



Peace building through youth development and empowerment in Zimbabwe: Exploring government and civil society initiatives

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DECLARATION

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	Attitude, Behaviour and Contradiction
AIPPA	Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
AU	African Union
AYC	African Youth Charter
BSA	Broadcasting Services Act
CABS	Central African Building Society
CCJP	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
CCSF	Church and Civil Society Forum
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
ECLF	Ecumenical Church Leaders Forum
ESCWA	Economic and Social Commission for West Asia
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
GEEP	Graduate Entrepreneurship Employment Programme
GNU	Government of National Unity
GPA	Global Political Agreement
HADO	Horn of Africa Aid and Development
IDBZ	Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ISOP	Integrated Skills Outreach Programme
IYWD	Institute for Young Women Development
JOMIC	Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee
LPC	Local Peace Committees
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MMR	Mixed Methods Research
MoHTE	Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education
MVS	Maximum Variation Sampling
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NSDP	National Skills Development Policy

NYP	National Youth Policy
NYS	National Youth Service
ONHRI	Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration
POSA	Public Order and Security Act
PVO	Private Voluntary Organisation
SCR	Security Council Resolution
TREE	Training for Rural Economic Empowerment
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund Africa Division
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
USA	United States of America
WESO	World Employment Social Outlook Trends
WFO	World Food Organisation
WHO	World Health Organisation
YEF	Youth Empowerment Fund
YETT	Youth Empowerment and Transformation Trust
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People’s Union
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZHRC	Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission
ZIMRIGHTS	Zimbabwe Human Rights Association
ZINEPF	Zimbabwe National Employment Policy Framework
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army
ZLHR	Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights

ABSTRACT

Zimbabwe is a country that has been in the grip of conflict since the formation of its modern state in 1890. The attainment of independence in 1980 has not transformed the country to be peaceful but has continued on a violent trajectory epitomised by endemic political violence and egregious violation of human rights. In the aftermath of independence, the youth increasingly became actors in violent conflict, notably political violence. Literature is replete with cases of widespread role of young people in accentuating violent conflict across the world. This phenomenon has been attributed by scholars to the bulging youth demography. The United Nations and the African Union have advocated for holistic and comprehensive youth empowerment packages as solutions to averting the inclination of young people to violent conflict. Guided by the human needs theory and community-based approach to peacebuilding, this study seeks to add voice to the debate on how youth empowerment packages can provide strategic solutions to the complex challenge of peacebuilding in Zimbabwe. In pursuit of this broad objective, the study examined the youth empowerment programmes which are spearheaded by the government of Zimbabwe and civil society organisations.

Using the mixed methods approach, this study interrogates the nexus between youth empowerment programmes and peacebuilding. Utilising in-depth interviews, survey questionnaires and observations, the study identified salient youth programmes and policies through which the state and civil society can address the underlying causes of violent conflict. Both civil society and the government have given nominal participation or what this study calls ‘negative inclusion’ to young people and this has not enhanced the empowerment drive meant for them. Lack of opportunities for young people occasioned by lack of requisite skills has aggravated their vulnerability in the process making them susceptible to recruitment into extremist youth groups. Extreme poverty resulting from limited or non-existent economic opportunities has, in the long run, jeopardised the fragile peace in the country. In a nutshell, the youth have been marginalised in programmes that affect their lives, and this has resulted in young people being out of kilter with programmes purported for them. The study among others recommends that government and civil society should embark on genuine youth empowerment programmes for peace to endure in Zimbabwe.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iii
ABBREVIATIONS.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiv
CHAPTER ONE: THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Examining youth unemployment.....	2
1.3 Background to the study.....	4
1.3.1 Anatomy of the Zimbabwean conflict and attempts at peacebuilding.....	4
1.3.2 Lancaster House peace agreement and its aftermath.....	6
1.3.3 Unity Accord of 1987.....	7
1.3.4 GPA as a peacebuilding instrument.....	8
1.4 Statement of the problem.....	10
1.5 Research objectives.....	12
1.5.1 Research questions.....	12
1.6 Significance of the study.....	13
1.7 Definitions of key terms.....	15
1.7.1 Peacebuilding.....	15
1.7.2 Youth.....	18
1.7.3 Civil society.....	22
1.7.4 Understanding Empowerment.....	25
1.7.5 Youth development.....	28
1.8 Research Methodology.....	28
1.9 Limitations of the study.....	29
1.10 Structure of the thesis.....	31
1.11 Chapter summary.....	32
CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXTUALISING YOUTH, CONFLICT AND PEACEBUILDING.....	33
2.1 Introduction.....	33
2.2 The concepts of conflict, violence and peace.....	34
2.2.1 Conflict.....	34

2.3 Relating direct, structural and cultural violence	42
2.4 Galtung's conception of peace.....	43
2.5 Youth engagement in violent conflicts	45
2.6 Primary causes of youth engagement in violent conflicts	46
2.6.1 The youth bulge.....	47
2.6.2 Decline in economic growth and unemployment.....	54
2.6.3 Education and heightened prospects among youth	55
2.7 Evolution of peacebuilding in Zimbabwe.....	57
2.8 Youth in peacebuilding processes.....	61
2.9 Youth initiatives and activities towards peacebuilding	63
2.10 Chapter summary	64
CHAPTER THREE: EXAMINING GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL SOCIETY	
PARTICIPATION IN PEACEBUILDING IN ZIMBABWE.....	66
3.1 Introduction.....	66
3.2 The concept of civil society	66
3.2.1 Contextual discussion of CSOs in Africa.....	67
3.2.2 CSOs and the Zimbabwean context	69
3.2.3 The role of civil society in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe	73
3.3 Youth and empowerment in Africa.....	78
3.3.1 Examining youth empowerment in Zimbabwe	78
3.4 Civil society and youth empowerment in Zimbabwe	84
3.5 Youth empowerment and peacebuilding in Africa: Lessons for Zimbabwe	85
3.6 Chapter summary	87
CHAPTER FOUR: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	88
4.1 Introduction.....	88
4.2 Conflict Transformation.....	89
4.3 Youth Bulge theory.....	91
4.4 Youth crisis theory	96
4.5 Critical youth empowerment theory	98
4.6 Towards community-based approach to peacebuilding.....	99
4.6.1 Community-based peacebuilding and the Zimbabwe context.	103
4.7 Human needs theory	106
4.7.1 Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs.....	106
4.7.2 Galtung's understanding of human needs	108
4.7.3 Marshall Rosenberg.....	108

4.7.4 Manfred Max-Neef.....	109
4.7.5 The key constructs of Burton’s human needs theory	110
4.7.6 Limitations of the human needs theory	114
4.7.7 Burton’s human needs paradigm and the Zimbabwean context	115
4.8 Chapter summary	116
CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY.....	117
5.1 Introduction.....	117
5.2 Respondents	118
5.3 Research paradigms	119
5.3.1 Positivist paradigm.....	119
5.3.2 Interpretivism	121
5.3.3 Pragmatism.....	123
5.4 Research methodology and methods	124
5.4.1 Qualitative methods.....	125
5.4.2 Quantitative approach	126
5.4.3 Mixed methods research.....	126
5.4.3.1 Justification of methodological triangulation	127
5.5 Research design	128
5.5.1 Specific design	129
5.5.2 A mixed methods research model	129
5.6 Population and Sampling	130
5.6.1 Target population	130
5.6.2 Sampling.....	131
5.7 Data collection techniques	136
5.7.1 Interviews	136
5.7.1.1 Semi-structured interviews	138
5.7.1.2 The interview schedule	139
5.7.1.3 The interview procedure	139
5.7.2 Observation	140
5.7.3 Survey Questionnaire	140
5.8 Data analysis	142
5.8.1 Qualitative data analysis.....	143
5.8.2 Quantitative data analysis.....	146
5.9 Reliability and validity.....	146
5.10 Chapter summary	147

CHAPTER SIX: PRESENTATION OF RESULTS AND ANALYSIS.....	148
6.1 Introduction.....	148
6.2 Response rate	149
6.3 Profile of Participants	150
6.3.1 Gender Distribution of Participants.....	150
6.3.2 Settlement Patterns.....	151
6.3.3 Educational Profile.....	151
6.3.4 Age Profile of respondents.....	153
6.4 Questionnaire analysis – Scoring and definition of variables.....	153
6.5 Youth and conflict.....	154
6.5.1 Causes of youth violence.....	154
6.5.2 Poverty and violent youth behaviour	155
6.5.3 Politics and youth violence	158
6.6 Youth development and empowerment	161
6.6.1 Government-civil society empowerment programmes	162
6.6.2 Government-civil society economic support for the youth.....	165
6.6.3 Youth participation: Negative inclusion	167
6.7 Youth empowerment and peacebuilding	170
6.7.1 Economic empowerment translates to peace	172
6.7.2 Social and economic insecurity: A recipe for disaster	175
6.7.3 Youth and peace	176
6.7.4 Accessibility of youth programmes.....	178
6.7.5 Participation in the political process	180
6.8 Perceptions on youth empowerment and peacebuilding.....	182
6.8.1 Perception on government-civil society youth empowerment.....	183
6.8.2 Socio-economic security of the youth.....	186
6.8.3 Government-civil society collaboration.....	188
6.8.4 Challenges to peacebuilding through youth empowerment	190
6.9 Chapter summary	191
CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS	193
7.1 Introduction.....	193
7.2 Analysis and interpretation of data	194
7.3 Demographics of the study	195
7.3.1 Response Rate	195
7.3.2 Gender	196

7.3.3 Settlement patterns of respondents.....	196
7.3.4 Educational Profile of Respondents	197
7.4 Youth and conflict.....	197
7.4.1 Poverty and violent youth behaviour: The nexus.....	197
7.5 Youth development and empowerment	203
7.5.1 Government-civil society empowerment programmes	204
7.5.2 Government-civil society economic support for the youth.....	208
7.5.3 Youth participation: Negative inclusion	210
7.5.3.1 CSOs’ integration of youth in the empowerment initiatives in Zimbabwe....	211
7.5.3.2 Government’s integration of the youth in empowerment programmes: Negative inclusion.....	212
7.5.3.3 Non-participation and the inadequacy of youth involvement in empowerment initiatives	213
7.6 Youth empowerment and peacebuilding	215
7.6.1 Economic empowerment translates to peace	215
7.6.2 Social and economic insecurity: A recipe for disaster	217
7.6.3 Youth and peace	218
7.6.4 Accessibility of youth programmes.....	220
7.7 Perceptions on youth empowerment and peacebuilding.....	221
7.7.1 Government-civil society collaboration.....	223
7.7.2 Challenges to peacebuilding through youth empowerment	225
7.8 Chapter summary	229
CHAPTER EIGHT: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	231
8.1 Introduction.....	231
8.2 Research purpose and research questions	232
8.3 Summary of the research findings	232
8.3.1 Youth empowerment and development programmes by government and civil society organisations	233
8.3.2 Effects of youth empowerment and development programmes on the peace process	233
8.3.3. Benefits of empowerment initiatives to the youth	234
8.3.4 Youth challenges and their contribution to youth violence.....	235
8.3.5 Challenges to youth development and empowerment and how they affect the peace process.....	235
8.4 Conclusion	236
8.5 Recommendations.....	236

8.6 Originality and contributions of the study	239
8.7 Further research	240
REFERENCES	242
APPENDIXES.....	287

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Research participants.....	31
Table 4.1: Human needs as presented by various theorists	111
Table 5.1: Target Population	132
Table 6.1: Response rate of participants (n=416).....	151
Table 6.2: Educational profile of interview participants	154
Table 6.3: Causes of youth violent behaviour	156
Table 6.4: Government-civil society empowerment programmes	164
Table 6.5: Government-civil society economic support for the youth.....	166
Table 6.6: Perception percentage agreement with each statement	184
Table 6.7: Participants perception on socio-economic security of the youth.....	187
Table 6.8: Participants' perceptions on the challenges to peacebuilding through youth empowerment	192

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Galtung’s ABC conflict paradigm.	34
Figure 2.2: Galtung’s Violence Triangle.....	43
Figure 4.1: Youth Bulges as a source of conflict	95
Figure 4.2: Maslow’s Hierarchy of needs	109
Figure 5.1: Mixed Methods	135
Figure 6.1: Gender patterns of respondents.....	152
Figure 6.2: Settlement patterns of respondents	152
Figure 6.3: Educational profile of questionnaire survey participants.....	153
Figure 6.4: Poverty and youth violent behaviour	157
Figure 6.5: Politics and youth violence	160
Figure 6.6: Politics and Youth violence	160
Figure 6.7: Youth development and empowerment	164
Figure 6. 8: Youth inclusion.....	169
Figure 6.9: Youth Inclusion.....	169
Figure 6.10: Youth empowerment and peacebuilding.....	172
Figure 6.11: Gender perception on economic empowerment and the peace process.....	173
Figure 6.12: Economic Empowerment and the Peace Process.....	174
Figure 6.13: Economic empowerment and the peace process.....	174
Figure 6.14: Social and economic vulnerability of youth	176
Figure 6.15: Socio-economic vulnerability of youth.....	177
Figure 6.16: Gender perception on the accessibility of youth programmes	179
Figure 6.17: Rural and urban respondents’ perception on the accessibility of youth programmes.....	180

CHAPTER ONE: THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING

1.1 Introduction

The discourse of peacebuilding is dogged with animated debate and controversy within government and civil society in Zimbabwe, despite the growing recognition which of late has been accorded to the discourse at international level. That the country, in its current state, more than at any other time, needs comprehensive peacebuilding is no secret. This need arises from Zimbabwe's chequered pre and post-independence political experiences of dehumanisation, brutalisation, murder, disappearances, abductions and general torture of the citizenry.

Despite Premier Robert Mugabe's call for reconciliation in his inaugural independence speech in 1980, the country was, in a supersonic fashion, plunged into a serious civil war barely two years into independence. The Gukurahundi inferno that engulfed the Midlands and Matebeleland regions in the early 1980s had atrocious implications which left in its trail an estimated 20 000 people dead with civilians bearing much of the brunt of this conflict (Maseko, 2011; Togarasei & Chitando, 2011).

Besides the Gukurahundi conflict, Zimbabwe has in fact not been at war post 1990. However, it had to cope with many war-like effects: political violence, human rights abuses, population displacements, a shattered economy and a prolonged stand-off with the international community (Shamsie, 2008). The emergence of oppositional politics by the turn of the new millennium gave rise to an orgy of political violence, torture, abductions, intimidation and general violation of human rights. Political violence in the post-millennium period is epitomised by the attack, intimidation and killing of opposition supporters especially Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) supporters in the presidential election run-off of year 2008 (Togarasei & Chitando, 2010). Following this election, calls for a comprehensive peace process in Zimbabwe became deafening.

The task of building peace in Zimbabwe has been and continues to be a challenge, given its history of violent conflict. The state and its security apparatus have allegedly been at the centre of many conflicts in Zimbabwe, hence the need for an all-encompassing peace process which includes the state, civil society and the general population. The inclusivity of a peace process has the obvious advantage of providing the required resources to rebuild and strengthen the sectors that have been ravaged by prolonged or episodic conflicts. Across the world, many players have been involved in the peacebuilding processes. These include the state,

international community (represented by the UN), and civil society (both local and international). Civil society, in particular, has been viewed as indispensable to the sustainability of peace processes (Hampson, 1996: 7), and provides necessary platform for enhanced participation, diversity and plurality of ideas. But the process cannot be successful if it alienates state players and the local population.

Besides the above, the youth in recent years have emerged as an indispensable constituency of a sustainable peace process. The year 2015 was a watershed year in this regard. In 2015, the United Nations Security Council passed and adopted a resolution, Security Council Resolution 2250 (SCR 2250) which acknowledges the increasing recognition of the youth as agents for peacebuilding (Williams, 2016). This represents a departure from the past conception of the youth as instigators and perpetrators of violence, and a new understanding of youth as vehicles of sustainable change and peace. Convened under a growing recognition of the rise of violent extremism among the youth, resolution 2250 implores member states to elevate the participation of young people in all categories of life. United Nations Development Fund warns about the dangers inherent in the exclusion of youth from formal decision making. The alienation of youth in decision making breeds frustration among young people and potentially has a destabilising effect in countries which have faced youth protests (UNDP, 2013). Despite their previous exclusion from peace and security processes, there is growing realisation that young people play a critical role in promoting peace. The resolution also stresses the importance of the creation of a conducive and inclusive environment for peacebuilding through economic, social and development activities (Williams, 2016).

1.2 Examining youth unemployment

Most Sub-Saharan African countries are ranked among the forty poorest countries in the world (Valentina, 2016). Among these countries include Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Burundi, Malawi, Liberia, Niger, Guinea, Madagascar, Guinea-Bissau, Uganda, Togo, Ethiopia, and Rwanda (Kingdon, Sandefur & Teal 2006). Zimbabwe whose economy has faced several headwinds resulting in a decline in growth, should be added to this list. In 2018 the World Bank categorised nations with less than \$1,025 per capita to be experiencing high unemployment rates of over 40%. This is a cause for concern given the burgeoning youthful population between 15 and 24 years of age in Africa, a figure expected to double by 2050 (Makoni 2016). These young people are constantly demanding for jobs and

opportunities in a shrinking macro-economic environment. This, in turn, is forcing young people to participate in political violence, armed conflict, terrorism and general crime.

Like many other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, Zimbabwe is in the grips of a bulging youth population which is plagued by high levels of lack of opportunities, unemployment and poverty. Its economy since the stock market crash of November 1997 has continued to shrink and has resulted in a major de-industrialisation process. The main casualty of this de-industrialisation are young people who have endured unemployment and poverty. The youth unemployment and the levels of poverty in the country have fluctuated over the years to the current alarming 80% or 90% depending on the source (Hlungwani, 2018). This stands in contrast to very low unemployment rates in developed countries such as Singapore whose unemployment rate is 1.9% (Ministry of Manpower, 2015). Singapore and other Asian countries have managed to keep this unemployment rate low by supporting or empowering their people to have income-generating projects (Buwule, 2019).

With the continuous economic decline that Zimbabwe has had to grapple with, many jobs now lie in the informal sector. Many young people in the country have attempted to start small scale incoming generating projects but many have collapsed principally because of the lack of capital and “requisite business skills” (Sekanjako & Kisige 2017:33). In line with this, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) predicted that global unemployment will rise by 2.3 million in 2016 and by a further 1.1 million in 2017 (World Employment Social Outlook Trends (WESO), 2016: 3). In Sub Saharan Africa, “creating productive jobs remains a key challenge for the region” (WESO, 2016: 32) as part of achieving development goals. Under these circumstances, the group which has suffered the consequences of the rising unemployment are the youth.

Research in Zimbabwe has revealed that “job creation and poverty alleviation are two challenges facing Zimbabwe today” (Zindiye, Chiliya and Masocha, 2012: 1). At the heart of the deepening poverty in the country is an increasingly rising level of unemployment which is said to have risen from 50 percent to 95 percent by 2012 (Bhebhe, Sulochana, Muranda, Sifile and Chavhunduka, 2015: 2). This has resulted in the deepening of poverty among young people which according to Mararike (2014: 98), is more common among the rural youths than their urban counterparts. The education system in Zimbabwe has not helped to ameliorate the situation as it has produced job seekers instead of employment creators (Dore, Hawkins, Makina, Kanyenze and Ndlela, 2008: 13). The low demand for labourers due to national and global economic downturn, has seen both rural and urban youth being exposed to

unemployment and underemployment (Hlungwani, 2018). Moreover, young people in Zimbabwe lack training in practical life skills, vocational skills, business start-up skills, leadership skills and management skills, which further limit their employability (Mambo, 2010: 20).

Owing to this, the ILO's survey in Zimbabwe concluded that Zimbabwe's young people are ranked among the poorest in the world and they live in extremely difficult conditions (The Financial Gazette 1 September 2017). The survey also puts the country "in the 75 to 100 category, which relates to working youths experiencing extreme poverty". The ILO research findings also highlight "wide disparities between young women and men in the labour market" and hinted that these must be addressed urgently (Financial Gazette, 1 September 2017). In the situation obtainable in Zimbabwe, youth empowerment is very vital to the socio-economic welfare of young people. This rationalises the need to explore the youth empowerment drive in order to contribute to the peace process.

1.3 Background to the study

1.3.1 Anatomy of the Zimbabwean conflict and attempts at peacebuilding

Zimbabwe has been a theatre of various intractable conflicts occasioned by diverse factors stretching back to its pre-independence era. After all, the country was born in 1980 following an exigent fourteen-year-old war of liberation against white supremacy. Throughout its history, "cross precolonial, colonial and post-colonial historical interludes," Zimbabwe has suffered recurrent conflicts on a protracted basis (Benyera, 2014a: 3). These violent episodes known mostly by the euphemism "Chimurenga" in Zimbabwe have resulted in a perennial paradigm of war that has inscribed a culture of conflict and violence (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Benyera, 2015). Chung (2007:165) aptly posits that "the culture and political polarity that leads to the killing of opposition members has its roots in the colonial settler heritage". The colonial government utilised state power to violently evict blacks from ecologically good lands (Muchemwa et al. 2013). This violent dispossession which commenced in the late 19th century resulted in the black uprisings of the 1890s known as the first Chimurenga. These uprisings were violently suppressed by the brutal colonial regime. The result was another resistance (Second Chimurenga) of the 1960s and 1970s which led to a negotiated settlement and independence in 1980.

Zimbabwe's attainment of independence in 1980 did not mean that this naturally translated into a peaceful dispensation. The infant country faced an array of challenges including, but not limited to, political volatility, anarchy, violence, corruption, misgovernance, human rights abuses which all combined to eventually bring economic meltdown (Kuzhanga, 2013). Moyana (1984) argues that the origin of Zimbabwe's crisis has its roots in the inequality experiences that characterised the colonial past manifest in land ownership. This has resulted in several violent uprisings by the black population known by the euphemism 'Chimurenga' in Zimbabwean history. The first of these uprisings happened in 1896/97 (First Chimurenga) and the other one followed in the 1970s (Second Chimurenga). The colonial government violently suppressed these waves of resistance against racial domination fostering in the process a culture of violence that has remained a permanent feature on the Zimbabwean political landscape.

The transition into independence in 1980 did not result in a break with the violent past. Mistrust between the erstwhile liberation movements (ZANU and ZAPU) cascading from an acrimonious fall out in the 1960s led to a civil war two years into independence. The conflict ended in 1987 following an armistice between the two warring parties (ZANU and ZAPU) but not before approximately 20 000 people had died. With biting economic challenges emanating from misplaced economic policies and rampant corruption, the state increasingly faced opposition from civil society and students who fought for the democratisation of the socio-political space. The state responded violently to this opposition. State sponsored violence reached a crescendo from the year 2000 following the formation of the MDC opposition party. To claw back sliding political power, the governing ZANU-PF party embarked on a land reform programme under the euphemism 'Third Chimurenga'. The land reform programme was carried out under a very strong anti-western and anti-MDC frenzy and this gave it a very violent outlook.

