. The role of young people in the socio-economic and political spheres is worthy not to forget or omit out through acts of commission or omission. The quest for policy implementation to achieve national development for the common good is not a special responsibility reserved for a few, it is rather meant for all regardless of age among others. In order to change the narrative, young people should engage more in targeted aspects of civil engagement such as voting, contesting for political offices and signing petitions against specific issues among others just to mention but a few. More so, knowing an age group of youths that are characterized by active participation also means that they will potentially become engaged citizens as they grow old.

In order to do away with prejudice within the arena of governance, this study recommends young people to be in contact and constant interaction with leaders, to attend town hall meetings that are arranged occasionally, to join political parties, to participate in the carrying out of peaceful demonstrations and to support the existing

movements or pressure groups pursuing the same cause. Having established that young people are at the centre for peace and resilience building in every society. It can therefore be concluded that the government must ensure equity and equity across all age groups in the decision making and policy implementation process.



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