Moreover, in 2000 another important milestone in the politics of Zimbabwe happened. The citizens rejected a government sponsored constitutional draft and the government blamed the opposition (MDC) and white commercial farmers for the rejection of this draft. According to Mlambo and Raftopoulos (2010), this marked the commencement of a tide of violence against the opposition and white commercial farmers as the land reform unfolded. This violence and other related human rights abuses caused the country to slide into anarchy and marginalisation by the international community; directly or indirectly causing further economic decline. Since

then, Zimbabwe has continued to live in the shadow of political volatility and economic implosion.

1.3.2 Lancaster House peace agreement and its aftermath

Zimbabwe's independence was born out of the 1979 peace negotiations in London at the Lancaster House. The immediate preoccupation of the peace settlement was the cessation of hostilities (peace-making) and the transfer of power from the incumbent white minority regime to the black liberation movements. Obsessed by this preoccupation, the peace settlement overlooked a very salient issue of how to establish sustainable and durable peace. Structures and institutions of violence which had underpinned the colonial governance of the state were left intact and carried over into the independence dispensation. This became an institutional characteristic for politics and change in independent Zimbabwe, despite the Robert Mugabe government announcing a policy of reconciliation in the inauguration speech. Mugabe announced that:

If yesterday I fought you as an enemy, today you have become a friend and an ally with the same national interests, loyalty, rights and duties as myself. If yesterday you hated me today you cannot avoid the love that binds you to me and me to you. Is it not folly, therefore, in these circumstances that anybody should revive the wounds and grievances of the past? The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten (Huyse 2003:37).

The immediate subsequent developments made bare the structural weaknesses of Mugabe's policy of reconciliation. Prominent among these shortcomings was the top-down nature of the pronouncement. This was a unilateral declaration from above devoid of grass-root, broad-based consultation and a process of healing and reconciliation. Mugabe, in an attempt to appease the aggrieved white population initiated a policy of reconciliation which largely missed on the fundamentals of addressing the needs of the victims of the past conflict. The policy which swept the wrongs of the past under the carpet and implored silence and unconditional forgiveness on the part of the wronged, laid the foundation for further confrontations such as the violent land invasions which were justified by the colonial dispossessions.

1.3.3 Unity Accord of 1987

The euphoria for peace in independent Zimbabwe was short-lived as the new nation was plunged into a vicious ethnic conflict in 1982. This happened as the North Korean trained Fifth Brigade, a unit of the Zimbabwe National Army, descended on Matebeleland and Midlands regions to allegedly weed out a suspected Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) insurrection. This conflict is said to be a spill over of the 1960s contestations between the two liberation movements: Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), which was predominantly Ndebele and Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which was predominantly Shona. The split between the two political entities which had occurred in 1962 resulted in mistrust and division along tribal lines. This was later to boil over into open civil strife which left approximately 20 000 people dead (Muchemwa et al. 2013). Another top-down peace agreement (Unity Accord) was forged by the political elites to halt the strife in December 1987. The peace arrangement saw the erstwhile liberation movements joining to form a unified party Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). So conspicuous in this arrangement, was its disregard to the victims and communities which were ravaged by the conflict (Mashingaidze, 2005). The grassroots were shut out of this process and calls for healing and reconciliation from the victims have either been ignored or suppressed by the authorities.

Following a decade of economic downturn which had begun in the early 1990s, Zimbabwe faced a socio-economic mega crisis by year 2000. This was a result of a confluence of factors including the socialist-oriented economic policies adopted at independence and alleged rampant corruption. By the late 1990s, Zimbabwe's economy was collapsing under the weight of exorbitant expenditure on social services, including free primary education and health care (Raftopoulos and Phimister (2004:356). These were provided in a shrinking economy which could not provide jobs to increase the tax base. The austerity prescriptions from the international financial institutions did not help matters, but rather resulted in the deepening of poverty levels. So, given this background, the country was grappling with unprecedented social and economic woes by early 2000. The biting economic challenges resulted in the formation of a formidable labour union, Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), which later conglomerated with civil society and student organisations to form an opposition party MDC in 1999. The formation of the MDC party posed a first real threat to ZANU-PF's control of the

levers of the state. The new party contested elections beginning year 2000 and it shook the foundations of ZANU-PF's hegemony.

1.3.4 GPA as a peacebuilding instrument

Following the signing of the Unity Accord in 1987, Zimbabwe had a de-facto one party state. A period of relative peace followed in the 1990s. However, disillusionment with the incumbent gradually crept in during the late 1990s as the populace suffered from socio-economic challenges emanating from alleged economic mismanagement. This resulted in the coalescence of civic groups to form an opposition party MDC in 1999, which proceeded to contest elections the following year. The advent of MDC on the political landscape of Zimbabwe absolutely altered the complexion of Zimbabwe politics as violence became a product to transact political business.

Political violence became a hallmark which has dominated the politics of Zimbabwe since independence but became more pronounced in the year 2000 and beyond. According to Selby (2006:3), Zimbabwe's political landscape since 2000 has been dominated by violence, political intolerance and intimidation, economic implosion, food insecurity and general uncertainty. In a number of ways, this crisis was a manifestation of unresolved and deep-rooted conflicts cascading from the past. With ZANU-PF's unbridled quest to retain power came the militarisation of state apparatus especially after the year 2000. According to Raftopoulos and Phimister (2004:356), state authoritarianism was an "internal reconfiguration of Zimbabwean state politics" which resulted in the development and entrenchment of domestic tyranny.

The rejection of a government-driven draft constitution in year 2000 was a watershed development in the politics of Zimbabwe. ZANU-PF regarded the opposition, especially the MDC, as the architects of the 'no vote' which had resulted in the rejection of the draft constitution. According to Kagoro (2004:249), the defeat "was a protest vote against the manner in which the constitution-making process had been carried out by the government", and "an angry protest against the performance of the government and parlous state of the economy". This maiden electoral defeat of the ruling party ultimately was a prelude to the radical state-sponsored land invasions and political violence in general, notwithstanding the complexity of the trends behind these (Hammar 2005:4). Weeks following the rejection of the constitutional draft, land invasions led by veterans of the liberation struggle popped up across the country. The government was complicit of these invasions and through word and practice

implicitly supported the invasions. The invasions assumed a violent slant as the build up to a general election in June 2000 became more intensified.

Polls in 2002, 2005 and 2008 have variously been described, but there is one common denominator: violence, hence were riddled with controversy and contestations. A report by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum reveals that there were 3180 reported cases of organised violence and torture from March 2008 to July 2009 ostensibly perpetrated by state security apparatus; the police, army and intelligence officers. The period prior to the June 2008 runoff presidential election “saw many people losing their lives, maimed, raped, abducted, losing properties and exposed to all forms of torture all in the name of fighting for political hegemony” (Research and Advocacy Unit 2011:1). This violence saw many, especially opposition members, losing their lives and property, while some were displaced. Camps reminiscent to those of the liberation war times were set up in rural areas and these became notorious for torturing people and coercing them to pledge allegiance to the ZANU-PF party (Alexander and Tendi 2008). The culmination of the violence was the withdrawal of the opposition candidate (Morgan Tsvangirai) from the presidential run-off race in 2008 leaving Mugabe to run alone in an election which was described as a ‘one horse race’. Though Mugabe was declared a winner and quickly sworn in, his election remained contested. The culmination of an array of marathon negotiations was the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) and a Government of National Unity (GNU).

Though the GPA had many important provisions, Article VII on national healing and reconciliation was outstanding in relation to peacebuilding (GPA 2008:7-9). Among other things, the article recognised the need for the country to prioritise national healing and reconciliation. To facilitate this, the article implored formation of the Organ on National Healing and Reconciliation (ONHRI). ONHRI was set up under the provisions of Article 7.1 (c) of the GPA (2008:7) which stated that:

The parties hereby agree that the new government: ...shall give consideration to the setting up of a mechanism to properly advise on what measures might be necessary and practicable to achieve national healing, cohesion and unity in respect of victims of pre and post-independence political conflicts.

The creation of the ONHRI was paramount, but it suffered from the same shortcomings which undermined the other past projects of peacebuilding. Muchemwa et al (2013: 145) highlights

that ONHRI was a “state-centric and state propelled project” and was riddled with identical challenges that dashed projects like it. ONHRI is also criticised by Machakanja (2010) and Mbire (2011) who argue that owing to the top-down approach, it failed to address the demands of the grassroots (Makwerere, 2017).

1.4 Statement of the problem

The youth is Africa and the world’s greatest resource and the challenges facing the world can be surmounted through the active engagement and participation of the very youth (African Youth Charter, 2006). Although studies on youth and conflict are immersed in discursive contestations on the role the youth have and continue to play in conflict and violence, there is consensus however, across the spectrum of the world that young men and women, notably in Africa, are largely side-lined and are on the periphery of the political and economic discourse. Many of the world’s armed conflicts seem to have the youth embroiled as the drivers of these conflicts. That the youth were and continue to be at the epicentre of most conflicts raging on in the world is no secret. Governments and insurgent groups alike have often reduced the youth to tools of repression, torture, and intimidation of the citizenry in the quest for political power. Often plagued by collapsing social and economic order in most of the global South, occasioned by state fragility, misgovernance and corruption, the youth have been targeted to populate the ranks of armed rebel and insurgent movements. According to Bangura (2015), the youth’s quest for prosperity and economic well-being has resulted in them enlisting in extremist organisations in various countries, including Nigeria (Boko Haram) and Somalia (Al-shababa). The youth make themselves available and are often eager to use violent conflict as a conduit to escape conditions of idleness, poverty and hopelessness (Abbink, 2005). Across the continent and political divides, the youth have been deployed to attack citizens and to commit egregious violations of human rights for political ends, as seen in the case of Zimbabwe (Mashingaidze, 2010). However, despite this inclination to violence, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child has formally recognised the right of young people to actively participate in the peace-building discourse (Elliot, 2001:2).

Youth form an integral part of any society and constitute a crucial component of the development trajectories of the world’s societies (Kasim, et al., 2014). Zimbabwe, like many of the world’s nations, has a huge number of unemployed youths. This provides viable options for development as well as tremendous risks of political instability. The country has a history of youth development and empowerment, but its youth are at risk. This study has been

necessitated by the problem of unstable tendencies which the youth cause in countries and making the countries susceptible to violent armed conflict. Without exception, the vulnerability of countries to political convulsions as a result of rising youth populations has been a problem bedeviling the world. Many countries, therefore, have endured the problem of violent conflict and this has affected the peace processes and peacebuilding initiatives. Studies have shown that Africa, more than any other region in the world, has been plagued by violent conflict in the last two decades. These conflicts, often waged within the borders of states, have been involving children and the youth. Pursuant to the United Nations resolutions of December 1993, Graca Machel produced a profound report on the impact of armed conflict on children. Children who are affected by conflict have their transitional trajectory into youth and adults derailed.

Zimbabwe has not been exempted from the violence that involves the youth. The youth age cohort has been politicised since the country's independence from Britain in 1980. The politicisation of this category of the population has seen the youth being viewed as political or "social instruments" to accomplish given political agendas. During the 1980s, youth affairs in Zimbabwe was a preserve of the ruling ZANU-PF party. They were viewed as the vanguard of the party and were often deployed to suppress dissent within and outside the corridors of ZANU-PF especially during elections. At the turn of the 21st century, Zimbabwe's political landscape changed with the formation of a nascent political party, MDC and this saw the intensification of political rivalry and subsequently intensification of political violence. The violence which ensued in subsequent elections in Zimbabwe since year 2000 were instigated by rival political parties. Youths belonging to factions of rival political parties gave currency to the political violence. In this regard the harmonised elections of 27 June 2008 is a case in point. Prospects of peace in Zimbabwe remain elusive if the underlying drivers of youth violence are not addressed.

Policy makers and peace practitioners around the world remain concerned about the problem posed by the youth to the world's durable and sustainable peace. Repeated attempts to address the youth's disposition to violence have been made, but the problem remains. Writing in 2011, Karikoga (2011) and Mutizwa (2011), emphasised that peace building through youth development and empowerment is the answer to instability that emanates from the youth. Without the empowerment of the youth, the problem of violent conflict perpetrated by the youth in Zimbabwe and around the world will continue. This current study seeks to explore how the government of Zimbabwe and civil society may use youth development and

empowerment packages to contribute towards the resolution of future conflicts and build durable peace. Youth development and empowerment offers a viable option of resolving the violent tendencies of young people and make them active in fostering a culture of peace in society.

1.5 Research objectives

The principal objective of the study is to assess how government and civil society have empowered the youth in the process enhancing the peacebuilding discourse. However, to achieve this main objective, the study:

- a) Analyse the relationship of youth vulnerability and youth participation in violent conflict.
- b) Examine the nature and extent of youth development and empowerment programmes by civil society and the government in Zimbabwe.
- c) Establish the impact of youth empowerment and development programmes on peacebuilding initiatives in Zimbabwe.
- d) Explore the relevance and value of the youth development and empowerment drives by government and civil society to the discourse of peacebuilding.
- e) Analyse the challenges to peacebuilding through youth development and empowerment in Zimbabwe.

1.5.1 Research questions

The key question in this study is: How far have the government of Zimbabwe and civil society empowered the youth and to what extent has this helped the peace process? In attempting to answer this question the study shall address the following questions:

- a) What are the challenges that face the youth and how do they contribute to youth violence?
- b) What are the youth empowerment and development programmes the government and civil society have in Zimbabwe?
- c) How far have the youth benefited from the empowerment initiatives by government and civil society

- d) What are the effects of youth empowerment and development programmes on the peace process in Zimbabwe?
- e) What are the challenges to youth development and empowerment and how do they affect the peace process?

1.6 Significance of the study

This study is motivated by the realisation that while Zimbabwe is not at war, it has been faced with a myriad of violent conflicts some of which were perpetrated by the youth over the years. Moreover, the country has had to deal with war like consequences such as humanitarian crisis, unsustainable livelihoods, unemployment and deepening poverty, collapsing social services (education and health), serious brain drain and economic migrants. All this is happening in the face of a rising youth population which faces the reality of unemployment and poverty. Taking cognisance of these challenges, something should be done to secure the country's future to avoid a replica of other countries' unfortunate experiences. The Arab springs in Tunisia, Libya and Egypt are the recent examples of cataclysmic revolutions driven by the disgruntled youths which left in their wake the overthrow of political regimes and concomitant violence. This study, therefore, provides a significant reflection on the nature of mitigatory measures that can be taken to lessen youth propensity to violence. The significance of this study lies in its potential contribution to remedies that can be applied to reverse the youth's inclination to violent conflict.

The work on youth and their involvement in conflict and peacebuilding is wide and extensive. Scholars such as Ojakorotu and Uzodike (2006); Urdal (2006); Cincotta (2008); and Abbink (2005) argue that the youth are at the core of conflicts raging on in the world. The unrest that the population cohort known as the youth brings has necessitated this study. If the problem of the youth is not resolved, peace will remain elusive not only in Zimbabwe but across the world. The future of this world belongs to the youth hence issues relating to them should be adequately addressed. Failure to address issues which deal with youth violence jeopardises the posterity of this world. Notwithstanding the volume of research on youth and peacebuilding, there is a dearth of research on how youth empowerment and development have been employed for peacebuilding in Zimbabwe. Literature on this indicates that not much has been done on the role of youth empowerment and development in peacebuilding. Though the concept of youth empowerment and development is not new in government and civil society discourses, little attention has been rendered to how this can aid the peace process. Civil society, in particular,

has been on the forefront of youth empowerment but from a purely developmental perspective and has played a peripheral role in aiding the peacebuilding discourse.

Most scholarly work on peacebuilding in Zimbabwe have tended to focus on the politics of the process hence have overlooked the contributions that the youth can make to the peace process through empowerment initiatives. While many studies acknowledge that children and youth constitute the bulk of the victims in conflict zones, few have placed emphasis on youth taking centre stage in post-conflict peacebuilding processes. This study seeks to address the need to realise the importance of the inclusion of the youth in the peace process through empowerment programmes. In this respect, the study endeavours to contribute to new knowledge by providing new valuable insights into the subject of peacebuilding through youth development and empowerment in Zimbabwe. The youth is a reservoir of energy and have in many instances displayed the desire and zest to participate in development processes and this includes peacebuilding (Bangura, 2015). This study intends to bolster government and civil society peacebuilding interventions in Zimbabwe to ease the paradigm of conflict which has gripped the nation since independence and beyond. It should be stressed that a conflict-ridden society is antithetical to development. The argument that peace without development is not durable while development without peace is not sustainable finds expression in this study. Boutros-Ghali (1995), emphasised the centrality of peace to the thriving of development.

The world is fraught with violent conflict and peace pacts signed in the wake of these violent conflicts have often collapsed. More often, societies that have experienced violent conflict have relapsed into violence. This testifies that the signing of peace deals is not enough to guarantee durable and sustainable peace. This study seeks to contribute towards the building of positive and sustainable peace and seeks to explore more avenues for further research in this regard. The study aims to give a perspective that would shape the dynamics of peacebuilding interventions in post-conflict situations particularly in establishing positive peace. Within the broader debate of youth and conflict, this study seeks to add a new dimension to the emerging paradigm that views the youth as an indispensable constituency for building peace. This study is an empirical study which encompasses the views of the very youth on peacebuilding and how they can contribute to lasting peace in Zimbabwe. Therefore, the study from a Zimbabwe perspective fills an existing gap in the extant literature, as this has been an area scantily researched.

1.7 Definitions of key terms

1.7.1 Peacebuilding

Since the emergence of the concept of peacebuilding in the lexicon of peace studies, a wide range of definitions have emerged among scholars and practitioners of the profession. This has resulted in the lack of a universally embraced definition of the term and hence lack of universal approach to peacebuilding in societies emerging from protracted conflict (MacGinty & Williams, 2009). The term gained international prominence and political currency in the 1990s following the publication of a landmark report by then United Nations (UN) Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, 'An Agenda for Peace', (1992). The report aimed to give direction on conflict resolution to UN organisations working in the field of peace in the post-cold war era. Peacebuilding according to Ghali is limited to post-conflict phase. But the concept was pioneered through Johan Galtung's 1975 work, 'Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peace-making and Peacebuilding' and it shaped the trajectory of the discourse in subsequent years (Zambara, 2014). The normative definition of peacebuilding is that given by Galtung in 1996 who refers to peacebuilding as constituted by an array of "activities that can be identified with building structural and cultural peace" (Galtung, 1996:271). These activities entail fundamental economic, political and social development that "fosters equity, freedom and justice among all people" (Fisher, 1997:11).

As alluded above, contemporary peacebuilding is a product of the thinking of Boutros- Ghali. In his essay 'The Agenda for Peace' he defined peacebuilding as "action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict" (Boutros-Ghali, 1992:104). Boutros-Ghali further differentiates between peacebuilding, preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping. Peacebuilding according to him should be associated with post-conflict activities that aim to consolidate peace. For Boutros-Ghali, peacebuilding entails the "rebuilding of the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war; and building bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among nations formerly at war" and addressing "the deepest causes of conflict: economic despair, social injustice and political oppression" (Boutros-Ghali, 1992:102). Separating the concept of peacebuilding from the previous regimes of peace initiatives, Boutros Ghali emphasised that

peacebuilding should create a ‘new environment’ instead of merely bringing violence to a halt (Diehl, 2006:108). He instead offered a generic definition of peacebuilding as “action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid relapse into conflict” (Boutros-Ghali, 1992).

The definitions above give the impression that the other generations of conflict intervention like conflict management, conflict resolution and conflict transformation, to a particular extent, involve some form of peacebuilding. Indeed, in literature on peace and conflict studies, peacebuilding is used interchangeably with these concepts. Lederach (1997) observes peacebuilding as a simultaneous companion of peace-making and peacekeeping. Peacebuilding complements peace-making for it underpins the elite brokered and manipulated agreements and seeks to empower communities which have been ravaged by conflict (Ramsbotham et al 2011:215). It was originally designed as a post-conflict initiative though it can take place at any phase of the conflict. In fact, the concept of peacebuilding seeks to confront the sources of conflict, undoing its inclination to recur through fostering the social, economic, and political institutions that will hinder the development of conflicts into violence (Doyle & Sambanis, 2000:779).

But over the years, peacebuilding has mutated, and it is no longer understood in the narrow perspective of only dealing with post-conflict situations. It is a broader concept now which includes developing civil society and state institutions’ capacities towards the goal of achieving a state along lines of a more comprehensive definition of peace. Over the years, the definition of peacebuilding has been broadened to encompass the concepts of development and empowerment of local communities. It is being redefined as encompassing a wide range of capacity development activities in addition to “processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships” (Lederach, 1997:197). Galtung’s conceptualisation of peacebuilding also fits in this broader perspective of peacebuilding. According to Galtung (1996:112), peacebuilding refers to the infrastructural, military, and socio-economic and political intervention efforts to offer an alternative in dealing with the foundational causes of war in a conflict country. “This is a way of attempting to overcome the contradictions which lie at the root cause of the conflicts” (Galtung, 1996:112),

In this study, peacebuilding shall be defined as deliberate endeavours by the state and civil society aimed to enhance the prospects of peace by decreasing the likelihood of violent conflict (Pokol, 2015a). This means peacebuilding signifies not only the absence of violence, but

represents a dynamic state of affairs that should deliberately be built and continuously reinforced (Chivasa, 2015). The focus of this study is the building of positive peace which according to (Rees, 2003) is by necessity not just the absence of war or direct violence but entails gender justice, fair political, economic and social establishments. For any peacebuilding process to be successful, it should be able to meet the basic human needs of the population. Ramsbotham et al (2011) argues that peacebuilding refers to all strategies that are designed to promote a secure and stable lasting peace in which the basic human needs of the population are met to avert the recurrence of violent conflicts. In order to achieve this, peacebuilding should not be conservative in its approach and inclination but should be open to new approaches and strategies that may bring lasting peace (Nderitu, 2013). For peacebuilding to be effective, there is need for inclusivity and sensitivity to needs of the local population and cultural needs as well, to avoid imposition tendencies by external interveners. In this study, peacebuilding refers to the bottom-up strategies meant to prevent, reduce, transform, and assist people to recover from all forms of violence, including structural violence which would have yet resulted in widespread civil turbulence (Borer et al, 2006). So the focus of this study is on the building of positive peace or what the United Nations calls a culture of peace. Positive peace is not just the absence of war or direct violence but it includes economic and social arrangements which foster the culture of peace. Building peace thus involves a coterie of processes that result in the creation of an environment that promotes and encourages development and restoration of community life (Borer et al, 2006). Positive peace, therefore, from this dimension can be understood as working from the ground up to foster new norms of resolving conflicts.

Debate rages on with regards to what peacebuilding ought to and ought not to do (Mendeloff, 2004:362). But scholars are slowly coming to consensus with regard to the categories of the discipline. Generally, peacebuilding is divided into two diametrically opposed schools of thought: top-down and bottom-up schools of thought. The two schools of thought hold opposed views on who should be responsible for peacebuilding in post-conflict societies. The top-down approaches to peacebuilding emphasise the role of the elite actors, especially politicians and international organisations to peacebuilding (Ramsbotham et al., 2011). These actors are represented at the top level of the pyramid of society which Lederach developed. This is the form of peacebuilding which has dominated the historical fabric of Zimbabwe since independence. Ncube (2014) submits that in the first decade of Zimbabwe's independence, the peacebuilding discourse was dominated largely by the top-down approach. This approach, in the light of the arguments given, was meant to create and foster stability and strengthen state

institutions with the view of nation-building and unity. The bottom-up school of thought emphasises the participation of the grassroots and the middle-level actors in the resolution of any conflict. This is the approach which has eluded the peacebuilding endeavours in Zimbabwe since independence.

1.7.2 Youth

The term youth is a common concept, yet very fluid and nebulous and has been a subject of myriad definitions by scholars from diverse backgrounds including sociology, economics, demography and lately, peace studies (Mutisi, 2012). The concept is a contested one, hence coining a concrete and universally embraced definition is problematic. Literature reveals that the youth concept is a social construct whose comprehension is determined by various variables such as culture, society and other realities of life. Like other social phenomenon, youth is understood differently from one society to the other. A correct understanding of this concept focusses the study and gives the study the frame of reference, thus it is important to give a conceptual clarity of the term.

Two schools of thought have emerged in extant literature about the youth: one which focusses on the biological distinction between the youthhood and adulthood. This school of thought emphasises the chronological cut-off points and age factor in the definition of youth; defining the youth as the period between childhood and adulthood. The second school of thought focuses on the cultural tags and defines youth as a social category with distinctive roles, duties, behaviours, rituals, rites of passage and relationships (Mutisi, 2012). Owing to the controversy surrounding the construction of youth De Waal (2002a:15) posits that:

The concept of youth is a Western concept and a political construct...Youth is a problematic, intermediary and ambivalent category, chiefly defined by what it is not: youth are not dependent children, nor are they independent, socially responsible adults.

Despite highlighting the problematic nature of youth definition, de Waal acknowledges that youth is both a social and political construct. He again acknowledges the chronological categorisation of youth and alludes that youth are between childhood and adulthood.

Multilateral institutions and many governments have limited their understanding of the youth concept to the chronological categorisation of the term. For example, the United Nation's World Youth Report (2003:74) conceives youth as a biological and chronological progression

of people in the age range 15 to 24 years. Similarly, the Population Reference Bureau (2016), regard people within the age of 10 to 24 as youths. This chronological categorisation of the youth, as a category which is exclusive and identifiable is problematic, for it overlooks the fluidity of realities and other variables so crucial in understanding the concept of youth. This perception of youth implies that a person's classification within this age bracket affirm the youthfulness of such a person(s) irrespective of other variables and realities around such a person.

However, it is important to acknowledge that the age categorisation of youth is straight forward though it is narrow and leaves socio-cultural attributes and dimensions which are paramount in understanding the youth category. For instance, UNESCO holds that youth is the period of transition from the dependence of childhood to the independence of adulthood. Unlike the biological definition of youth, which presents a narrow and limited explanation of youth, the social constructivist explanation of the youth concept brings very salient views in the discourse of youth studies. Borrowing from this social constructivist perspective, the World Youth Report (2005) has coined the definition of youth as a period of physical, mental and social maturation when issues of identity and determining their roles in society are shaped. In the domain of social sciences, youth is seen as a socially constructed phenomenon owing to societal expectations on adult roles and responsibilities (Abbink and Van Kessel, 2005; Ukeje and Iwilade, 2012). "Marriage, starting a family, having your own home and a livelihood to support dependents are among the most commonly used milestones that mark the transition into adulthood" (Abbink and Van Kessel, 2005: 13).

In some societies, youthhood is viewed on the condition of the person's ability to meet certain cultural expectations (UNDP Jordan Human Development Report, 2000). In such societies, people above thirty years or even forty years but lack certain socio-cultural attributes such as employment, independence, education and initiation/rites of passage are considered as minors. Owing to this Bucholtz (2002:526) asserts that in some cultures preadolescent people and those in their 30s or 40s belong to the same category of youth. From a socio-cultural point of view, youthhood involves a long period or even a lifelong engagement in cultural practices. The initiation ceremonies in the Zulu, Xosa and Ndebele cultures where young people are initiated into adulthood through rites of passage ceremonies are good examples. These cultures' categorisation of the young people is informed whether one has gone through the ceremonies of passage into adulthood. These initiation rites often involve the physical

testing, seclusion, and the demonstration of fitness for masculine approbation (Silverman 2004 as cited in *Boys will be Boys* (2008: 434). The initiates are also given new names signifying their newness as mature individuals. The processes of the rites of passage offer some degree of new roles in the community to the initiates.

The rites of passage ceremonies are not only peculiar to the tribes of Southern Africa. The Masai of East Africa have the Eutonot ceremony which is a rite of passage that marks the transition from childhood to adulthood among the men. This ceremony also means the men are transiting from a life of less or no responsibility to life of greater responsibilities. The initiates are then expected to watch over the community's cattle (which are highly regarded as God's unique gift to the Masai), participate in cattle raids, and kill a lion. At the end of the ceremony, the young men shave their hair as a gesture of formally transiting into manhood and are also said to be ready for marriage and start families. Rites of passage are also performed for girls as they get into puberty among the Twa and Anlo-Ewe people (Obaje, 2017). The girls are taught to be good mothers and wives and are only considered eligible for marriage when they go through this ceremony. These ceremonies provide the platform for young women to learn the social responsibilities that come with womanhood. So according to the social constructivist understanding of the youth, transition into adulthood varies from society to society and culture to culture. So, a common definition of the youth is problematic to have under these circumstances. But what is common in the socio-cultural understanding of the concept of youth, is that the concept cannot be subjected to biological categorisation. Socio-cultural issues are important in the transition of young people into adulthood.

In other communities, this same population cohort known as the youth is defined as people in their late thirties or forties, or people who are still in school and financially not independent (Obaje and Okeke-Uzodike, 2013). Scholars who have studied non-western societies such as De Waal, (2002a)) have reiterated that the term youth is a social construct and its definition should consider several factors like space, society and time. This view is also supported by authors such as (Sommers, 2001) who postulate that youth is socially constructed and hence its definition differs from one society to the other. They argue that in ancient African societies, adulthood was earned through the amassing of wealth and all those who could not attain this remained in perpetual childhood despite their age. Ukeje and Iwilade, (2012) see youth as an identity that is socially constructed and they recognise that relations of power and control affects the social notions of youth.

This socially defined category of youth is volatile and can be forfeited in some circumstances. One reverts to youthhood if the requisite duties and responsibilities of adulthood could not be maintained. Eguavoen (2010:268) avidly explains,

There is growing empirical evidence that the social status of adulthood may be reversed if the individual falls back into poverty, which means that young adults are socially delegated back to youth status and, as a direct consequence, denied full adult rights, again resulting in low social status and limited access to resources and political decision making.

However, the socio-cultural understanding of the youth is not without its challenges though it enhances the comprehension of the youth category. Obaje (2017) argues that the categorisation of the youth becomes blurred when the socio-cultural yardstick is used. This is so considering that some people reach the age of say forty without going through the ceremonies of the rites of passage and in socio-cultural settings, these are regarded as minors. Such irregularities make the universal understanding of the term ‘youth’ difficult even within the socio-cultural settings.

UNDP (2006) attempts to give a very inclusive understanding of the youth category. UNDP argues that youth is variously understood because of the chronological factors and the functional and the cultural requirements and expectations of society. What is common in the various conception of the term ‘youth’ is that it is an intermediate and transitional period from childhood to adulthood. The complexity of comprehending the stage of youthhood is associated with how the chronological, functional and cultural components of this category are related since they differ from place to place. Most Western societies primarily define youth by age, while majority African and some Asian societies view youth from functional and cultural perspectives.

Despite the controversy surrounding the definition of the youth concept, there seems to be general consensus that youth is a period of transition from childhood to adulthood; a period which is marked by social, cultural and physical changes among this group (Mutisi, 2012). Owing to the divergent versions of youth definition, this study limits its definition of youth to people of all sexes between 18 and 35 years of age. The study is inclined towards the government of Zimbabwe’s borrowed African Union definition of the youth as all people aged between 15 and 35 years. The study, however, deliberately focussed on young people from 18-

35 years because this is the age category which participates in youth empowerment programmes. The Zimbabwe constitution adopted in 2013 regards all people below the age of 18 years as minors hence the cut from 18 years. Though the socio-cultural understanding of the youth is very comprehensive, it has some challenges as highlighted above. The adoption of the age definition of the youth category, does not undermine the scholarly debate on the social constructivist understanding of the youth category, but helps to streamline and nuance the study. So, the youth as understood in this study is any person of the age given above despite other social or cultural status.

1.7.3 Civil society

The concept of civil society is so important to this study and its proper understanding is important. Civil society has been variously defined from different quarters. Paffenholz (2014:70) describes civil society as comprising:

organizations that take voluntary collective action around shared interests, purposes, and values and that are distinct from those of the state, family, and the market. It consists of a large and diverse set of organizations such as trade unions, professional associations, human rights groups, faith-based organizations, research institutions, social movements, and peace-building NGOs, as well as traditional and community groups.

In short, civil society refers to an assortment of organisations which occupy the social and political space between society and the state. It may also be viewed as “public sphere where citizens and voluntary organizations freely engage and it is distinct from the state, the family and the market” (World Bank, 2006:3).

Though its definition remains unclear, the role of civil society in peacebuilding is undisputed. Writing in 1994 Veneklasen attempted to define civil society as:

A sphere of social interaction between the household (family) and the state which is manifested in the norms of community cooperative, structures of voluntary association and networks of public communication ... norms are values of trust, reciprocity, tolerance and inclusion, which are critical to cooperation and community problem solving, structure of association refers to the full range of informal and formal organization through which citizens pursue common interests (1994:3).

The definition above reflects that civil society is a social entity which represents the interests of the local community. Its composition and structure are made of independent organisations which develop a thick, divergent and pluralistic network (Connor, 1999). As civil society evolves, it encompasses a coterie of localised groups, specialized associations and becomes a very active partner in governance.

However, a more encompassing definition of civil society is given by the London School of Economics, Centre for Civil Society. According to the Centre for Civil Society, the concept of civil society refers to voluntary collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. Though in theory there is distinction from the state and family, in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Organisations which constitute civil societies are registered charities, development non-governmental organisations, community groups, women's organisations, faith-based movements, professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, and coalition and advocacy groups.

According to Makumbe (1998), civil society is an aggregate of organisations whose members voluntarily engage in activities outside state influence such as economic and cultural production, voluntary associations who seek to preserve and transform their identity by attempting to influence activities of state institutions. The above definition highlights that civil society is a behavioural space between the state and the market where value norms of collective purposes are given precedence over those of the state. Secondly, civil society consists of organisational action that seeks to oppose unilateral hegemony by a social system such as the state and it seeks to proffer alternatives in place of perceived weak institutions or processes (Ncube 2010). In the Zimbabwean context, civil society and NGOs include humanitarian or service delivery groups, faith-based and community-based organisations, professional associations, trade unions, women and youth groups and human rights advocacy and good governance organisations. This study focused on youth empowerment it thus took a deliberate inclination towards youth-oriented civil society organisations.

The idea of civil society has been subjected to a lot of academic reflection and examination. More so when the concept is mixed with peacebuilding, it has drawn considerable attention ever since the late years of the 20th century. Civil society, according to Goodhand and Lewer (1999), is a term that was associated with people's fight for civil liberties and the democratisation in the 1980s. However, the 1990s decade witnessed the rapid mushrooming

of civil society organisations of diverse orientation and persuasion. A more comprehensive definition of civil society is proffered by Merkel and Lauth (1998:7) who asserts that civil society is “the arena of voluntary, uncoerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values.” Merkel and Lauth (1998) calls civil society the space between the more established factors. Glasius (2004:3) says civil society “can be all things to all people.” However, Janoski (1998:12) attempts to give a more definite description of what civil society is. He defines civil society as “a sphere of dynamic and responsive public discourse between the state, the public sphere consisting of voluntary organisations, and the market sphere concerning private firms and unions.” Linz and Stepan (1996:7) had attempted earlier to define civil society. They viewed civil society as “an arena of polity where self-organising groups, movements, and individuals, relatively autonomous from the state attempt to articulate values, create associations and solidarities and advance their interests”.

More recently, Paffenholz and Spurk (2006:2) present concept of civil society as “the sector of voluntary action within institutional forms that are distinct from those of the state, family and market, keeping in mind that in practice the boundaries between these actors are often complex and blurred.” The inclusion of economic institutions as part of civil society is supported by Sachikonye (1995). According to Sachikonye (1995:7) civil society:

...can be conceived as an aggregate of institutions whose members are engaged primarily in a complex of non-state activities – economic and cultural production, voluntary associations and household life – and who in this way preserve and transform their identity by exercising all sorts of pressures or controls upon state institutions.

For Sachikonye, civil society include organisations such as professional organisations or associations of various forms, student associations, independent media houses, entrepreneurial organisations, workers’ unions, co-operatives and various Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). The church is also a very important component of civil society. The European Union’s (EU) broad conception of CSOs include all non-state entities, non-profit-making organisations and nonpartisan and non-violent organisations through which people coalesce their common objectives and ideals, which might be political, cultural, social or economic (EU 2012: 3). The definitions by Paffenholz and Spurk and Sachikonye are illustrative of the current understanding of the practice and reality of civil society in Zimbabwe and the rest of the developing world. This conceptualisation of civil society conforms to the conception of civil society by the multilateral and donor institutions like the Bretton Woods organisations; World

Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These institutions view civil society as very central to the socio-economic transformation of a state.

As illustrated above, the civil society concept assumes a largely broad and at times ambiguous meaning. According to the World Bank (2006:3), civil society is a sphere that provides a platform for the interaction of communities and people to seek influence and that this arena is constituted by diverse actors, both formal and informal. The World Bank (2006:7) notes that the “analytical approaches to peacebuilding have shifted in recent years from outcome-oriented approaches to conflict management, to relationship-oriented conflict resolutions, and to more comprehensive transformation oriented.”

In this conceptualisation, civil society is supposedly given a domineering role in all spheres of the socio-political wellbeing of a state. It assumes the watchdog role and a high moral ground. Consistent with the thinking of the Bretton Wood institutions and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Putnan (2000) refers to civil society as an agent of civic engagement, which refers to the participation of individuals in civil life and groupings. This understanding of civil society has created the grounds for the massive involvement of civil society in social development programs in many developing countries. In this discussion, the focus is on civil society and peacebuilding. The involvement of more than 100 civil society organisations in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe is testimony of the important role of civil society in civic engagement.

1.7.4 Understanding Empowerment

Youth empowerment is very central to this study, it is therefore imperative to conceptualise the term. The concept of empowerment has been embraced and used by various disciplines and has attained various meanings in the process. It has been used in government and private spheres, as well as by local and international organisations. In these varied spaces and contexts, the term means different things to different people. Holden, Evans, Hinnant & Messeri (2005:265) found it easier to define the absence of empowerment. They said the lack of empowerment is “powerlessness, real or imagined; learned helplessness; alienation; and a loss of a sense of control over one’s own life” (Holden, Evans, Hinnant & Messeri, 2005:265). To the contrary, the presence of empowerment is defined by such terms as “self-strength, control, self-power, self-reliance, own choice...capacity to fight for one’s rights, independence, own decision making, being free, awakening, and capability” (Narayan, 2002:13). A definition

which has been commonly used by many researchers is that which has been coined by Zimmerman and Warschausky (1998). They defined empowerment as “processes and outcomes relating to issues of control, critical awareness, and participation” (Zimmerman and Warschausky, 1998:4)

However, some salient definitions of empowerment which are more relevant to this study have been given. According to Ratna & Rifkin (2007), empowerment involves the creation of opportunities and inspiration for those who do not have them. Any action taken in the empowerment matrix should be graced with intentionality, and that empowerment is a process, not an event (Speer et al., 2001; Zimmerman, 2000; Zimmerman & Warschausky, 1998). For Zimmerman (2000:44), empowerment should be shared responsibility and working with others. He says that empowerment entails working with others to reach set goals, attempts to find access to resources, and a conscious grasping of the socio-political environment. What can be deduced from the above is that people who are considered empowered are critical agents in the trajectory of development and have a role to play in the welfare and improvement of their lives. Any meaningful empowerment should be able to meet the people’s needs, which include “food, shelter, wealth, education, work, a clean environment, security, and democratic choice” (Mudavadi, 2002:26; Mutuku, 2011).

Empowerment is viewed to be at the individual, organizational, or community level. Various researchers have attempted to analyse empowerment from these three dimensions. Those like Zimmerman and Warschausky (1998) focus their analysis of psychological empowerment on the individual level. Zimmerman (2000) views psychological empowerment as intrapersonal, interactional, and behavioural. The intrapersonal component “refers to how people think about themselves and include domain-specific perceived control and self-efficacy, motivation to control, and perceived competence” (Zimmerman & Warschausky, 1998:8). Zimmerman & Warschausky (1998:8) goes on to say that the interactional component focusses on critical awareness and a full understanding that resources are requisite in achieving desired goals and knowledge of how access those resources, and the know-how to manage the acquired resources. It also entails decision-making, problem-solving, and leadership skills.

Empowerment is also understood to be at an organisational level. Organisations might provide a conducive environment, for people, to enable them to have control over their lives. Organisations which develop or influence policy decisions or provide alternatives in terms of service provision are said to be empowered organisations (Zimmerman, 2000:51).

Empowerment which is at community level refers to “collective action to improve the quality of life in a community and the connections among community organizations and agencies” (Zimmerman & Warschausky, 1998:5). It is important to note that the three levels of empowerment are “mutually interdependent and are both a cause and consequence of each other” (Zimmerman, 2000: 46). It is important to note that empowerment processes involve mechanisms via which individuals, organizations, and communities, would gain leverage over issues that matter in their lives, develop conscious awareness of their surroundings and actively take a part in decision making (Zimmerman & Warschausky, 1998:5). The processes include learning of skills and mobilisation of resources with the aim of influencing the socio-political environment. Thus, empowered persons should have some form of influence, critical awareness and a desire to cooperate with others to achieve certain goals (Mutuku (2011). This study is designed to explore the youth empowerment processes in Zimbabwe and how this would contribute to peacebuilding.

However, the concept of youth empowerment is explained by the Adolescent Empowerment Cycle and Youth Development and Empowerment Model. The Adolescent Empowerment Cycle and Youth Development and Empowerment Model understand youth empowerment as involving ‘a participatory cycle that engages youth in a safe environment and meaningful activities where they can learn skills, confront challenges, demonstrate success, and receive support and positive reinforcement for their efforts’ (Jennings et al., 2006: 39). It is important to note that the model emphasises the centrality of youth participation to their empowerment. Moreover, according to Jennings et al., (2006: 40) “critical youth empowerment encompasses processes and contexts through which youth engage in actions that create change in organizational, institutional, and societal policies, structures, values, norms, and images”. Thus, empowered youth should be able to demonstrate assertiveness, critical reflection and being active in community development (Hlungwani, 2018). Positive youth development suggests that youth can transform their livelihoods overcoming institutional restrictions. For the purposes of this current study, the definition as given by the Zimbabwe National Youth Policy has been adopted. The Zimbabwe National Youth Policy (2013) posits that youth empowerment involves providing an enabling environment which allows the youth to choose and make decisions on matters that affect them. Empowerment, therefore, allows the youth to be active participants in the process of development in political, economic and social processes.

1.7.5 Youth development

Just like the concept of youth, the notion of development is equally problematic in defining it. The term development is variously employed to denote a set of economic and social processes or a range of interventions which are meant to reduce poverty and enhance life especially of people living in poor regions (Ansell, 2017:2). Considering this, a definition of the two concepts combined varies extensively. According to Maunders (1998:2) youth development involves a confluence of “individual development with national or community development, the improvement of the quality of life, or services and facilities particularly but not exclusively to developing countries”. The reason for youth development is to foster empowerment of young people, for them to play an assertive and constructive role in the development of their communities. Youth development entails progressive growth where young people attempt to meet their basic needs of life such as safety, value, usefulness and building of skills and competencies that allow them to function in daily lives. Holt et al., (2017), assert that youth development should focus on identifying characteristics of individuals and their social environments that can be harnessed to build strengths and foster positive developmental change. For the purposes of this study, the definition of youth development by (Putman, 2016) has been adopted. Youth development is defined as programmes that aim to assist youth through the transitional process from childhood to adulthood. These programmes emphasise the development of personal and interpersonal skills, technical and academic competencies.

1.8 Research Methodology

This section gives an overview of the research methodology and approaches which this current study adopted. However, a detailed account of the research methodology is covered under the methodology chapter (Chapter 5). The nature of this study called for the adoption of the pragmatist paradigm as this allows the use of mixed methods research which draws from both quantitative and qualitative assumptions (Creswell, 2003). The mixed method approach that permits the use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches in a single study enables researchers to obtain diverse information about the same phenomenon and curtails deficiencies that come with relying on a single method (Majyambere & Hoskins, 2015).

The study population is described in detail in Chapter 5 (p. 131). However, it is enough to mention that the study targeted the youth, civil society organisations, government officials and academics in the four provinces purposively selected for this study. The provinces which were selected are: Harare Metropolitan Province, Bulawayo Metropolitan Province, Masvingo

Province and Mashonaland Central Province. From these provinces research participants were selected using purposive and stratified sampling techniques. Purposive sampling, often referred to as “judgemental” sampling was used to select respondents for the qualitative strand of the study. This was supported by the stratified sampling method which is was used to select participants for the quantitative dimension of the study. Stratified sampling technique puts the population into strata and a random sampling is applied to each stratum (Johnson and Christensen, 2012: 219). Four hundred and sixteen (416) participants were initially selected for the study but only three hundred and forty-three (343) participated. Table 1.1 summarises research participants for the study.

Table: 1.1 Research participants

	Sampled Participants	Participants
Quantitative Participants	400	329
Qualitative Participants	16	14
Total	416	343

This study relied on both primary and secondary data that was gathered through quantitative and qualitative means. The primary data was obtained using semi-structured interviews, observations and survey questionnaires. Semi-structured interviews were ideal for gathering qualitative data and survey questionnaires were used to gather quantitative data. This was complemented by secondary data obtained from scholarly journal articles, books, academic papers and government reports. This was useful in setting the contextual and theoretical framework for this study. The qualitative and quantitative data was collected and analysed separately. The mixed aspect of the study came at the results level where the results are compared.

1.9 Limitations of the study

Peacebuilding and any such related topic have been made a subject of political deliberations in Zimbabwe. Since the government’s crackdown on the Matebeleland and Midlands regions in the 1980s to suppress an alleged insurrection, and a heavy-handed clampdown on the opposition since year 2000, the nation has been haunted by the sordid realities of these episodes

of violence. Calls to have this addressed have been met with overt and sometimes muted resistance from the part of those in the corridors of power. The proposed National Peace and Reconciliation Commission Act of 2017 which seeks to investigate past cases of violence and create a platform for peacebuilding was initially vehemently opposed by a parliament dominated by ZANU PF (Newsday, 2017). The mention of peacebuilding was and continues to be viewed, especially by those in government, as an attempt to explore and bring to surface the sad realities of the dark past of Gukurahundi. As a result, respondents in government were so circumspect with their responses and were not comfortable being recorded during interviews.

The nature and timing of this study made it susceptible to inherent shortcomings. The discourse of peacebuilding in Zimbabwe has been clad in political mantle and the consummation of a wobbly GNU in February 2009 has not altered this perception. To make matters worse, the country experienced a military intervention which deposed long time ruler, Robert Mugabe, and enthroned a candidate of their choice who went to win an election vehemently contested by the opposition. So, with the dregs of political tension within and outside government still evident, responses from participants were reflective of this tension. That the study was conducted in 2018 the very year of general elections was viewed not as a mere coincidence. This was viewed by the rural respondents especially, as some form of work for a given political party. Questions such as “which political party you belong to,” in reference to the researcher in this study were common. The study was conducted in an atmosphere punctuated by an election frenzy and suffered from politically aligned views. Political parties in a bid to garner votes swayed the people’s views, and virtually all matters were viewed through the political lenses. This was, however, countered and mitigated by constantly reminding respondents to remain apolitical in their responses. Owing to this overarching political environment, the researcher was regarded with the gravest suspicion and disdain in some instances. Gatekeeper’s letters from the responsible authorities which the researcher carried, however, assisted to allay the misgivings some respondents held.

Moreover, the study suffered another limitation of unintentional bias. Issues of youth empowerment and development are concepts which are more often understood by those who are educated and domiciled in urban areas. The study acknowledges its inclination towards the educated category of the youth and even government and civil society representatives. In the process the views of the non-educated category were minimum, and in some instances, omitted.

However, this challenge was ameliorated by using indigenous languages in situations which demanded its use. During data collection, instruments were tailor-made to suit the language preferences of the respondents. Upon this realisation, the study did not stick to the use of English alone as the medium of communication. The data collected in vernacular was transcribed and translated into English for the purposes of this study.

1.10 Structure of the thesis

The study is constituted by eight chapters. Chapter one gives an introductory overview of the study. This chapter gives a general outline of the background of the study. It enunciates the research problem, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, and research questions. The chapter further explicates the significance of the study, scope of the study and potential limitations of the study. The chapter concludes by giving the conceptual clarification of the key concepts/terms/and words which frequently appear in the study.

Review of related literature follows chapter One and it comprises of Chapters Two and Three. Chapter Two contextualises the concepts of youth, conflict and peacebuilding. The chapter begins by tracing the concepts of conflict, peace and violence. Galtung's theories of violence and peace are explained. Possible reasons which explain youth violence are outlined. Chapter Three reviews literature on history and approach to peacebuilding by the government of Zimbabwe and civil society. It traces the history of peacebuilding in Zimbabwe, paying particular attention to youth empowerment.

Chapter Four focuses on the theoretical frameworks underpinning this study. Possible theories that could have informed this study are outlined and reasons are given why they were not adopted to inform this study. Chapter Five focuses on research design, data collection methods and data analysis approaches. The chapter discusses the research design. Mixed methods research paradigm that is employed in this study is explained. It also explains that this study leans more to the qualitative approaches. The chapter goes further to discuss a range of data collection methods that are employed in this study. The sampling methods are explained before exploring a range of qualitative and quantitative data collection methods that this study employs. The chapter closes by discussing data analysis and techniques of coding that are utilized in this study.

The last section of the thesis comprises Chapters Six, Seven and Eight that focus on data presentation process and discussion of findings. Chapter six presents qualitative and

quantitative data. The chapter also gives full details of the data collection processes. Chapter seven discusses and interprets data from the two approaches of qualitative and quantitative research. The closing chapter (8) provides a summary of the study, recommendations, and implications for the future.

1.11 Chapter summary

This chapter has given the background of the study. The trajectory of conflict in Zimbabwe and the numerous attempts at peacebuilding in the country have been highlighted in this chapter. The chapter also attempted to elaborate on the research problem. The research problem which has informed this study is the participation of the youth in violence, especially politically motivated violence. This is not a problem peculiar to Zimbabwe alone but across the world. But in the light of youth violence and conflict in general in Zimbabwe, peacebuilding efforts were all top-down in nature. The chapter concludes by providing the conceptual clarification of key terms. The definitions which this study will assume are given. Peacebuilding, youth, youth development and youth empowerment are all defined. The next chapter is a discussion of the literature related to the study. The literature is divided into two chapters; chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 contextualises youth, conflict and peacebuilding to the study and chapter 3 discusses government and civil society in peacebuilding.

CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXTUALISING YOUTH, CONFLICT AND PEACEBUILDING

2.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter introduced the study and gave its orientation. It has highlighted what the study seeks to achieve and how it ought to achieve it. It outlined the background to the study, the research problem and objectives, justification for the study, and ended with a preview outline of the study. Review of literature relevant to this study was divided into two chapters (Chapter 2 and Chapter 3). The chapters might not be exhaustive, so throughout the study, new literature not discussed in the two chapters shall be reviewed to support emerging arguments. The corpus of literature on youth and conflict in Africa and across the world is rich and extensive. There seems to be considerable and overwhelming conceptualization in extant literature, that young people are agents of violent conflict. But more recently, literature on youth and peacebuilding has started to emerge in the realm of conflict and peace studies, but there remains a dearth of research on how civil society and national governments can employ youth empowerment packages for the purposes of peacebuilding

The discourse of conflict and peacebuilding in Zimbabwe has of late generated intense interest and controversy among scholars. Considerable work has been done on the Gukurahundi conflict and its impact on the peace process in the country. More recently, the socio-political crisis in Zimbabwe which became more acute at the turn of the 21st century received considerable discursive deliberation by scholars and practitioners of peace. This has resulted in prospects for peace and the building of peace in Zimbabwe to be slim. The examination of the prospects of peacebuilding interventions through youth empowerment gives a new scholarly perspective in the field of peacebuilding and conflict resolution.

This chapter seeks to interrogate various past relevant studies on youth and conflict with the view of shaping and mapping this current study. The interrogation of the existing literature provides a window to consider the obtaining conditions on the phenomenon under investigation. Literature review, therefore, provides the foundational script from knowledge already known on the subject. From this body of existing literature about the subject under investigation, the researcher then anchors his or her study. This implies that the review of related literature is not a parroting of other researchers' views on the subject matter, but a systematic critique of previous studies related to the study. Attention was given to aspects such

as methodology and research findings of the relevant literature. This served to avoid the duplication of results or what is termed in the academic world “reinventing the wheel.”

Discussion of relevant literature in this chapter is done under some themes and sub-themes. The following themes were identified: the concepts of conflict, violence and peace, participation of youth in violent conflict, the concept of peacebuilding, the role of youth in peacebuilding among others. Under these themes, the chapter attempts to highlight the role the youth can play in building sustainable peace. It is imperative to mention that the intention of this chapter is not to negate existing scholarly work under the topic of peacebuilding. Rather, the chapter, through a critical examination of existing relevant scholarly work, identifies gaps in extant literature on youth and peacebuilding. By identifying the gaps which the study intends to fill, the contribution of this study to existing knowledge is mapped.

2.2 The concepts of conflict, violence and peace

In violent conflict, the youth have played a significant role in unleashing the violence. The agency of the youth which in oftentimes has resulted in the escalation of violent conflict is a subject which has been under discussion from a wide spectrum of the academic field, especially in conflict and peace studies. Scholarly work right across the world highlight the role of youth in violent conflict. However, before discussing the nature and extent of youth engagement in violent conflict, it is imperative to discuss and give conceptual clarifications of the concepts of conflict, violence and peace as understood in peace studies.

2.2.1 Conflict

Though conflict is as old as humanity itself, the concrete definition of the term has continued to dodge the discipline of peace studies. According to Lederach (2015) conflict is normal in human interactions because the values, attitudes, interests, orientations and goals of human beings are not identical. And in his conflict transformation theory, (Lederach, 1999) admits that conflict is inevitable in human existence and is a vehicle for change. The word conflict has variously been defined within the genus of literature in peace and peacebuilding. Conflict is an epidemic phenomenon which has and continues to be part of human co-existence. It is understood as an expression and reflection of tensions and incompatibilities among three or more individuals, or groups of people with regard to their respective needs and values. It should be noted that conflicts, whether violent or latent, militate against the advancement of societies through overt or covert destruction of either human or material resources.

Despite the apparent disparities in defining the concept of conflict, scholars and writers concur that conflict is an endemic and recurring phenomenon to human society and interaction (Miall, 2004; Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, 2011). In other words, conflict is an inherent dimension of human relations, an undercurrent of social relations (Isike, 2009). It is viewed by some as integral to the functioning of human relations and a vehicle for change and development. This, however, is very much dependent on how the conflict is managed. For this reason, Lederach (2003:5) postulates that “conflict is a normal part of human relationship, and conflict is a motor of change.” Wallensten (2015:17) identifies three variables that constitute a conflict, namely: action, incompatibility and actors. He argues that a confluence of these three components results in conflict developing. He, therefore, defines conflict as “a social situation in which a minimum of two actors (parties) strive to acquire at the same moment in time an available set of resources.” This definition reveals that what is at the centre of any conflict are striving parties over interests which are irreconcilable.

Conflict is generic to human interaction and association. No human society, community, grouping, organisation or interpersonal relationship is immune from conflict at any given time. Galtung and Fischer (2013) concur that in the dealings of humanity, conflict is a recurring phenomenon. Scholars such as (Moore, 2003), have identified the three categories of conflict; these are:

- Latent conflict-this is a conflict characterised by underlying tensions which are yet to develop into full-fledged conflict. The parties involved may not be aware of the existence of the conflict and often behave as usual.
- Emerging conflict-under this form of conflict the parties involved are identified, the conflict usually is acknowledged, and conflictual issues are identified. Emerging conflicts can eventually have the propensity to develop into protracted conflict if a resolution is not sought in time.
- Manifest conflict-this refers to situations of active conflict; the conflicting parties are clear and issues at stake are clearly spelt out.

Within the realm of conflict and peace studies, it is generally agreed that the persistent frustration of human needs is one major cause of conflict around the world. When needs of physical safety and wellbeing, access to political and economic participation, and cultural and religious expression are frustrated over prolonged periods, feelings of grievances and injustice

grow (Galtung 1996, Galtung 2004, Jeong, 2017). This according to Peck leads to the formation of cleavages along the lines of ethnicity, religion or class to articulate their grievances and seek redress. Such argument resonates with the views of Burton, (1990a) who argues that conflict is a reflection of deeper struggles over unsatisfied human needs. According to Kelman, (2009), conflict should be understood as a process underpinned by collective human needs and fears. Human needs which are said to lie at the base of many conflicts are defined by John Burton as universal and non-negotiable and, are therefore the root causes of many conflicts. Any settlement of conflicts should primarily address these needs which, inclusive of basic needs of food, water and shelter, are security or safety, meaning stability of freedom from fear; identity; recognition; family and community; and personal development, which includes personal enrichment or accomplishment of one's potential (Doucey, 2011).

The Zimbabwe crisis which ultimately led to the conflict which currently grips the country is a result of the neglected human needs. Beginning in the 1990s, the people of Zimbabwe suffered an attack on their basic human needs of food, water and shelter emanating from government's macro-economic mismanagement. Civil society responded by bringing pressure to bear on the government and this was viewed as a challenge on government authority. Moreover, an alternative political party emerged in the form of the MDC which used human needs to challenge for the levers of the state. The government responded to this by restricting the human rights space and human needs further plummeted.

The conceptualisation of conflict by human needs theorists postulate that satisfaction of human needs especially basic needs is paramount for human development and survival, physically and socially. Human needs theorists that include Jeong (2017: 70) do not subscribe to the notion that violence is a natural instinct in human beings whose origin can be attributed to the very nature of humanity. They argue that human needs provide a rational framework to analyse and evaluate emerging social formation that might result in the development of conflict. Peck (1998:30-31) argues that owing to fragility, partisanship, authoritarianism or/and incompetence, governments have often failed to meet the basic needs of their citizens. This has often resulted in socio-political implosions, and violent conflict has often been the result. Conflict is said to be a product of the incompatibility of interests of diverse groups. The perpetual diversity of interests leads to competition which becomes violent if not managed. In his description of deep-rooted conflict, Fisher (1997: 5) argues that these conflicts are not based on negotiable interests but on needs that are non-negotiable. Such conflicts, according to

(Fisher, 1997), emerge in all situations of inequality which are characterised by the frustration of basic needs of identity and participation.

Conflict is better understood by looking at the models of conflict, violence and peace which Galtung (1969) presented in a more comprehensive fashion. Galtung as the pioneering professor of peace and conflict research, has suggested that conflict can be presented as a triangle with three variables at its vertices-Contradiction (C), Attitude (A) and Behaviour (B).

The triangle below Figure 2.1 is a depiction of Galtung's variables of conflict.

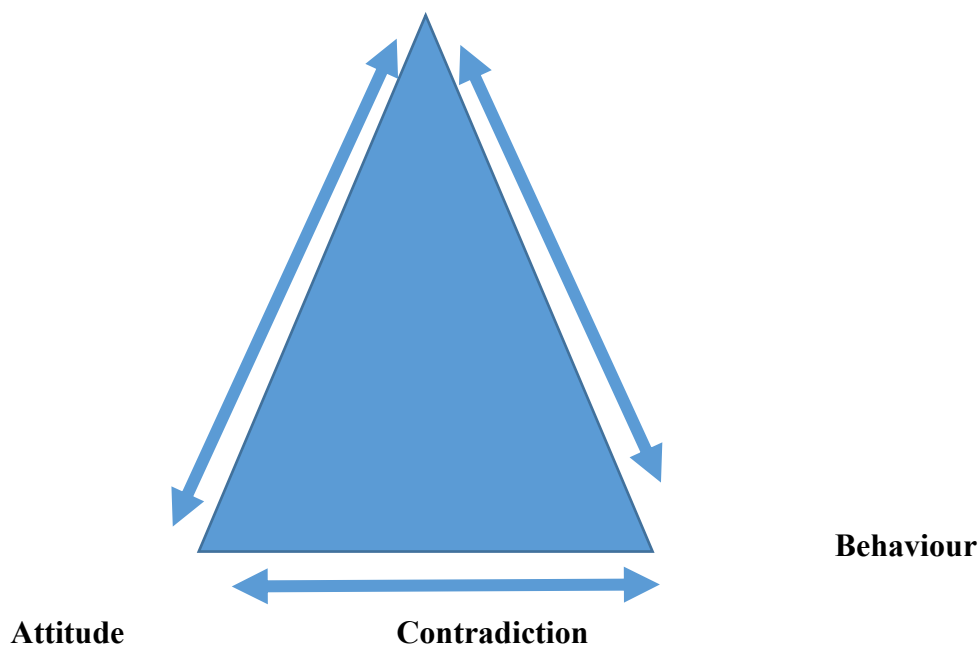


Figure 2.1: Galtung's ABC conflict paradigm.

Adapted from Galtung 1996:72

According to the ABC triangle of conflict, there are three components which define conflict, which are contradiction, which is the concrete object of the conflict, behaviour of the various actors in the conflict and attitudes which connote the deeper feelings of the actors in the conflict (Gallo, 2013). According to Galtung, contradiction entails the underlying conflict situation, often represented by incompatible goals as perceived and defined by the parties to the conflict. Attitude refers to the inherent conceptions and misconceptions the parties might have about themselves and each other. In violent conflict, attitudes are often influenced by emotions and stereotypes such as fear, anger, bitterness and hatred. The third variable is behaviour and it signifies actions such as threats, coercion and destructive attacks. According to Staleno (2014), behaviour involves cooperation or coercion, conciliation or hostility. In the case of violent

conflict, behaviour means threats, coercion and destructive attacks. For conflict to be full and complete, all the three elements should be present together argues Galtung (1969).

Notwithstanding the various and conflicting definitions of conflict, this study understands conflict as a social phenomenon. Social conflict is defined by economic scarcity that manifest itself in poverty (human insecurity) which impairs human development and existence (Isike, 2009). The above definition is in line with Wallenstein's definition of conflict. Wallenstein (2015:17) postulates that conflict "contains a severe disagreement between at least two sides, where their demands cannot be met by the same resources at the same time." This is incompatibility. If this social conflict is not managed it eventually leads to armed conflict which is characterised by socio-political differences that manifest in political assassinations, violent confrontations and low-intensity violence.

Galtung's conceptualisation of violence

If conflict is not managed and resolved amicably, it inevitably leads to violence. Violence is defined differently by different people. Kalyvas (2006:19) gives a general understanding of violence as the deliberate infliction of physical harm on people. This definition is narrow and limited and does not give the correct scope of the concept of violence. Violence is diverse, deeper and broader than the mere intentional physical harm of people. Johan Galtung's conceptualisation of violence remains influential in how violence is understood in the context of peace studies. Galtung attempted to give the typology of violence which comprises three categories: direct, structural and cultural violence. Galtung, cited by Ho (2014:3) defines violence as:

...avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs or to put it in more general terms, the impairment of human life, which lowers the actual degree to which someone is able to meet their needs below that which would otherwise possible.

It is important to note that Galtung places the notion of human needs at the very heart of his definition of violence. The deprivation of people of the capacity to meet their needs amounts to an act of violence according to Galtung.

To distinguish his three concepts of violence, Galtung developed another triangle which resembles in principle his ABC triangle on conflict. He identifies direct, structural and cultural violence as the three types of violence. Galtung's three concepts of violence are an

acknowledgement that violence is multifaceted, deeper and broader than the mere physical infliction of pain. Besides the conceptualisation of violence by Galtung, violence has equally been conceptualised in other fields like sociology, criminology and psychology. It is not within the scope of this study to look at the numerous understanding of violence in different disciplines, but this study will stick to the conceptualisation of violence as it relates to the study of conflict and peace. Though the study is principally not about violence, the concept constitutes a very important dimension of the study. Reference shall be made about the post-independence violence in the 1980s, post-millennium violence with particular interest to the 2008 pre- and post-election violence in Zimbabwe. It is imperative to note that this violence was hugely instigated and perpetuated by the youth.

Direct Violence

Galtung's triangle of violence states the three forms of violence as direct, structural and cultural violence. Direct violence refers to the use of physical force (assault, rape, torture, murder etc.) and verbal tantrums. This form of violence is personal, visible, manifest and non-structural in nature (Jeong, 2017). It is the most common and pervasive form of violence used both in war and outside war. It inflicts physical pain on victims and is often used in war and politics to cause harm on perceived opponents. The trauma which direct violence engenders owing to its effects of harming the body, mind and spirit live for long after the real violence has ceased. Kalyvas (2006:20) highlights that deliberate and physical violence assumes various forms, ranging from pillage, robbery, vandalism, arson, forced displacement, kidnapping, holding people hostage, detention, beating, torture, mutilation, rape to desecration of dead bodies. This is a succinct description of what has come to be a perennial experience in Zimbabwe's circle of elections since 1980. The violence that Zimbabweans have suffered from the hands of the youth has been direct violence. The fear that grips Zimbabwe as a nation especially every time an election is announced is a result of the acts of direct violence that the people have been subjected to in the past. Direct violence is so entrenched into the political culture of Zimbabwe that it has become a norm. Upon the attainment of independence, the country was gripped by a euphoric feeling for peace. However, this euphoria was short-lived as the country was plunged into a civil strife which ended in 1987, but not before claiming more than 20 000 lives (Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2003). The political settlement of 1987 was not the end of violence as the same continued to be used as a political weapon to silence dissenters.

Structural Violence

In his examination of the colonial structures and how they impact on natives in Rhodesia, Galtung coined the term structural violence. His thinking has defied the traditional way of defining peace and has exposed how limited the definition of peace as the absence of war is. Though direct violence against the natives by the colonial government was limited, Galtung observed the presence of structures in society which militated against the wellbeing of the native population. He noted that:

In a certain sense, there was harmony, cooperation and integration. But was this peace? With the blatant exploitation, with blacks being denied most opportunities for development given to whites, with flagrant inequality whereby whites were making about twenty times as much for exactly the same job as blacks? Not to mention the basic fact that this was still a white colony (Galtung, 1985: 145).

Scholars such as (Jeong, 2000) concur with Galtung. They went further to elaborate that structural violence depict a situation where one group usually at the centre of power have dominance over those at the periphery. They argue that the peripheral groups suffer from low wages, landlessness, illiteracy, poor health, limited or absence of political representation or legal rights. In fact, they have little control over their lives. Given the consequences which structural violence might have, Galtung (1996) argues that this form of violence is tantamount in morbidity to direct violence. Structural violence is broad to include even thinly veiled violation or interference with an individual's choices in life. Paulo Freire (1998:37) argues that if one person hinders another in the pursuit of one's self-affirmation amounts to act of violence. This is so despite the sweetening of such actions with falsified generosity, "because it interferes with the individual's ontological and historical vocation to be more fully human".

Structural violence as opposed to direct violence is indirect in that "there may not be any person who directly harms another person in the structure. The violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances" (Galtung, 1969: 167). Farmer et al (2006) cited by Muderedzi et al (2017) describe structural violence as social arrangements that compromise the security of individuals and populations. In fact, structural violence is an attempt to understand the dynamics of human suffering and poverty and how these are influenced by power relations (Farmer, 2004). At group level, structural violence occurs when some groups, classes, or ethnic group is viewed as inferior and discriminated by

those in positions of social and political power. The concept of structural violence reveals that the absence of direct violence is not an indication of peace. Structural violence aids the understanding of the deep causes of conflict which are ingrained in political oppression and economic discrimination (Jeong, 2017). The concept of structural violence broadens the definition of peace, for it asserts that peace is only obtainable by transforming the social structures that perpetuate death, poverty and hunger.

Without exception, Zimbabwe has experienced structural violence since its independence in 1980 and even beyond. Despite the rhetoric of peace, by the governing ZANU-PF party, Zimbabwe has suffered a combination of direct and structural violence since the turn of the millennium. At the peak of Zimbabwe's mega crisis in 2008, the country was subjected to an unprecedented form of structural violence. Scholars have confirmed the presence of structural violence in Zimbabwe and have attributed it to the legacy of inequalities inherited from the colonial regime. The gross inequality in the economy originating from the colonial times was perpetuated after independence. Muzondidya (2004) notes that Rhodesia replicated most colonial regimes of that time, it was a fragmented or bifurcated state where race and colour determined one's access to resources and wealth. This fragmentation of society continued into independent Zimbabwe.

Cultural Violence

Cultural violence is viewed as the underlying source of the other two forms of violence. It produces hatred, fear and suspicion that ultimately leads to violent behaviour. Religion, ideology, and art which relate to our symbolic sphere of existence are possible sources of conflict and violence. Galtung (1996:196) posits that cultural violence entails acts of culture that include religion and ideology, language and art and any related symbols that are drawn to justify or legitimise direct or structural violence. Cultural violence according to Galtung "makes direct and structural violence look, even feel right-or at least not wrong." That cultural violence is used to justify and legitimise the other two forms of violence; thus, violence becomes an acceptable norm in society. Cultural violence teaches, preaches, admonishes and dulls people into submission and acceptance of exploitation and inequality. So, besides making the perpetrators of this violence justifiable, cultural violence makes the victims to believe that they deserve it. Under these circumstances, any resistance to the status quo is viewed by the ruling class or those in positions of authority as attempts to subversion and anarchy.

Violence in Zimbabwe has since the colonial times been ingrained into the very fibre of society. Since independence, the ruling party has recruited the youth and trained them to become the ‘ears and eyes’ of the party. The youth have been trained to be patriotic and to view opponents of the government as unpatriotic, hence, deserving to be harmed. Patriotism and national loyalty were explained to mean loyalty to the ruling party and dissent was viewed as unpatriotic, hence, deserving punishment. By the year 2000, Zimbabwe was gripped by an anti-imperialism frenzy that was whipped up by the ruling party ZANU-PF. The opposition parties, especially the MDC was branded as a front for imperialist interests, and those supporting it were viewed as the enemies of the state. Stories denigrating the opposition and anyone who was not in agreement with the government made much of the news on national television. This often was given as justification for the violence which affected the opposition supporters in every round of election.

2.3 Relating direct, structural and cultural violence

The relationship between direct, structural and cultural violence is referred to as the ‘violence triangle’ by Galtung (1996:199). This triangle has at the top direct violence, structural violence in the middle and cultural violence on the base of the triangle. The image of direct violence being borne by structural and cultural violence gives an impression that the two (structural and cultural violence) are the sources of direct violence.

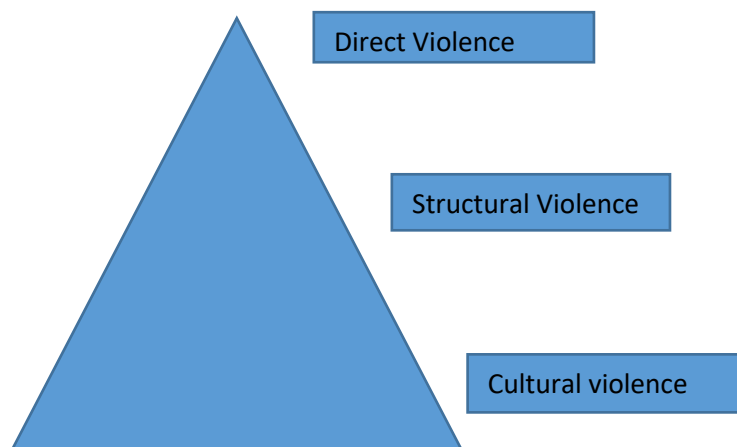


Figure 2.2: Galtung's Violence Triangle

Adapted from Miall et al, 1999:14.

In the above illustration (Figure 2.2), Galtung (1996:199-200) shows that direct violence is an event, structural violence is a process with ups and downs, and cultural violence is an invariant,

a permanent remaining essentially that same for long periods, given the slow transformation of culture. His understanding of violence as a triangle is explained as follows: at the bottom lies cultural violence a substratum from which the other two forms of violence deduce their power and life. Galtung argues that the causal flow from cultural via structural to direct violence is identifiable, an idea which resonates with his ABC triangle of violence. Galtung further posits that violence can be initiated in any of the three categories-direct, structural or cultural and can easily be transmitted to the other sections.

2.4 Galtung's conception of peace

Johan Galtung is regarded as the pioneering theorist of the concept of peace and its commonly known branches of positive and negative peace. In line with Galtung's thinking, contemporary scholars have departed from the traditional definition of peace as the absence of war. According to Jeong (2000:23), peace is now broadly understood as a concept that entails conditions that guarantee the positive development of human beings. The classical definitions of peace focus on direct violence. The absence of direct violence, however, does not provide answers on deteriorating social conditions, so a peace that incorporates why social conditions of people deteriorate has become imperative in contemporary society. Jeong has attempted to broaden Galtung's proposition that peace is not only limited to the occurrence or non-occurrence of overt violence, but also relates to the vertical social developments that are responsible for the relationships that govern human interaction. The concept of positive peace is based on the broad understanding of socio-political conditions, the removal of structural and cultural violence. This means that the concept of peace is deeper and broader than what the traditionalist theories envisage. Peace, thus, is achieved when conditions which bring poverty, death and other social vices are altered, transformed and eradicated.

Writing later in 1996, Galtung further broadens the frontiers of his original concept of peace. He linked the concept of positive peace to his typology of the three categories of violence: direct, structural and cultural violence and the associated triangle. He develops what he calls: direct positive peace, structural positive peace and cultural positive peace. Direct positive peace involves activities which attempt to address all basic needs, wellbeing, survival, freedom and identity. Structural positive peace according to Galtung would substitute freedom for repression, and equity for exploitation, and then reinforce this with dialogue instead of penetration, integration instead of segmentation, solidarity instead of fragmentation, and participation instead of marginalisation. Above this, Galtung proposes cultural positive peace

which substitutes legitimation of violence with legitimation of peace-in religion, law and ideology; in language; in art and science; in schools, universities and media-by building a positive peace culture.

Positive peace is not obtainable without the development of just and equitable conditions which involve the disintegration of the social structures marked by social disparity and economic standing (Galtung, 1969). Jeong (2017) argues that equality is an essential component of peace because its absence perpetuates tensions of all types. So, the abolition of all forms of discrimination (based on class, ethnicity, tribe, religion, age, race and sexism) forms the basis for peaceful co-existence. Equality involving social and legal rights, is both a means to achieving positive peace and the ultimate goal of the same peace. The goals of positive peace, therefore, is to influence the quality of life, including personal growth, freedom, social equality, economic equity, solidarity, autonomy and participation (Galtung, 1973). This is not manageable if repression and any form of discrimination is found in society. Therefore, the elimination of all forms of segregation must be accompanied by the elimination of poverty in society to make peace enduring (Boutros-Ghali, 1992:7-8). Ultimately, this notion of peace has been adopted by scholars of peace and is widely accepted the world over. It entails the enjoyment of economic and social justice, equality and the entire range of human rights and fundamental freedoms with society.

This study seeks to explore the ways through which the government of Zimbabwe and civil society can establish positive peace through youth empowerment and development programmes. Ricigliano's version of peace informed this study. For Ricigliano, peace is more than a state of non-violence but should be recognised as inextricably interconnected with "issues of chronic poverty, state weakness or failure, environmental degradation, health crises, food shortages, and other resource conflicts and recurring human rights violations" (Ricigliano, 2015: 6). He highlighted that though poverty alone is no sufficient cause to spark violence, it is difficult to establish sustainable peace where the bulk of the population lives in extreme poverty and a sizeable population living just above the subsistence level. Ricigliano's conception of peace is more related to Galtung's definition of positive peace. Zimbabwe has according to claims by the government been in peace since the end of the liberation struggle. Despite this rhetoric of peace, Zimbabwe's political and economic decline especially after 2000 has resulted in the trebling of the rates of poverty from 25% in 1990 to over 90% in some places in 2016 (The Borgen Project, 2016). The political settlements Zimbabwe has had from the

Lancaster House Conference (1979) to the Global Political Agreement (2008) managed to end hostilities (direct violence) but failed on a grand scale to bring positive peace.

Reinforcing the same line of argument, the Institute for Economics and Peace (2015:6-7) defines positive peace as the attitudes institutions and structures that create and sustain peaceful societies. It identifies the following as the constructs of positive peace: a well-functioning government, equitable distribution of resources, acceptance of the rights of others, low levels of corruption, free flow of information, high levels of human capital, good relations with neighbours and a sound business environment. Thus, positive peace implies proactive activities and processes that deal with structural violence. This form of peace takes a long term and very broad view of conflict and points out that peace is fundamentally aimed at transforming relationships and issues that underpin the conflict (Munemo, 2016). This current study, therefore, conceptualises peace beyond the basic classical definition of the concept as the mere absence of violence. It is an attempt to encompass the broader and more comprehensive approach to peace. The focus of the study is on the second strand of Galtung's concepts of peace; positive peace.

2.5 Youth engagement in violent conflicts

The youth's involvement in violent conflicts in recent history dates to the early 20th century in the two world wars. Kustrin (2004:131) refers to the political upheavals in the 1930s in Europe and acknowledges the use of violence by the youth in society. He singled out the period of the Spanish Second Republic which was punctuated by massive political mobilisation and violence was a tool used for political transactions. The youth were encouraged to take part in the violent fight against fascism. Violence was deemed a crucial vehicle for the attainment of political and social objectives and the youth were considered a very important constituency to achieve this. The involvement of the youth as demonstrators and activists in the recent Spanish crisis reiterates the significance of this population cohort both in the outbreak of violence and in the attempts to manage this violence. The study by Brett, Rachel and Margaret (1996) in Northern Ireland provide salient statistical analysis of the involvement of the youth in violent conflict. The study established that 23% of young men have been both victims and perpetrators of sectarian assaults. The violence involving the youth has become a permanent feature in the religio-political clashes between the Catholics and Protestants sects in Northern Ireland.

One region in the world which has seen the increasing involvement of the youth in violence which is political in nature is Africa. The internecine wars which have been fought in Africa from the colonial times up to the present day have been driven by the youth as combatants. The incorporation of young people in Charles Taylor's army is the explanation which Omeje (2006:22) gives, for Taylor's successful destabilisation of Sierra Leone. Young people were so key to Taylor's disruption of society and his acquisition of the diamond fields. The situation seems to be common across the African continent. It is said that youths in Nigeria are at the heart of most violent conflicts in the country. Omeje (2005), therefore, argues that research has shown that 90-95% of the violent conflicts in Nigeria are prosecuted by the youths. Though the authenticity of this statistic can be disputed, it cannot be denied however that young people constitute the majority of the active combatants in violent conflicts raging on in the continent. According to Ojakorotu and Uzodike (2006), the swelling numbers of young people in militia groups is the explanation behind the surging numbers of these militia groups in Nigeria: Pan Niger Delta Revolutionary Militias, Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), the Ijaw Youth Council, and Niger Delta Volunteer Force among other militia groups. To buttress this point, Ukiwo (2003:125) reveals that young people are key actors in the escalation of violence in Nigeria. He refers to the proliferation of violence in Jos and Kaduna in 2001 following the streets celebration by Muslim youths after the 11 September attacks in the United States. The celebrations degenerated into riots which left a trail of deaths. Such events show the ease with which young people can be lured into violence. The WHO report in 2002 on violence and health gives a succinct picture of the inclination of young people to violent gangsterism. The report concludes that there are socioeconomic, community and interpersonal factors that encourage young people to join gangs which include:

lack of opportunity for social or economic mobility, within a society that aggressively promotes consumption; a decline locally in the enforcement of law and order; interrupted schooling, combined with low rates of pay for unskilled labour; a lack of guidance, supervision and support from parents and other family members; harsh physical punishment or victimization in the home and having peers who are already involved in a gang (WHO 2002: 35).

2.6 Primary causes of youth engagement in violent conflicts

The involvement of the youth in violent conflict has been proved by many studies, as illustrated above. What remains under academic discussion is the effort to comprehend the

factors that are responsible for youth participation in violent conflict. Available literature is dominated by the view that youth bulge has been the primary reason behind the participation of the youth in violent conflict. However, marginalisation, depletion of the social order, dearth of economic opportunities, deepening poverty and vulnerability are some of the contributory factors that explain youth engagement in violent conflict.

2.6.1 The youth bulge

Sub-Saharan Africa is home to the most youthful population in the world. Only seven countries out of the 46, whose 70% of the population is under the age of 30 years, are not in Sub-Saharan Africa (Sommers, 2011). These figures and projections show that the youth cohort has remarkably ballooned to result in a demographic pattern called ‘the youth bulge’, which the UN Population Fund (2011) defines as an ‘extraordinary youth cohort relative to the adult population’. Mpungose and Monyae (2018: 2) define the youth bulge as “a large youth demographic that is either unemployed or underemployed due to lack of education, skills, formal work opportunities and low participation in policy processes”.

The bulging youth population in Africa makes the region the youngest in the world in terms of population. This reality is not a feature peculiar to Africa alone, but is replicated across the world. In 2006, the World Bank stated that “The current cohort of young people in developing countries is the largest the world has ever seen” (World Bank, 2006:33-34). The Bank further stresses that, apparently, half of the world’s population is below twenty-five years, 1.5 billion of them are youth, and 86% of them live in the developing world. Such population dynamics provide significant and considerable challenges in the field of peace for the African continent.

Scholars such as Goldstone (1991, 2002), Collier (2000) and LaGraffe (2012) are strong proponents of the youth bulge arguments. In his study “*Population and Security: How Demographic Change Can Lead to Violent Conflict*” Goldstone (2002:10-11), argues that the exponential surge of the youth population undermines existing political coalitions, resulting in instability. Citing the high numbers of youth during the eighteenth-century French Revolution and later in the revolutions of the 20th century in the developing world, Goldstone establishes the nexus between a bulging youth population and violent conflicts. His argument is underlined by the prominent role the youth have played in political violence because of the existence of a youth bulge. The presence of the youth bulge has been historically associated

with times of political crisis (Goldstone, 2002:10-11). Such a view is also shared by LaGraffe (2012:67) who claims that “the youth bulge is a demographic phenomenon strongly connected to security challenges”.

Moreover, Urdal (2006) in his work “A clash of generations? Youth bulges and political violence” stresses that the argument that has often been proffered is that extra-ordinarily huge youth cohorts make countries susceptible to political violence. Though the theory of youth bulges is not new to the discourse of conflict studies, it has received renewed and increased attention over the last two decades. Goldstone as one of the fore thinkers of youth and violent conflict has claimed that:

Youth have played a prominent role in political violence throughout recorded history: and the existence of a ‘youth bulge’ (an unusually high proportion of youths 15–25 relative to the total population) has historically been associated with times of political crisis (Goldstone 2001:95).

Cincotta (2008) as cited by Goldstone (2010) confidently asserts that countries experiencing a population boom of the youth category are especially susceptible to civil unrest and their democratic institutions are often unsustainable. The youth population in Sub-Saharan Africa has received particular attention from demographers owing to the growth of this population cohort which surpass any other region.

This argument of youth bulge resulting in violence is echoed by Leahy (2007:24) who posits that approximately all of the world’s wars today are confined in demographically “young” nations. Their conclusion is based on the assessment of the period 1970 to 1999; 80% of the civil conflicts during this period occurred in countries with 60% or more of their population under the age of 30 years. They further argue that during the 1990s, countries with a young population structure were three times more likely to experience violent conflict than those with a mature population. Frighteningly, this demographic phenomenon is the current state of affairs in many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, hence political demographers have highlighted the “extremely robust” correlation between countries with youth bulges and the incidence of political violence (Urdal 2004:16). The explosive rise of youth population correspondingly hikes the opportunity and motive of political violence. Though one of the foremost proponents of the youth bulge and instability thesis, Urdal concurs that the mere rise of youthful population especially male youth is insufficient to cause political instability.

Using two apparently competing theories of opportunity and motive, Urdal (2006) concludes that economic stagnation or decline combined with rising youth bulges increases the risk of political violence.

The apparent presence of the youth in past and raging conflicts in Africa and across the world cannot be rebuffed. What remains to be established is the direct correlation between a huge youth population and the incidence of violent conflict. Sommers (2011:5), in the study of the African youth bulge argues that “a correlation linking a disproportionately high number of youths to political instability does not demonstrate a causal relationship”. Abbink (2005:14) asserts that youth inclination to violence is caused by other factors such as the breakdown of the socio-political order and governance issues other than solely youth bulges. He argues that:

no natural inclination of youth to behave violently can explain their presence in socially destructive movements. The breakdown of a socio-political and moral order in wider society and the degree of governability of a certain type of state are more likely to precipitate this (2005:14).

However, the “youth bulge and instability script” is said to be the explanation behind political upheavals in the Muslim world. The high birth rates which the Muslim countries experienced during the 1960s and 70s resulted in huge youth bulges in the subsequent decades. This development came under academic spotlight after September 11, 2001. Youth bulges in Muslim countries became a befitting explanation for contemporary unfolding world events, especially with recruitment for terrorist networks. In his survey of the underlying causes of terrorist recruitment and attacks, Fareed Zakaria argues that youth bulges in conjunction with economic and social transformation was the reason behind Islamic fundamentalism and resurgence in the Arab world (Zakaria, 2000:24). Speaking in the immediate aftermath of the September 11 bombing, Samuel P. Huntington (as cited in Urdal, 2004), attempts to relate his clash of civilizations hypothesis to the youth bulges:

I don't think Islam is any more violent than any other religions, and I suspect if you added it all up, more people have been slaughtered by Christians over the centuries than by Muslims. But the key factor is the demographic factor. Generally speaking, the people who go out and kill other people are males between the ages of 16 and 30. During the 1960s, 70s and 80s there were high birth rates in the Muslim world, and

this has given rise to a huge youth bulge. But the bulge will fade. Muslim birth rates are going down; in fact, they have dropped dramatically in some countries.

This reality of high birth rates in the Muslim world is replicated across the entire African continent and literature show that the continent has the largest of the world's youth. In Africa, especially Sub-Saharan Africa, large youth populations continue to co-exist with high incidence of violent conflict and other forms of civil unrest. While it is arguably clear that youth especially young men are very active in the conflicts that plague the African continent, what remains to be established according to Lazar (2017), is whether their very presence ushers in the reality of violent conflict. In general, youth seem to be more available to participate in violent conflict than older people. This has to do with both cultural and structural factors. Huntington (1996: 117) argues that “young people are the protagonists of protests, instability, reform, and revolution”, suggesting that youth generally have a natural urge for change. Also focusing on the troublesome idealism of the young, Goldstone (2001: 95) claims that large youth groups can cause conflict because they are more easily attracted toward new ideas and religions and thereby challenge traditional forms of authority. In addition to being more open to change, young people generally have fewer responsibilities for families and careers and “are simply free, to a unique degree, of constraints that tend to make activism too time consuming or risky for other groups to engage in” (Goldstone, 1999: 3). The remedy for this is not to change the population profile, but to offer young people opportunities that will smoothen their transition into adulthood.

Though he acknowledges the contribution of the economy in motivating young people to participate in violent conflict, Urdal's argument does not regard the role of the needs of the youth in the conflict matrix. The Population Reference Bureau (2007) posits that though the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) had a huge youth cohort of about 95 million by 2007, their wellbeing in society was to be determined by their governments and civil society's economic, social and political priorities. The Bureau stresses that the priorities of governments and civil society should be in tandem with the needs of the youth. The Bureau noted, however, that despite notable improvements in education and health care in the preceding decades, the region has not transformed its political and socio-economic systems to meet the evolving needs of the youth.

Many quantitative studies on the youth bulge have confirmed a strong correlation between a rising youth population and increased incidence of violence (Leahy et al. 2007; Cincotta 2008),

but they have overlooked the positive capacities and the urgency the youth possess to engage actively in peace processes. The argument of the youth restlessness in Africa gained credibility during the 1990s when the youth were involved in insurgencies in Sierra Leone, Nigeria and Liberia (Ukeje and Iwilade 2012). In recent years, the Arab uprisings are thought of as initiated and perpetuated by young people (Ezbawy 2012; Al-Momani 2011). The relationship between youth and violence has also been observed outside war contexts. Youth gangs have been identified as increasing the levels of violent crime in some countries (Kunkeler & Peters 2011; Jones and Rodgers 2009). Increased migration among the youth from the rural areas to urban centres, has led to the rapid expansion of African cities with young populations (UN-Habitat 2014). As a result, there are increased slums in developing countries' cities which face high levels of violence, usually perpetrated by the youth.

However, scholars have started to seriously question and oppose the thesis that links youth bulges to violence. Literature advocating for the youth bulge thesis focus only on the destructive involvement of the youth in conflict but overlook some realities of life. Sommers (2011) warns against overreliance on correlational data, which though may be valid but sometimes could not provide full explanations and might omit the everyday realities of youth. He and other scholars also caution against the discourses that describe youth as an undifferentiated mass of security threats (Sommers 2011: 297). Sommers has demonstrated that many countries with young populations have not experienced violent conflict and in countries where wars have ended (Angola, Burundi, Liberia, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, and Rwanda) still have a youth bulge. Mecha (2013) also argues that the negative perspective about the youth bulge projects African young men as passive and powerless victims of the socio-economic situation.

Contrary to the proponents of youth bulge instability thesis, the presence of an extraordinarily huge youth cohort has instead yielded peaceful existence in some communities. However, the youth bulge theory remains very significant and relevant in some circumstances to interpret youth violence in communities. But some positive contributions of the youth in economic growth and stability makes the direct correlation between large numbers of the youth and political convulsions and instability not so obvious. Evidence to the contrary draws attention to other factors that explain the active participation of the youth in violent conflict.

The presence of a large youth population and the emergence of violent conflict does not follow a linear pattern as propounded by the assumptions of the youth bulge theorists.

According to LaGraffe (2012: 67), the mere presence of “a large youth population lowers the recruitment cost for potential rebel and criminal gang leaders”. Some authors including Ahmed (2014) argue that what becomes of a youth bulge is relative to the political and economic realities confronting such youths. This, therefore, suggests that the presence of large youth numbers is not inherently a seed for instability and does not in any way directly related to violent conflict. Instead, the consequences of a youth bulge are dependent upon the host society and its ability or inability to draw on the potency of the youth. A study by Bloom and Williamson (1998) of the youth population boom in East Asia revealed society’s ability to effectively utilise the huge potential of the youth bulge. Their findings revealed that a smaller youth dependency on state resources translates to a relatively higher output of workers, thus contributing positively to the economic boom of the region. So, the ability of society to draw on the potential of the youth enhances the youth’s ability to positively contribute to such society. Positive exploitation of youth’s agency will immensely contribute towards the maximisation of youth’s aptitudes and abilities. Nevertheless, this could be largely possible when the youth’s interaction with structural elements is taken seriously (Abbink, 2005).

The same can be said about Sub-Saharan Africa. The apparent large youth cohort in the region provides the continent with a window of opportunity economically and on the frontier of peace, if this potential is harnessed. Economically, the continent stands to benefit from what has been described in literature as the demographic dividend. The demographic dividend according to UNFPA (2014) is the potential of economic growth that emanates from shifts in a population’s age structure, particularly when the share of the working-age group (15 to 64) outweighs that of the non-working-age share of the population (14 and younger, and 65 and older). When a nation goes through a demographic transition from a high fertility and high mortality to a low fertility and low mortality equilibrium, the size of the working age population mechanically increases. Owing to this, a cycle of economic growth develops as the output per capita increases. This economic growth also provides the opportunity for the building of peace among the youth.

The correlation that exists between “too many youth” and violent political instability has been supported by the assertion that youth especially, young men are “inherently violent” (Cincotta et al. 2003:44). This notion, however, is not backed by biological research (Rowe et al. 2004). Instead, the relationship between hormones and behaviour in human beings is influenced by

social as well as development factors. This view challenges the notion that the mere presence of exceptionally high population of young males provides fertile ground for conflict because young males are naturally aggressive. Moreover, Sommers (2011) presents a very interesting dimension about the relationship between youth and violent conflict. He argues that the bulk of African nations with youth bulge populations have not experienced recent civil conflicts as the thesis of youth bulge and stability presupposes. Furthermore, it has been argued that the involvement and participation of the youth in violent conflict is not guaranteed whenever conflict arises even in countries with youth bulges (Barker and Ricardo 2006: 181).

The limited or complete absence of the youth's voice is conspicuous in many of the literature which advocates for the youth bulge and political instability thesis. This complete disregard of how the youth perceive their own situation in much of the literature which deals with the youth bulge and violent conflict provides a massive gap which data from this empirical study will fill. The lack of voices of ordinary youth themselves in the preceding debates about youth bulges and violent instability has debilitating consequences on the arguments thereof. The arguments and explanations given are based on statistical data and observations. This further confirms the profound marginalization which the youth have suffered in many communities. The social exclusion of youth is a recurring structural feature of many societies and communities (Richards 1996; Utas 2008). Meanwhile, Urdal argues that the determining factor is not youth but economic opportunity: "If young people are left with no alternative but unemployment and poverty, they are increasingly likely to join a rebellion as an alternative way of generating an income" (2007: 92).

McEvoy-Levy (2001:25), argues that the 'youth bulge script' has neglected the capacity and potential the youth possess in contributing to peacebuilding activities. Beginning around 2000, serious discussions on the role of young people to the peace process started to emerge. Literature by McEvoy-Levy (2006), Kemper (2005) is part of the earliest attempts to challenge the narrative linking the youth bulge to conflict and provided an alternative narrative of the role the youth can play in constructive peace. According to McEnvy-Levy (2006: 301), the youth are so paramount in the peace process and it is essential to give them ownership of the activities involved. Kemper (2005: 50) submits that the youth need to be involved in the entire duration of the peace program, from design, implementation to the evaluation of the programs in order to make sure that youth concerns and needs are catered for.

2.6.2 Decline in economic growth and unemployment

Unemployment is identified by Urdal (2012) as a weakness and challenge in any society that result in the undermining of legitimacy and stability of a political system. Such conditions according to Braungart (1984:16) “produce a climate of radicalism particularly among unattached youth who have the least to lose in the gamble and struggle for revolutionary gain”. This is confirmed by Collier (2000:94) who argues that:

the willingness of young men [and women] to join a rebellion depends on their income-earning opportunities. If young people are left with no alternative but unemployment and poverty, they are likely to join a rebellion as an alternative way of generating an income.

One common thing in the foregoing arguments is the relationship which unemployment and youth violence have, not necessarily the youth bulge.

It is known that a general increase in population results in an upward surge changing of other related variables like demand for goods and services, demand for jobs and other social amenities. Likewise, an increase in the population of the youth has the same implications in any given society. The failure of society to meet the demands/needs which come as a result of this demographic change will result in the negative consequences in such societies. It is a trend across the developing world especially in Africa that the youth bulge often results in unemployment among many young adults. This is further confirmed by the narrative put across by the perpetrators of the xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The youth who are majority of the perpetrators of these attacks give justification to their acts by alleging that foreigners “are taking our jobs and our women” (Fuller 2008:9).

The above view by Fuller (2008) confirms that the youth’s irritations and disgruntlement emanate from their inability to meet their economic needs. The views of Braungart and Collier above confirm that the volatility and explosive characteristics of societies increase in intensity with the combination of a deteriorating economy, high unemployment and youth bulge. In 2017, delegates to the Davos conference in Switzerland, bemoaned the level of youth unemployment. They advocated for the need to consider youth unemployment as a pandemic which should be attended as such. Dominic Barton laments about the alarming proportions of youth unemployment across the world. He asserts that “In India ... 75 million youth are unemployed; in Saudi Arabia, some 70 percent of the population is under the age

of 30 and they are not finding jobs; while in Nigeria youth unemployment is as high as 50%”. Such profound unemployment, which Hilker and Frazer (2009: 23), considers to be three times higher than adults’ serves as a fertile condition for youths’ adoption of violence over other channels of self-actualisation and expression of their grievances.

2.6.3 Education and heightened prospects among youth

The dominant understanding of education in the literature of conflict and peace studies is that the higher the education, the lesser the volatility and susceptibility of a state or society to violence. This, in other words, suggests that the more education people have, the less likely they are disposed to join rebel groups or resort to violence as the means to settle issues. Perhaps informed by this view, Barakat and Urdal (2009:5) in their study of the youth bulge and political violence conclude that:

countries that invest less in secondary education for young men are more likely to experience armed conflict in the context of large youth bulges and that large cohorts of young men with low secondary education levels increase the risk of conflict more in low- and middle-income countries...

Although their argument is confined to young men, it is equally applicable to societies with huge population of uneducated young people. This is so, bearing in mind that both men and women participate in violent conflict.

However, correct these arguments are, there is a need to be careful about making sweeping conclusions that societies with uneducated youths are at a high risk of violent conflict. Like the proponents of the youth bulge-violence correlation, sweeping conclusions that the presence of large numbers of uneducated youths leads to violence is equally problematic. This is problematic because it undermines other structural issues that are linked to youth violence. Barakat and Urdal (2009) explore some of the structural issues when they argue that the likelihood of a large youth cohort to engage in conflict is linked to the opportunity structure of the youth cohort in the society. Youth perceptions of such opportunity structures are determined by the economic status and educational attainment.

Moreover, Urdal (2012), Barakat and Urdal (2009) and Collier (2006) have identified education as a viable option in addressing the issue of people’s inclination to violence. But its efficacy in promoting peace is dependent upon other causal factors which should be

addressed. It is true that a more educated populace translates into increased demand for better services from the state by the citizenry. The inability of the state to meet these increased demands and expectations emanating from the educated youth results in increased grievances which indirectly lead to rebellion and violence (Collier, 2006). That the increase in one's level of education increases the value and expectation of such person is generally accepted. The increase in the number of educated people results in the corresponding increase of people's expectations and demands. If these expectations and demands are dashed, frustration creeps in and this might result in political convulsions.

As far as the youth are concerned, the failure of the state to address their increased demands and expectations results in the disempowerment of the youth. According to the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) (2005: 170) report, the correlation between the youth labour force and Africa's economic growth is very unhealthy. The report asserts that:

the youth labour force in Sub-Saharan Africa is projected to grow by 28.2 per cent between 2003 and 2015 ... This sharp increase in the youth population will boost the supply of young people in the labour market, further constraining job creation.

Referring to the South African economy, the report reveals that:

a significant number of young people are discouraged by an unsuccessful job search and leave the formal workforce entirely. 39 per cent of unemployed young South Africans have almost given up actively searching for a job and 47.1 per cent gave up because they found no job opportunities in their areas.

It is interesting to know what the 47.1 percent cited in the above quotation are up to after giving up their search for work. It cannot be denied that some might venture into viable businesses to become entrepreneurs, some might find themselves relying on violence as a way of living. It is no surprise that Urdal (2012) citing Kahl's (1998:103) argument, noted that "the high expectations among educated urban youth in Kenya caused frustration and anti-state grievance when unemployment hit this group at the end of the 1980s". In a similar fashion, Braungart (1984: 14–15) finds that "the most explosive episode of violence in Sri Lanka (1971) happened in a situation with a great increase in youth cohorts in the context of a rapid expansion of education and rising unemployment."

The findings above do not deny that improved education has a positive impact on the peace process. If anything, they confirm that higher educational attainment in society reduces the incidence of violence in society. However, it should be pointed that enhanced education has another effect of increasing chances of violence in situations where there is no corresponding economic growth to absorb the heightened demands and prospects of an educated population. In the case of Zimbabwe, unemployment among the youth who are highly educated is the reason behind youth restlessness, beginning in 2016. With current unemployment among the youth pegged at more than 85% by independent analysts, the youth, especially those who are educated are starting to lose patience with the government and become very active in oppositional politics and anti-government movements.

2.7 Evolution of peacebuilding in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe in its contemporary history has gone through three main phases or attempts to lay the foundation for peace: the Lancaster House Settlement of 1979 and the subsequent policy of reconciliation, the Unity Accord of 1987, and the 2008 GPA. The three phases halted violence and ushered in some political transition and stability, but did not go further to transform the political, economic and socio-cultural setup and hence were a failure in the establishment of positive peace. Upon attainment of independence, following a negotiated armistice to end a fourteen-year-old war, the government of Zimbabwe initiated a policy of reconciliation. In an environment laden with underlying political divisions cascading from the past, the then Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe announced:

If yesterday I fought you as an enemy, today you have become a friend and an ally with the same national interests, loyalty, rights and duties as myself. If yesterday, you hated me today you cannot avoid the love that binds you to me and me to you. It is not folly, therefore, in these circumstances that anybody should revive the wounds and grievances of the past? The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten (Huyse, 2003:37).

This form of reconciliation (peacebuilding) which lacked any form of consultation with those who had suffered the barbaric consequences of the war was bound to fail. The process was a cosmetic papering of the historical deep-seated political divisions which would soon implode. The approach to reconciliation did not address the needs of the victims at the grassroots, it rather sowed seeds for another conflict later into independence.

The euphoria for peace was short-lived as the country was plunged into a civil strife which ended in 1987, but not before claiming more 20 000 lives. The military disturbances involved the two erstwhile liberation movements, ZANU and ZAPU. The war was a spill over from the political contestations of the 1960s and 1970s. The strife was ended when the political elites agreed on another top-down arrangement. The unity accord managed to end the hostilities, but it failed in a great deal to bring peace and reconciliation to a society polarised by conflict. Mashingaidze (2005) argues that the arrangement was elitist, and it embodied a top-down approach to governance. It left out the grassroots in its crafting and no attempts to reconciliation were made. Mashingaidze (2005) further posits that the Unity Accord could not address the economic and political marginalisation of the Matebeleland region. This has resulted in the politics of protest dominating the post-Unity Accord period and is an indication of how poor the Unity Accord was as a post-conflict peacebuilding framework (Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2003).

Moreover, the Unity Accord was very minimalist in the sense that it merely sought to create space in government for leading political elites from ZANU and ZAPU. The accord ignored and sidelined the youths who fell outside the class of political elites. Added to this is the exclusionist top-down approach of the accord. It is an agreement initiated and executed by those from the highest echelons of political power. This confirms Lederach's top-bottom approach to peacebuilding which has been implemented in many peace agreements brokered by the international organisations in the conflicts around the world. The Unity Accord agreement saw Mugabe and Nkomo (the leaders of ZANU and ZAPU respectively) appending their signatures and announcing to their respective constituencies that ZAPU and ZANU were now one. This was achieved without grassroots consultation and was imposed on them. This, according to Munemo (2016) was naive because the government ignored the establishment of any programmes of healing and reconciliation.

Moreover, it is the submission of Stauffer (2009:114) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2010:2) that the Unity Accord never made attempts to address the conflict at the grassroots level but rather it was a political pact made between leaders from ZAPU and their counterparts from ZANU. Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007:277) share the same sentiments and noted that the political settlement resonated well with the aspirations of the politicians more than those of the ordinary citizens. Owing to this background, Mashingaidze (2005:87) argues that the Unity Accord came to be "perceived in personal terms rather than as a communal and national undertaking". Despite the destruction of infrastructure and the sources of livelihood in

Matebeleland and Midlands due to Gukurahundu, the Unity Accord made no mention of empowering the impoverished communities. For any peace to be durable and enduring, it should be accompanied by socio-economic development. Peace and economic development are not only interlinked but they reinforce each other.

The glaring limitations of the preceding attempts to build peace from above in Zimbabwe were made bare in year 2000 when another conflict which had been brewing since the colonial times started to rear its ugly head. Following the violent land reform of year 2000 and the subsequent violent elections in 2000, 2002, and 2005, Zimbabwe was in the throes of a mega-crisis by 2008. The disputed elections of 2008 forced the hand of the governing ZANU-PF party to enter into a power-sharing pact with the two formations of the MDC. This subsequently led to the formulation of the GNU which commenced in early 2009. The GPA, which is the theoretical framework of the power sharing arrangement, in Article 7 underlines the need for reconciliation in the country. This was a statement to admit the failure of the previous attempts at peacebuilding. Article 7 of the GPA formed the basis for peacebuilding in Zimbabwe in the new political dispensation.

The acknowledgement by the GPA in Article 18 on the role of CSOs in the discourse of peacebuilding was regarded as new thinking in Zimbabwe and genuine gestures for peacebuilding. However, in the events that followed, CSOs appeared to live in the shadow of two political creations of the GPA. These were: The Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI), a tripartite arrangement among parties to the GNU and the Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC), which was again a tripartite arrangement of parties to the GNU. The dregs of political tensions which characterised the life span of the GNU hindered the effectiveness of the two organs. More importantly, the ONHRI and JOMIC demonstrated another attempt by the Zimbabwe authorities to build peace from above. This was bound to fail because the organs lacked representation of the grassroots hence was removed from what communities expected to be done. Though on paper the ONHRI was a necessary creation, it was nevertheless, undermined by one serious structural weakness; it was a 'state-centric and state propelled project' (Muchemwa et al 2013: 145), which suffered from the very challenges which haunted and shattered the policy of reconciliation soon after independence. There were allegations of corruption and abuse of funds and this again undermined the effectiveness of the peace process. According to Makwerere (2017) the decision to entrust politicians with leading the peace process proved problematic as the parties

to the GPA were uneasy bed fellows. Political bickering continued during the tenure of the GPA as the parties all endeavoured to endear themselves to the electorate for the post GNU era.

Despite the peacebuilding paradigm being dominated by the top-down approach especially initiated by government, a high number of civil society organisations emerged post-2000 emphasising on involving communities in the peacebuilding agenda. During the 1980s, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) had played a very important role in documenting human rights excesses in Matebeleland and the Midlands regions in Zimbabwe. Though the Commission did not push for peacebuilding as it is currently understood, it attempted to bring pressure to bear on the government to be accountable for the violations of human rights in the area. But after 2000, with the deepening crisis in the country, there was a mushrooming of civil society organisations working on peacebuilding. A survey conducted by Centre for Conflict Management and Transformation (CCMT) in 2013 reveal that civil society organisations engaged in peace-related activities across the country are in excess of one hundred. These civil society organisations are working with different communities and community-based organisations in order to build sustainable peace.

The sprouting of civil society organisations in the arena of peacebuilding is not a phenomenon peculiar to Zimbabwe but it is a global trend. According to Makwerere (2017), the post-1990 liberal epoch has witnessed the rise to prominence of civil society organisations in virtually all the facets of socio-economic life, particularly in the third world countries. Following the publication of the 'Agenda for Peace' report by the UN in 1992, the role of CSOs in post-conflict situations has been widely acknowledged. CSOs are expected to partner governments in reconstruction efforts in societies ravaged by conflict. Where CSOs are community based, they are viewed as the representatives of the grassroots and therefore represent the interests of the common people in situations which are often dominated by the erstwhile belligerents. Often, CSOs provide both the human and capital resources since most of the countries emerging from conflict are wanting in this respect. The role of CSOs is no different from the narrative given above. Zimbabwe is going through more than a decade long recession and came short of being declared a failed state. As a result, the country is in the grips of a plethora of economic, social and political challenges. This has prompted the view of Bratton and Masunungure (2011:3) that the country is in contention of a fragile state, owing to the collapse of the economy and social services all emanating from political turmoil since year 2000.

2.8 Youth in peacebuilding processes

Notwithstanding the participation of the youth in violent conflict, their agency in promoting sustainable peace cannot be ignored. Authors such as Kemper (2005); Shepler, (2010); McEvoy (2000); Hilker and Fraser (2009); McEvoy-Levy (2001) and Biton & Salomon (2006) have highlighted the contributions of the youth in the direction of peace. Young people in different parts of the world have patently played remarkable roles to transform conflictual situations leading to reconfiguration of socio-political structures. Youths in West Africa, especially in Nigeria and Mali, have been part of civil society formations that initiated political transformations that sought to challenge military regimes in their countries (Mutisi, 2012). On another note, youth activism in the Arab Springs demonstrated the agency of young people to engage positively to challenge repressive regimes in this region. Interrogating the peacebuilding role of young people during apartheid South Africa, Drummond-Mundal and Cave (2008:68) conclude that the youth's "exercise of agency made a difference".

The potential of youth to make peace is even reflected in the attempts by the United Nations (UN) to re-evaluate its position on viewing the youth cohort as a problem in society. This was a paradigm shift by the UN, which resulted in the new perception of the youth as "invaluable resources, as a positive force for change and as peace activists" (UNDP 2006:35). This was even emphasised by the report of the UN Secretary General which argued that "addressing the needs and aspirations of adolescence is ... an important aspect of a long-term prevention strategy and that youth can also be an important resource for peace and conflict prevention (UNDP, 2006:35).

Likewise, this current study sought to depart from the mainstream perspectives of the youth conflict thesis and regarding the youth as victims of circumstances. Drummond-Mundal and Cave (2008: 72) posit that:

Focusing only on the vulnerabilities of young people is a limiting perspective that denies them the opportunity to influence their own lives and futures, and overlooks their insights, their rights to participate and their potential to contribute to peacebuilding.

Young people are not passive individuals only, but also possess invaluable attributes such as resilience, curiosity, innovativeness, vision and capacity to assist others (Apfel and Simon, 1996:9–11). Literature has revealed the ability of young people to influence their lives and

that of their communities positively (Sommers, 2006; De Waal, 2002; Thorup and Kinkade, 2005).

For that reason, this present study focussed on demonstrating how young people are increasingly becoming proficient in their societies to aid peace processes. Youth agency is so important in the active role which young people play in the peacebuilding processes. Agency refers to the capacity of people to think and act independently to make choices and act upon those choices (Mutisi, 2012). White and Wyn (1998:317) say that “agency is simply goal-oriented activity”, which “involves attempts to modify, reform or retain aspects of the existing social order”. Agency is shaped by structural conditions such as age, gender, ethnicity and class. Individuals that possess agency are those with the capacity to shape and work around the larger institutional and historical forces.

In a study on youth mapping funded by the Department for International Development (DFID), Hilker and Fraser (2009:8) posit that the study established the increased importance of developmental work to address youth issues. The study further concludes that the work of DFID should focus to benefit the youth and support them as an asset. In the light of such observation, some countries, including Zimbabwe have made provisions in their youth policy documents to acknowledge and integrate the youth in the affairs of the state. However, in most cases, these have remained as policy positions with very little practical steps to support the policies. As a result, Felice and Wisler (2007:3) have asserted that these have remained as rhetorical positions which are devoid of substantive actions owing to the absence of action-oriented data to back such declarations.

Peace researchers have in recent years attempted to highlight the necessity of the youth in the peacebuilding processes. Abbink (2005) presents compelling and concrete arguments for the inclusion and integration of the youth in peacebuilding processes. His argument is informed by the demographic proportion of the youth and their susceptibility to recruitment in armed groups or criminal networks if they are idle and poor. Abbink (2005) further argues that the youth are autonomous agents for societal development through the formation of their own movements for positive change. This view is confirmed by Felice and Wisler (2007:5) in their work “Unexplored Power and Potential of Youths as Peace-builders”. They claimed that the youth are not inherently violent or war oriented. They noted that the active role of the youth production of music, theatre, fashion, indigenous NGOs, creative appropriation of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and sports are clear indications of their

positive and creative contributions towards the development of a society. They further argue that “the perception that youth are all engaged in socially undesirable or criminal activities or are unemployable ... is erroneous” and unfounded (Felice and Wisler, 2007:3). The youth’s tenacity, creativity and their unrelenting quest to make an impact in their society cannot be ignored. This display of resourcefulness emphasises the urgent need for the integration of the youth as active members of African societies.

Youth’s active participation in peacebuilding processes is also recognised by Carter and Shipler (2005), and Omeje (2006) who put it in various ways. Relating the experience of two young men, Carter and Shipler (2005:148) argue that the two managed to transform each other’s life from a life of violence to a peace-oriented lifestyle. As a result, they concluded that “it is paramount to create opportunities for youth to participate in peacebuilding and reconciliation efforts”. McEvoy (2001) believes that “youth are the primary actors in grassroots community development/relations work; they are at the frontlines of peacebuilding”. This presents a stronger argument for the institutionalisation of young people’s participation in peace-building processes. This scholarly work is an affirmation of the emerging initiative of the youth’s active role in peacebuilding processes. This comes amidst the increasing violence in the world and failing peacebuilding programmes. Efforts, therefore, should be made to go beyond policy pronouncements to implementation of policy agendas to integrate the youth in various ways in peacebuilding programmes. Some civil society organisations and UN agencies have commenced to take the youth in their stride in this evolving approach to peacebuilding. The next section discusses the actual steps being taken by some organisations in integrating the youth in peacebuilding initiatives.

2.9 Youth initiatives and activities towards peacebuilding

Following the UN Security Council’s Agenda for Peace, youth participation in peace processes gained credence throughout the world. However, interest in youth participation in peacebuilding processes preceded the Agenda for Peace Report. As way back as 1989, a Russian diplomat set into motion the interest of involving young people in peacebuilding processes. This eventually gave fruition to the initiation of the first peace-oriented international organisation called the *United Network of Young Peacebuilder* (UNOY) which originally was known as United Nations of Youth. This UN agency is a non-religious and non-governmental organisation which seeks to initiate youth-oriented peace programmes. It seeks to groom young people who are committed to building a world in which peace, justice,

solidarity, human dignity and respect for nature prevail (UNOY 2011:3). Through its advocacy, the organisation leads in epitomising youth's potential for peacebuilding and support of youth endeavours in peacebuilding (Felice & Wisler 2007:20).

The UNOY has embarked upon other activities which promote peace such as networking for peace, information dissemination and peer-to-peer support (Felice and Wisler, 2007). The strategic plan of action of the UNOY for 2011-2015 demonstrates the youth's dispositions, maturity and willingness to learn and grow. These strategic plans focus on the following: To mobilise more young people to be effective contributors to the creation of peaceful societies; engagement of the youth in international and national processes related to peace-building and conflict transformation; to strengthen the effectiveness of the UNOY peace-builders as a network based on democratic principles and shared feelings of ownership that utilises opportunities for its members, and to strengthen UNOY's public image.

In Africa, organisations such as Youth for Peacebuilding and Development in Africa (YOUPEDA), Young Peace Builder (YPB), Young Peace Brigades (YPB) and Coalition for Peace in Africa have been on the forefront of peacebuilding and development-oriented initiatives in the region. Bangura (2015) argues that organisations such as the Young Peace Builders display the commitment of young people for the restoration of peace in conflict ravaged societies. Young Peace Builders is an organisation formed by the youth from West African countries who originate from places plagued by conflict. The organisation deals with post-conflict issues including social cohesion, reintegration, reconciliation and democratic reforms with the view of preventing recurrence of violence. Thus, the organisation seeks to foster a nonviolent culture in young people.

The desire of young people to transform their lives and those of their communities is compelling. Such desire was apparent in the crucial role which youth played to call for calm using social and print media in the constitutional crisis in Sierra Leone (Bangura, 2015:106). These efforts from young people saved a volatile country from the brink of unrest and instability. Taking a leaf from these experiences, young people can be instrumental in combating violence and build sustainable peace in communities.

2.10 Chapter summary

This chapter interrogated the concepts of conflict, violence, and peacebuilding. The chapter attempted to portray how these concepts are understood in the realm of conflict and peace

studies. It is important to emphasise that the correct understanding of the concepts is paramount for the study. The chapter also examined the participation of the youth in violent conflict and peacebuilding across the world. It was noted from the literature that although universally accepted that the youth participate in violent conflict, their agency for peace should also be acknowledged. Literature established that young people are so integral in the development and transformation of their communities.

Because the crux of the study is youth participation in peacebuilding through empowerment initiatives, reasonable effort was made to adequately unpack the nexus between youthfulness and participation in peacebuilding. It is important to note that literature acknowledged the participation of young people in violent conflict, and the reasons behind this participation. But contrary to the common narrative that youth are naturally violent and destructive, the chapter made effort to interrogate the youth's agency in peacebuilding. The chapter reviewed and acknowledged the roles which young people can play in activities that promote peace in their communities.

CHAPTER THREE: EXAMINING GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL SOCIETY PARTICIPATION IN PEACEBUILDING IN ZIMBABWE

3.1 Introduction

This current chapter seeks to do a further critical interrogation of literature on the participation of civil society and the government of Zimbabwe in peacebuilding. The chapter commences by explaining the concept of civil society and presents the controversy that surrounds this concept. This is done through the presentation of in-depth review of the peacebuilding escapades of government and civil society in Zimbabwe. In addition, this chapter attempts to unravel the nexus between peacebuilding and the youth empowerment drive in Zimbabwe. Thus, the chapter presents an appraisal of the youth empowerment packages in Zimbabwe as spearheaded by the government and civil society organisations with the view of unpacking their relevance to turning youth into peacebuilders. This is so pertinent to this study as the main objective of this study is to explore the usefulness of youth empowerment packages to peacebuilding in the country.

3.2 The concept of civil society

Civil society is not a novel concept and has been part of human settlement from the earliest times of state formation. Though the concept has been part of human interaction for a very long time, its definition and description remain contested and not clear. Because civil society has existed in an evolving context over time, opinion is so divided on what constitutes civil society. Despite the divergent views about civil society, there seem to be a convergence on the view that civil society constitutes a dimension of society that is not part of the state and sometimes even antagonistic to the state (Centre for Alternative Development Initiative-CADI, 2004). The divergent views about civil society also acknowledge that civil society is driven by voluntary action and that it is a forum where private citizens express their views, and it connotes people's action (Seckinelgin, 2002). According to Kaldor (2003), the evolving understanding of civil society is a result of several factors including the evolving content or usage of the term-what it was not; the conflict between normative and descriptive; idealistic and empiricist; subjective and objective implications of the concept and the relative emphasis on private and public or the individual and social. In the realm of development and democracy, civil society is a very seductive term. Because the concept is transitory and shifting, coining a definition with exactitude is not possible. According to Masunungure (2014), the concepts of civil society and

non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are conflated owing to them inhabiting the same realm. There is raging debate on what types of organisations that qualify to belong to the family of civil society, and whether NGOs should be part of this grouping. This study, however, will not delve into the semantics of the dividing line between civil society and NGOs. Rather, the study understands the concept civil society as an inclusive phenomenon which NGOs surely form a part.

The earliest conceptualisations of civil society are given by early philosophers such as Hegel, Locke and Hobbes (O'Brien, 1999). Over the years, the roles and duties of civil society have continued to evolve and to be dynamic depending on the prevailing circumstances. In the realm of peacebuilding, the coming and ending of World War 2 provided a new impetus for civil society. Though its role was not clearly defined then, civil society played an important role in the reconstruction of the war-ravaged societies of the after-war period. The end of the cold war epoch in the 1990s provided a new opportunity to civil society to claim its position on the table of peace builders. The end of the cold war is also associated with the growth of liberal democracy with its emphasis on liberal rights and good governance across the world. This scenario opened wide spaces for civil society. One of the milestones in the field of peacebuilding which took place in the 1990s was the proclamation and publication of the Agenda for Peace by the UN on its forty seventh session of the Security Council. The Agenda for Peace called for proactive actions in pre- and post-conflict societies and opened room for civil society to play a significant role in peacebuilding. Since then civil society has emerged as an important medium of socio-economic transformation and peacebuilding particularly in developing countries including countries in Sub-Saharan region. Seethi (2007:1) notes that civil society “has become a buzzword and an inevitable component in the development practices, human rights discourses and most importantly, in explaining various social movements.” In Zimbabwe, CSOs working on various spheres of development surged at the turn of the 21st century when Zimbabwe entered into a period of socio-economic crisis.

3.2.1 Contextual discussion of CSOs in Africa

The narrative of the evolution of civil society in Africa is difficult to construct. This is because the history of civil society is dominated by the discourse of euro-centric liberal thinking and historical developments. Though the concept of civil society has Western roots, Africa's history of CSOs goes back to the historical collective action in the continent (Chabal and Daloz 1999; Obadare 2014). Early associational life, which is exemplified by “cultural notions of

belonging, togetherness, and caring for one another” (Graham et al. 2006, 8–9) were so crucial in African societies. Researchers such as Mamdani (1996:19) have advocated for the analysis of the evolution of civil society in Africa. Owing to this analysis, Makumbe (1998:306) discovered that civil society in the African context was largely informal, communal and centred on inclusive participation and decision making. Civic life according to Schmitter (1997) was largely concerned with actions to express and defend interests of mutual concern to everyone in the society. In pre-colonial Africa, civic life revolves around dealings of the traditional leaders. But during this time, there was no separation of traditional leadership and civic life because traditional leadership doubled as leaders of social groups and political leaders. Hassan (2009:067) and Nwabueze (2010:15) weighed in by asserting that civil society during pre-colonial times was defined based on ethnic, family and communal alliances and identities and lacked any formal administrative structure. What brought people together for civic action was usually a common cause.

The development of associations of welfare, agriculture and finance in societies was a step towards the formation of civil society. Associations for finance, for example, were organized in localities and one trusted individual was mandated to be the treasurer on behalf of the group. These groups or associations were voluntary and were independent from the state or the political structures available. Appiagyei-Atua (Anon) found out that civil society in Africa evolved through three distinctive stages namely: communal stage, political stage and advanced political stage. Communal stage refers to informal associations, communalism and the common good where everyone is constrained to help those around them. This kind of setting was largely influenced by communal values and beliefs. The political stage was more complex and involves political consciousness, identity issues and race relations. These associations became radical and more structured and started to operate in the public and international sphere. Advanced political stage relates to organizations that emerged as both complementary and adversary forces to government initiatives as well as excesses and hegemony.

The gradual evolution of civil society has continued to what Fadakinte (2015:130-131) describe as a social value and a buffer between the state and the citizens. The social values of civil society resonate well with what Edwards (2009:3) observed when he found out that modern day civil society thrives on associational life and the quest for the good society. Darke (2010:118) and Nisnevich (2012:9) both concur that modern-day civil society imply conditions of civility as well as sovereignty of individuals and a progressive realization of individual

freedoms. It should be noted that the concept and definition of CSOs in Africa is in a significant way not different from the dominant western narrative. The emphasis on communal values and the good society is reflected in more contemporary definitions of the concept. What is perhaps more important is to discuss state-civil society relations in post independent Africa.

3.2.2 CSOs and the Zimbabwean context

The narrative of the history of civil society in Zimbabwe is often narrowed and limited to the post 1990 epoch. In truth, civil society in the country has not originated in the previous two decades when human rights and governance issues became topical. Civil society has been in operation in Zimbabwe since the days of the liberation war when church groups like the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) documented and challenged violation of human rights perpetrated by the colonial government (Mavhinga, 2014). Relations between state and civil society have always been acrimonious as activities of civil society were curtailed since the Rhodesian era (Kagoro, 2004). This was done for the colonial authorities to monopolise the political narrative (Moyo, 1993). Moyo (1993) further argues that during the colonial era social movements such as workers' associations, student unions and community organisations in the black townships were trampled by the colonial regime in order to suppress any political activism. The colonial government responded in this manner owing to the tendency of pre-colonial and colonial civic groupings to evolve into political entities that later waged a revolutionary war against colonial domination (Kagoro, 2004)

At independence, local civil society was very under-developed, and the government regarded itself as the sole representative of the people. In this regard, the government sought to put civil society especially labour and students' union under its jurisdiction. However, in the front of peacebuilding, the CCJP continued to be critical to state abuse of power after independence. The Commission documented the massacre of civilians by state security forces between 1982-1987 in the Midlands and Matebeleland provinces. More than 20 000 civilians are reported to have been murdered and CCJP and the Legal Resource Foundation (LRF) exposed the brutality. This documentation provided the basis upon which other work would be extensively done by other civil society organisations.

CSOs proliferated in the late 1990s and early 2000. Around this period, civil society became very visible in the development and advocacy arena in Zimbabwe. It was during this time that

state-civil society relations took a very strange turn especially after the appearance of the MDC party on the political horizon. The party made a serious electoral challenge for the levers of the state; the first of its own kind which ZANU-PF had faced since independence. The government responded by squeezing the democratic space resulting in the record human rights abuse in independent Zimbabwe. In the sphere of CSOs, the government enacted laws that sought to stifle the operations of CSOs. Legislation for CSOs, is generally meant to create a conducive operational environment to protect fundamental freedoms as enshrined in the constitution. Conversely, the Zimbabwean situation has been different. The government has constantly used legislation to suppress and stifle the operations of CSOs (NGO Consultancy Africa, 2005: 3). According to Muzondo (2007:1), the legislation that have been passed include the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and Broadcasting Services Act (BSA). Because the scope and vitality of CSOs hinge upon the regulatory framework by the state, such legislation has stifled the existence, growth and operations of CSOs in Zimbabwe (NGO Consultancy Africa, 2005: 3). This is the common difficulty which civil society in Africa have constantly faced and this has served to undermine their autonomy (Chikoto-Schultz & Uzochukwu, 2016; Dupuy, Ron, and Prakash 2014).

According to Paffenholz (2006), peacebuilding initiatives are usually unsustainable for countries emerging from conflict basically because people are seized by the primary issues of human needs. In an environment where the state is antagonistic to the activities of civil society, there is often limited space for civil society to act (Paffenholz et al, 2010:406). In this regard, many African governments have had very difficult relationships with civil society. In this case Zimbabwe is a good example. Since year 2000, the relationship between government and CSOs has been frosty. The government has constantly accused civil society as agents for the West who are bent on achieving regime change in the country (Kagoro 2005). Under these circumstances, CSOs found themselves operating under very forbidding circumstances and made it difficult to fulfil their mandate. This is confirmed by Paffenholz et al (2010) who argue that in circumstances of polarity where the legitimacy of the state is questioned by a section of the population, the fragmentation also goes to civil society which becomes divided along political affiliations. This has been the situation in Zimbabwe over the last two decades. In Zimbabwe most CSOs are viewed to be western funded, hence pro-opposition parties, and those which are locally funded are viewed as pro the incumbent government. This has a huge impact on how the CSOs are perceived and operate.

The kind of polarity which has existed in the country over the years has resulted in the relations of state and civil society to be frosty. The narrative that civil society existed to subvert the authority of the state and ultimately to effect regime change was peddled by the Zimbabwe government especially commencing year 2000. In this anti-civil society frenzy emanating from government quarters, the harassment of civil society and further squeezing of their operating space became common. In recent years, a police conference held in November 2012 made clear government perception of civil society. Civil society was portrayed as having a negative influence on communities and that they were involved in subversive activities (Mavhinga, 2014). This was consolidated by the declaration by the governing ZANU-PF party at their annual conference in December 2012. The party threatened to deregister all NGOs who are found to be deviating from their mandate. This is the kind of environment which CSOs in Zimbabwe found themselves operating in.

The relationship between government and civil society in Zimbabwe is governed by an Act of parliament-Private Voluntary Organizations Act (PVO Act). This act replaced the Private Voluntary Organizations Act, No 63 of 1966 (the 'PVO Act') (Dorman, 2001). The legislation was formulated with the view of having the state to control the activities of civil society. According to Dorman (2001:179), the legislation was a result of the amendment of the Welfare Organizations Act, which had been crafted to monitor the activities of organisations suspected to support the 'terrorists' during the liberation war. The new amended legislation granted authority to the minister responsible for NGOs to dissolve where necessary CSOs executive committees and to put in their place trustees to run the organizations. Owing to this, relations of state and civil society in Zimbabwe have been changing over the years (Lee, 2011).

In the early years of the country's independence, the ZANU-PF government attempted to suppress the development of autonomous organisations such as trade unions and other social movements. The government made strenuous efforts to effectively have such organisations under the purview of the ruling party and in the process, civil society became an extension of the state. According to Dorman (2001:50), after Zimbabwe's independence, the state was obsessed with nation-building. Though this was noble for a country emerging from a 14-year civil war, nation-building became an instrument through which the state dominated and alienated non-state actors including civil society. Through the doctrine of nation-building, the state sought to dominate all spheres of society and in the process personalising the political

landscape. Various organisations which had participated in the fight against the colonial regime were prepared to cooperate with the state, in building a new country (Dorman, 2001:65).

However, the 1990s saw the emergence of the winds of democratisation in Africa and the emergence of liberal CSOs which entered the public arena to offer services and development assistance. A plethora of CSOs promoting wider democracy and respect for human rights also emerged. Owing to the economic challenges Zimbabwe was going through in the 1990s, the country experienced protests, strikes and anti-government campaigns by students. Thus, from thenceforward, government and civil society relations grew increasingly contentious, as government saw the call for more democratisation or reform from civil society as subversive. For this reason, civil society found it more difficult to operate in Zimbabwe (Bekoe, 2007).

The emergence and consolidation of an authoritarian regime in Zimbabwe under Mugabe resulted in strained state-civil society relations (Sachikonye, 2002, 2003; Sachikonye & Matombo, 2009). The authoritarian regime sought patronage and intimidation as a means to bring everyone under subjection. This was echoed by Chingono (2010:199) who underline that state-civil society relations took a further dive after year 2000 when the economy imploded under the weight of misguided policies. The situation was made worse with the emergence of a strong opposition that offered real threat to ZANU-PF hegemony. According to Maseng (2010), the relationship between state and civil society in Zimbabwe can be described as cooperative on one hand and confrontational and hostile on the other. This is in line with what Adejumbi (2002) had found out earlier that during the early years of independence most CSOs emerged as complementary groups to the activities of the state and these included among others, student movements, trade unions and farmers' organizations. However, this scenario changed in the early 1990s as students and workers organisations started criticising the excesses of the state especially corruption.

The acrimonious relations of state- civil society of late frustrated the existence, growth and operations of CSOs in Zimbabwe (NGO Consultancy Africa, 2005:3). Muzondo (2007:1) weighed in by referring to the forbidding circumstances that CSOs in Zimbabwe operate in. The situation of the CSOs in Zimbabwe was made worse by the enactment of pieces of legislation such as AIPPA, POSA, BSA and the Non-Governmental Organisations Bill (NGO Bill). Specifically, the NGO Bill of 2004, just like POSA, AIPPA and BSA, was meant to exert excessive state control over CSOs. Though the Bill was never passed into law, its formulation was enough to send fear signals to CSOs as some relocated because of this Bill (Chingono,

2010: 205). Fundamentally, the government became more concerned with the vibrance of the NGOs, and responded by frustrating their operations (Chingono, 2010: 205). The pieces of legislation to curtail CSOs operations formed an axis of repression and they suffocated the operating environment for CSOs in Zimbabwe.

3.2.3 The role of civil society in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe

This section attempts to give an account of the role civil society plays in peacebuilding. Despite the acknowledgement of the indispensable role of civil society in peacebuilding across the developing world, its role in this regard is a very contested and controversial terrain. This is more particular when it comes to Africa where civil society is framed and understood as agents of neo-colonialism, who are bent on effecting regime changes across the continent. But it cannot be denied that civil society has and continues to be an instrument of socio-economic development and a cementing agent for social integration in communities. Even in this kind of set up, the role of civil society in peacebuilding is not straight forward. Against this background, the following section discusses civil society in Zimbabwe, the challenges it is confronted with and its efforts in peacebuilding. According to Makwerere (2017), there is a dearth of research on civil society and peacebuilding in Zimbabwe. The possible reason might be the politicisation of the subject of peacebuilding in the country. Again, most of the CSOs that focus specifically on peacebuilding only came into existence at the beginning of the 21st century. To structure this study, CSOs were classified into three broader categories which reflect the type of work they do: development organisations, service providers, and advocacy organisations. Among these, the study focussed on those working specifically with the youth in empowerment and peacebuilding work.

The purpose which CSOs serve in the peacebuilding arena is broad and varied. In the context of Zimbabwe, the work of CSOs in peacebuilding has taken the form of socialisation, social cohesion and intermediary and facilitation roles (Makwerere, 2017). Makwerere (2017) notes that the country's social fabric is highly fractious and the difficult political experiences from 2000 have left the country on the brink of an implosion. The entrenched political polarisation has left the country largely divided along ZANU PF and MDC divides. This has been the challenge which peacebuilding in Zimbabwe has always faced. It has been viewed from and with political lenses and attempts to address it have been informed by this perspective. Missing from Makwerere's assessment of the role of CSOs is the important role of empowering communities which CSOs in Zimbabwe have been involved in. Given the political, social and

economic turbulence and implosion which the country has been through in the past decade and the rising levels of poverty especially among the youth, CSOs had to focus on development-oriented programmes. Recurrent droughts compounded by the economic crisis occasioned by a myriad of factors have all increased the suffering of the majority citizenry and the youth population in particular. This made the role of CSOs in building community resilience and securing livelihoods through empowerment projects imperative given the inertia of the state in addressing chronic poverty among the youth. Food security, seed production, access to potable water, income generation, sanitation and hygiene and HIV awareness and treatment were among the major components of the projects implemented.

In their quest for peacebuilding, CSOs have implemented several strategies. Chief among these is advocacy which Posner (2004:237) notes that it is one of the notable strategies used by CSOs. The majority of CSOs seem to have fallen in love with advocacy. In this case, CSOs play a mediation role between government and the ordinary citizenry. By virtue of them being close to the grassroots, CSOs identify policy gaps and developmental needs that should be attended to. CSOs help communities by presenting their needs to government and sometimes bringing pressure to bear on the government to attend to these needs. This kind of approach, however, is difficult in authoritarian regimes like that in Zimbabwe where the government is not very responsive to the needs of the people and CSOs are viewed as bent on effecting regime change. Donais (2012:62), notes this challenge and argues that this kind of arrangement depends on the responsiveness and willingness of government to accommodate the CSOs.

Besides advocacy, CSOs also use the substitution model in its dealings with communities. This is more applicable in conflict ridden communities where the provision of basic services would have broken down. The provision of the basic social amenities and other responsibilities like food relief, health, and education is what matters under this model. Posner (2004: 239) observes that in this arrangement CSOs provide most of the “organisational infrastructure and human and financial resources to provide the order and public services that the public desire”. Though Zimbabwe is not at war, a prolonged period of political polarisation, corruption, misgovernance and international isolation has left the country in a socio-economic limbo. The government has been incapacitated to provide relief and developmental services to its citizens and CSOs have gradually moved and filled this gap. International NGOs such as World Health Organisation (WHO), World Food Organisation (WFO), Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), Plan

International and many others have been active in providing relief services to impoverished communities in Zimbabwe.

Education and health lead the list of the sectors which have been sustained by donor funding to avoid total disintegration. In this regard, UNICEF, Plan International and others have been prominent in ensuring the education sector remains stable. Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR), Childline, ZIMRIGHTS, and others were also very active in advocacy of disadvantaged groups. This however often put these organisations at crossroads with the citizens who often find themselves at crossroads with the government. Because the main opposition party (MDC) was formed from a consortium of CSOs and student movements, CSOs are viewed as agents for regime change in Zimbabwe. However, what is crucial about CSOs is that they provide the social capital which informs the public agenda for the good of the community. Importantly, CSOs are key actors in peacebuilding as they provide the micro-level and macro-level platforms for conflict transformation. The effectiveness of CSOs in peacebuilding, however, is dependent on the political climate.

The signing of the GPA which culminated in the formation of the GNU in 2009 turned a new leaf for the work of civil society in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe. The GPA acknowledged the need for national healing, reconciliation and integration through Article VII. The political crisis of the years 2000-2009 had left communities polarised and in serious need of social reconstruction. During this time, Zimbabwe experienced an influx of civil society organisations and a sizeable number were involved in peacebuilding-related activities. The number of CSOs doing work related to peacebuilding activities were more than one hundred (CCMT, 2013). These organisations include the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), Centre for Conflict Management and Transformation (CCMT), Youth Empowerment and Transformation Trust (YETT), Institute for Young Women Development (IYWD), Zimbabwe Peace Project, ZIMCET, among others.

Article 7 of the GPA underlined the need for reconciliation, and this provided the basis for peacebuilding during the time of the GNU in Zimbabwe. The role of civil society in the quest for peace and reconciliation is acknowledged by Article 18 of the GPA. With the benefit of hindsight, now it is known that CSOs were overshadowed by the state institutions that were created to oversee the implementation of the GPA. These were the Organ for National Healing and Reconciliation Integration (ONHRI) and the Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC). These two were tripartite organisations composed of the three political

parties to the GPA. The institutions suffered from political bickering which characterised the tenure of the GNU. According to Makwerere (2017), the GNU was a continuation of the previous conflict on a different turf and as a result, peacebuilding efforts were undermined. Parties to the GPA sought to endear themselves to the electorate and to position themselves for the post GNU era and were not eager to compromise for the sake of peace and reconciliation.

Ncube (2014: 284-85), emphasises the role which CSOs played during the era of the GPA and more specifically the GNU. Ncube (2014) notes that during that era, the focus of the peacebuilding in Zimbabwe were centred on power mediation (between ZANU-PF and the two MDC formations) as well as transforming conflict at the grassroots level. His focus was the Church and Civil Society Forum (CCSF) which was a network of churches and civil society organisations working on peacebuilding initiatives during the era of the GNU. What guided the CCSF were four broad objectives which were to; develop national and local mechanisms for peacebuilding; engage in capacity building of various peacebuilding stakeholders; mobilise, create awareness, and encourage citizens to participate in various peacebuilding initiatives to avoid duplication and facilitate efficiency and wider implementation.

Ncube's views were basically narrative about the functions of Civil Society in Zimbabwe. His narrative that the CSOs under the Church Civil Society Forum were largely successful in delivering the key functions as outlined by Paffenholz is problematic. The submission by Ncube does not address the issue and primacy of civil society's role in youth empowerment and peacebuilding. It cannot be denied that the CCSF is probably one of the most active CSOs on the peacebuilding front though it does not acknowledge a very important constituency of the population; the youth.

Formed as a coalition of church and civil society, the CCSF seeks to facilitate national reconciliation and healing in a coordinated and harmonized manner. It has to be noted that its aim is to address peacebuilding from a political perspective. The CCSF (2015) noted that there should be constant engagements between the church and the political leaders. In its Violence Prevention Mechanisms, the CCSF identifies key strategic considerations which are: Research and documentation, development and promotion of violence early warning mechanisms, dialogue with policy makers, international advocacy and lobbying and briefings with the church bishops

Though these are critical issues in peacebuilding, the CCSF strategic considerations miss a very important issue of empowering communities to make them resilient to the after-effects of conflict and relapse. CCSF has also been facilitating trainings but largely from a faith-based perspective. Though the conflict in Zimbabwe is largely political, it, however, requires ingenuity to deal with it. At various times, state security apparatus have been used to perpetrate violence and instil fear in ordinary citizens. The grassroots people are polarised and any development initiative in the communities is widely interpreted from a political perspective. Under these circumstances, approaching peacebuilding from a political standpoint would be problematic and more divisive. This, therefore, makes other initiatives of approaching peacebuilding very salient. In this regard, the importance of the youth empowerment drive and issues that concern them cannot be ignored in any peacebuilding framework.

However, the operations of CSOs in the field of peacebuilding in Zimbabwe and around the world is not without controversy. It has been criticised, and rightly so, for being driven by financial benefits that accrue rather than by genuine desire to build peace. It is the view of Magaisa (2009) that CSOs in Zimbabwe are divided and fragmented in nature. It is important to note that Zimbabwe's political terrain is unique, and this has made the trajectory of peacebuilding very complex. Owing to this complexity, CSOs have to contend with various political, ideological and social realities. According to Coullier and Hoeffler (2004) as cited by Makwerere (2017), the term peace has been politicised and commercialised leading to what have been called conflict entrepreneurs, who purport to be working on peacebuilding programs, yet they aim to misappropriate donor funds.

However, even with the controversies surrounding some of the operations relating to CSOs, it remains a fact that they play an important part in the peacebuilding processes across the country. According to Article 18 of the GPA, a document which consummated the GNU in 2009, CSOs have a role to play in national healing and reconciliation. Machakanja and Mungure (2013), highlight the effort made by the ONHRI to integrate the CSOs in their operations. Despite these well-intentioned gestures, the ONHRI was undermined by undue politicisation and hence was divided along political affiliations and failed to live up to its expectations and mandate. Until its dissolution in 2013, the ONHRI remained a white elephant. Under these circumstances, CSOs also could not achieve much as they were hindered by the political bickering in the GNU. But under the Church Civil Society Forum, CSOs tried to engage both political parties and communities to achieve peace in the country.

It is worth noting that, operations of the CSOs in Zimbabwe have been marred with challenges and controversy. As Zimbabwe's socio-economic situation worsened in the penultimate stages of the 1990s, CSOs became increasingly politically oriented and developed a more confrontational approach when engaging the government. As a result, CSOs have challenged the hegemony of the ZANU-PF-led government and this further undermined the relationship between government and CSOs. The government developed an acrimonious attitude towards CSOs, which the government viewed as agents of regime change masquerading as CSOs. This allegation is however vehemently refuted by the CSOs and they argue that they have a democratic right to promote the interests of the masses. Gwisai (2007:14) as cited by Makwerere (2017) lamented the 'commodification and commercialisation' of the civil society sector in Zimbabwe and he further bemoaned the tendency by the CSOs to engage in civic affairs because of the opportunity that is there to make more money.

3.3 Youth and empowerment in Africa

Until recently, research in youth empowerment in Africa in general and in Zimbabwe in particular was limited and this made the contribution of this study of particular interest. Available research in Zimbabwe on youth empowerment is scant and disjointed. It is predominantly focused on the economic empowerment of the youth from the individual level and is not holistic in approach.

3.3.1 Examining youth empowerment in Zimbabwe

The youth development and empowerment paradigm in Zimbabwe is not new. Since independence, the government of Zimbabwe and civil society have had youth programmes meant to benefit young people and make their transition into adulthood seamless (National Youth Policy, 2000). The perennial challenge of surging unemployment especially among the youth in many African countries has made the empowerment of young people a salient component of development. From the time Zimbabwe attained its independence in 1980, the government was seized by the resolve to tackle the challenge of unemployment (Mararike, 2014: 97). Mambo (2010: 22) notes that unemployment among the youth as a result of failure of the job market to absorb students churned out of educational institutions has become a formidable challenge facing the country. Thus, youth empowerment has emerged as a panacea to the challenge of unemployment among the youth. To this end, policies, economic blueprints, projects and programmes have been launched in a bid to resolve the challenge of unemployment (Bhebhe, Nair, Muranda, Sifile and Chavhunduka, 2015: 51).

In recent years, the empowerment discourse in Zimbabwe can be traced back to 1997 when the government of Zimbabwe promulgated the Zimbabwe Youth Council Act. This was followed by the promulgation of the National Youth Policy (NYP) in 2000 (amended in 2013), which now thenceforward became the flagship of youth empowerment in the country. The document borrowed heavily from the African Youth Charter and the constitution of Zimbabwe which recognise the youth as an important category in the population. The country's NYP reiterates the vision of the government on young people. It affirms that the government acknowledges the empowerment of youth to enable them to reach their full potential individually or as members of communities, political and social action groups, and youth organisations. This gave birth to an array of projects and programmes that targeted to create employment for the youth. Some of the projects include the Graduate Entrepreneurship Employment Programme (GEEP), Kurera/Ukondla Youth Fund (administered through CABS), Training for Rural Economic Empowerment (TREE), Youth Empowerment Fund (YEF), Wealth Creation Fund (administered through Stanbic, CBZ, IDBZ) and Skills for Youth Employment and Rural Development Programme (Bhebhe et al., 2015: 15). This section shall examine and explore the extent to which these and other programmes have gone in empowering young people. The section shall evaluate models of youth development and empowerment in Zimbabwe. The models focus on different aspects of development and empowerment, ranging from education to business entrepreneurship to agriculture and skills development.

In as far as youth programming is concerned, Karikoga (2011) laments the lack of involvement of the youth in the programming and implementation of empowerment programmes in Zimbabwe. In his article; *Taking youth development, indigenisation and empowerment to greater heights*, Karikoga, (2011) reveals that there is a top-bottom approach in the youth empowerment programmes in country. The youths are told what to do and are not given the leverage to decide what they wanted to do. He cited this as one of the reasons why, according to him 1 332 800 youths have by 2011 left the country. The article posits that youth programmes in Zimbabwe is selective rather than objective. This is confirmed by Mutizwa (2011) who has revealed that youth empowerment efforts are hampered by lack of participation by the very youth and also that youth are not informed about youth development, indigenisation, and empowerment. Mutizwa recommended that the National Youth Policy which provides the theoretical framework for youth empowerment in the country should be revised and should regard the views of the youth in order for the goals of youth development and empowerment to be achieved.

The land reform programme in Zimbabwe is lauded as one of the empowerment vehicles for the majority of the population. In Zimbabwe, especially in rural Zimbabwe, land is paramount in poverty reduction, sustainable livelihoods and secure food (Muranda, Rangarirai and Saruchera, 2014). In other words, land is so crucial in the empowerment of rural communities including the youth. But for the youth in Zimbabwe, the land reform had very limited direct individual benefit. The land reform process failed to prioritise vulnerable groups of society such as the youth, women and the poor. Sait, Pedersen and Solberg (2013) concurs that often the youth are marginalised in ownership and management of assets in agricultural production, especially land. The studies cited above are silent, however, on the way access to land by the youth can be a tool for peacebuilding. Manyeruke and Hamauswa (2012) however, acknowledge that the land reform exercise was an attempt to ease the mounting tensions in the country in the process creating a firm foundation for peace and sustainable development. Their article is a critique of the youth empowerment agenda focusing on land reform programmes. They concluded that the land distribution programme has not empowered youth hence cannot be regarded and be relied on as a peace-building initiative. The researcher has also noted that in this research, very little reference is made to land as an empowering tool for the youths.

Moreover, the Zimbabwe NYP affirms the importance of education and skills development in the youth development and empowerment discourse (Kabonga, 2016). Literature is replete with the benefits which education and skills development promise especially in empowering young people. The amount of research which has been undertaken to explore Zimbabwe's quality of education and the challenges it faces is a testament of the significance education holds in the development of the country. Since education underpins the development of human capital and improves people's quality of life, education is held as the vehicle which facilitates the improvement of a country's standard of living (Garcia & Fares, 2008). Thus, education is paramount in the empowerment process because it promotes self-esteem among people. Although Zimbabwe's education sector was broadened extensively after independence, its quality and ability to empower the graduates with the requisite skills for a rewarding career is still under debate (Mutuku, 2011). It is important to mention that Urdal (2012) strongly suggests education is key to preventing the youth from instigating violence out of frustration. This is supported by Taalyard (2008) who argues that adequate and appropriate education of young people in South Africa can create jobs and can inform development.

The NYP is particular about the role of skills inculcation and development as a panacea to youth empowerment and development (Kabonga, 2016). One of the major reasons which has resulted in youth unemployment hence lack empowerment is insufficient or absence of skills among the youth (Mambo 2010). The lack of technical skills among the youth has resulted in the limited contribution from this demographic group towards economic development and this has resulted in economic and social marginalisation (Surbrahmanyam 2013). To this end, the government of Zimbabwe has attempted to address the skills gap among the youth by adopting the Integrated Skills Outreach Programme (ISOP) in 2006. ISOP was launched targeting empowering young people with technical, vocational and entrepreneurial skills to make the youth employable and also participate in the mainstream economy (Nyika, 2016). The programme was implemented across the whole spectrum of Zimbabwe with the objective of helping the youths to acquire technical and entrepreneurial skills to initiate sustainable enterprises in their environments and communities. ISOP is the quintessence of the Zimbabwe NYP and was “aimed at addressing the challenges of youth unemployment” (Murinda, 2014:23). Through the ISOP the youths are capacitated and equipped with skills which they can use for sustainable livelihoods (Kabonga, 2016). Skills development is a lifelong process and is important for youth employment and sustainable livelihoods.

That ISOP was initiated with the aim of empowering the youth through skills development resonates with this current study. The mainstay of this study is to understand how youth empowerment programmes can aid the so crucial peace process in Zimbabwe. Acquisition of skills by the youth demonstrates government’s commitment to youth development through socio-economic empowerment. Murinda (2014:2) argues that “the skills developed through ISOP are such that the youth will not be tempted to leave their communities in search of employment in urban areas. In addition, the skills are aimed at exploiting locally available resources and the items or goods produced can be exported for sale to other communities where these materials may not be readily available”. It, therefore, can be argued that the youth empowerment drive seeks to promote sustainable livelihoods and critical social empowerment and is salient to the enhancement of the peace process in the country.

To spearhead the training of youth in vocational skills, the government of Zimbabwe established vocational training centres in every province of the country. Virtually every province in the country has a Provincial Vocational Training Centre which are sometimes complimented by district private centres. The skills training programme has entrepreneurship

as one of its key learning areas of focus. The African Union (AU) (2007) posits that TVET is crucial for national development for it promotes skills acquisition through competency-based training. Citizens are capacitated to secure jobs, sustainable livelihood and responsible citizenship. In Zimbabwe, vocational training focussed on all sectors of the economy, but enterprise training was the backbone of the programme. Moreover, Zimbabwe's technical skills training is broader and more complex, and it is offered throughout the education system of the country. According to Woyo (2013), Zimbabwe's education sector follows a 7-4-2-3 model of education, that is, 7 years of primary, 4 years of secondary, 2 years of advanced high school, and 3 years of college or university. In primary and secondary schools, the technical subjects are offered including building studies, fashion and fabrics, food and nutrition, metalwork, technical graphics, and woodwork (Woyo, 2013). For the purposes of this study, vocational skills training for youth empowerment as offered by the vocational training centres was considered.

By 2014, the government of Zimbabwe through the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education (MoHTE) in collaboration with the International Labour Organisation (ILO) developed a draft National Skills Development Policy (NSDP). The policy framework was meant to transform the skills development sector with the view of aligning the education and training sector to the socio-economic development of Zimbabwe (Murinda, 2014). The Mission of the policy framework is, "To empower individuals through the provision of employable skills for sustainable development of the economy without discrimination" (Mambo, 2010: 25). According to Murinda (2014:2), "the policy framework is comprehensive in that it covers all forms of skills development offered by all stakeholders which include formal, non-formal and informal skills development, sports, music and performing arts; all skills development conducted in schools, public and private institutions, the informal sector, enterprises, and open and distance models". Despite the well-intentions of the skills development system in Zimbabwe, it has suffered from the traditional weakness of producing graduates who want to be employed. In a shrinking economy like Zimbabwe where formal employment has continued to dwindle, the youths who have been churned out of the vocational training centres are lying idle.

Another important youth empowerment initiative by the government of Zimbabwe was through the funding of youth self-help projects. This was done as an attempt by the government to deal with unemployment and under-employment among the youth. According to Bhebhe et al.

(2015: 51), the government of Zimbabwe has launched policies, economic blueprints, projects and programmes with the view of resolving unemployment. To this end, the government initiated in 2009 a youth development fund. This was a revolving fund whose goal was to fund youth-initiated income-generating projects in the process reducing unemployment and poverty among the youths. The funds were to come from the Indigenisation programme and was to be under the auspices of the then Ministry of Youth Empowerment and Indigenisation. The responsible ministry was assisted in the disbursement of funds by several commercial banks led by the CBZ commercial bank.

The youth development fund was to cater for young people between 18 and 35 years. Youths were encouraged to form private business cooperation, or groups of individuals with viable projects which are registered. The funding was not limited to any one sector but cut across sectors as long as the projects involved value addition, use of locally available resources, generate sustainable income, be marketable and create employment for others. The fund could give loans to the upper limit of USD5 000. The interest rate for the loans was lower than the prevailing market rates. Thus, a project proposal was submitted at the wards and was appraised for funding through the district and provincial offices. The commercial banks, which were Central African Building Society (CABS) and Commercial Bank of Zimbabwe (CBZ), had the role of managing the funding facility for the project, carrying out a credit assessment of the projects recommended for funding and keeping a data bank of all the funded projects. The credit committee had officials from the banks and from the ministry.

After funding, the ministry provided business advisory and extension services through the provincial and district offices. Mentorship and guidance were also a prerogative of the ministry. The control process of monitoring and evaluating was also under the ministry. The ministry kept all its doors wide open by linking with other government departments for training purposes in cases where specialised skills were needed. For example, if a poultry project was to be approved, the ministry would then liaise with the department of agriculture for advice on management of such a project. The ministry and the banks jointly followed up on loans. Other slew of policies and programmes were rolled out to deal with the issue of youth empowerment. Some of the programmes include: Graduate Entrepreneurship Employment Programme (GEEP), Kurera/Ukondla Youth Fund (under the jurisdiction of CABS Bank), Training for Rural Economic Empowerment (TREE), Youth Empowerment Fund (YEP), Wealth Creation Fund (administered through the following banks: Stanbic, CBZ, IDBZ), AND Skills for Youth

Employment and Rural Development Programme (Bhebhe et al., 2015:15). This study seeks to explore how such empowerment programmes meant for the youth can contribute to the building of lasting and durable peace in Zimbabwe.

3.4 Civil society and youth empowerment in Zimbabwe

Civil society organisations who are involved in the empowerment paradigm are so varied. In Zimbabwe, these CSOs can be structured and grouped into broad categories of the kind of work that they are involved in. They fall into three broader categories of development organisations, service providers, and advocacy organisations. Advocacy organisations are further classified as those operating in the fields of governance and human rights, and those in the promotion of social and economic justice.

Much of the work CSOs have been doing in Zimbabwe in empowering communities has been from a development perspective. Since 2000, Zimbabwe has experienced political instability and an increasingly deepening economic crisis. As such, the state failed to provide public goods and services to its citizens especially in health, education and food security. This left communities impoverished and vulnerable. Such situations have resulted in advocacy CSOs who have strived for economic justice and tried to influence government policy in technical areas. These CSOs have tried to tackle policy issues and tried to engage communities to arouse interest and knowledge in governance issues. Some have concentrated on conscientising the youth on election issues such as voter registration or understanding the constitution. There are so many CSOs working in this field.

Much of the peacebuilding efforts of CSOs in Zimbabwe, however, have been in the development arena. CSOs have attempted to partner with government in addressing the development deficits in communities. Communities have been roped into programmes like food for work where they are to take part in activities like maintenance of infrastructure in return for food aid. CSOs involved in such work have been given enough operating space by the government. From the perspective of youth empowerment, CSOs have focussed on the training of young people in life skills. Organisations such as PLAN International, CARE, and CARITAS among others have been active in this sphere. However, what remains missing is the ability of young people to turn their skills into employment creation.

3.5 Youth empowerment and peacebuilding in Africa: Lessons for Zimbabwe

Youth empowerment and development has become so ubiquitous that many countries across the African continent have programmes meant to address the issues of young people. Challenges which grapple the youth across the continent are common and various governments have tried in different ways to deal with these challenges. In some countries, the youth empowerment programmes are laced with intentions to take the youth away from crime and conflict; hence building peace.

Youth empowerment has been used in Nigeria to stop crime by young people, which is another way of building peace. A study by Olayele (2010) established that socioeconomic well-being of the youth leads to a reduced rate of crime by the same age group. Using a structured survey, the study established that there is a significant correlation between youth empowerment and their involvement in crime. The study highlights the factors that drive young people to take part in organisation and community development. More importantly, the study examines the degree of socio-economic factors in determining the outcome of people's lives. The study recommended that government's empowerment programmes should be restructured, or re-designed, and should be centred on the "participatory approach". This approach emphasizes the importance of involving the beneficiaries in all stages of the programme. Thus, positive youth development and empowerment becomes an important tool because in their study, Barakat and Urdal (2009) note that the effects of conflict risk by low education and large youth cohorts is particularly strong in low- and middle-income countries. Though they assert that quantitative studies have established a strong relationship between indicators of development and conflict risk, they argued that results have also shown that poor countries do have some leverage over reducing conflict potential through increased educational opportunities for young people. The Inter-Agency Network for Youth Development (2016) submits that research has revealed that youth bulge is not a problem if there are sufficient socioeconomic opportunities for young people. This should be supported by meaningful engagement of the young people in projects that will unleash their positive potential to contribute to their societies and the national economy.

Moreover, Somalia has attempted to build peace and halt civil strife through youth empowerment. An evaluation programme carried out has allowed revision of the programme to adjust and enhance the programme. The Horn of Africa Aid and Development (HADO) has mainly been focusing on vocational training programmes mainly in the area of repair work,

craft, Internet and Computer Graphics as well as Construction so that those who are illiterate could easily understand the content. The HADO programmes evaluation was a broad-based and diverse programme done on a two-way basis; formative and summative evaluation. In 2015, Somalia acknowledged the relevance of youth empowerment to peacebuilding. The AMMAN Declaration on Youth (2015) acknowledged that limited access to social and economic opportunities, employment opportunities and lack of educational empowerment, all combined to contribute to economic isolation and political disillusionment among the youth. They implored government and its NGO partners to support the provision of quality vocational training skills programs to the Somali youth to empower the youth and facilitate availability of skilled labour. This according to the Declaration will translate to peace.

In another study conducted by the World Bank in 2018 in Somalia, it was noted that the youth in Somalia are involved in peacebuilding through three activities: training in conflict transformation and leadership skills, setting up of local peace committees and participation in local governance (World Bank, 2018). The study established that the government of Somalia in 2016 promulgated the National Development Plan (2017–2019), with one of its goals as “increased employment opportunities and decent work particularly for the youth” in order to address a structural driver of youth engagement in violent conflict (World Bank, 2018:29). Moreover, the UN attempted to implement the Security Council Resolution 2250 on Youth, Peace and Security in Somalia in December 2015, through embarking on youth empowerment. The social, economic and political empowerment of the youth was attempted in order to harness the full potential of young people to become recognised social and economic actors, as well as peacebuilders (UN, 2018). The study established that obtaining education by the youth was difficult and employment opportunities were limited, and opportunities to engage politically, economically or socially remain weak or non-existent for the youth (UN, 2018), resulting in frustration and demoralisation among many youths. The capabilities and opportunities of many youth are constricted and their contribution to peacebuilding is impeded.

In Uganda, a study conducted by UNICEF in collaboration with European universities explored the drivers of conflict among the youth in Northern Uganda. The study uncovered that in the North of the country, the youth are gripped by challenges such as poverty, unemployment, lack of opportunities, low educational attainment (Dartberger, McCully & Smith, 2015). Unemployment is a major challenge among the youth in Uganda (using an

average definition of 18-30 years) and it accounted for around 64 per cent among the total unemployed persons in 2012 (Ahaibwe & Mbowwa, 2014). This is despite the level of education and the skills the youths might have attained. Research has highlighted that the level of education or vocational training attained has not increased the chances of employment in Uganda (Annan et al. 2006; Bird et al. 2011; Bird & Higgins 2009; UBOS 2013). However, other studies, of economic orientation, to enhance youth peacebuilding agency discovered that vocational education which is bent on enhancing the livelihood and economic prospects of young people is key in addressing and promoting the active participation of youths in peacebuilding processes (Lopes Cardozo et al. 2015). Uganda, in its vision 2040 has prioritised establishment of vocational and technical skills training programmes that seek to impact skills to the unemployed youth. With this, the Ugandan government seeks to enhance the youth agency in peacebuilding through economic empowerment.

3.6 Chapter summary

The chapter examined the various empowerment initiatives which have been spearheaded by the government and civil society and how these have contributed to transforming the lives of young people. The different empowerment programmes have been put under spotlight and have been interrogated to establish their relevance in contributing towards peacebuilding. Moreover, the chapter also examined the role of civil society in the peacebuilding arena in Zimbabwe since independence. The concept of civil society, its features, and evolution as well as expected roles in society came under discussion in the chapter. In the role of CSOs in peacebuilding, the chapter took a more focused approach on Zimbabwe in which it examined the roles that CSOs have played in peacebuilding. It was noted that the literature on CSOs and peacebuilding in Zimbabwe is still very sparse. Most of the available literature relates to CSOs and socioeconomic development. The main challenge facing CSOs in Zimbabwe is the inhibitive operating environment where the ZANU PF government has put in place a difficult institutional framework for the control of the CSOs. However, in spite of these challenges, CSOs continue to dominate the peacebuilding discourse in the country owing primarily to the challenges facing the Zimbabwean government. The NPRC is yet to be constituted because of a critical lack of funds and in the absence of this commission, the peacebuilding and reconciliation agenda has been pushed by the CSOs

CHAPTER FOUR: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter endeavoured to elaborate on the evolving concept of civil society. The concept has been differently defined. No one definition of civil society is exhaustive, but the chapter attempted to coin a working definition. The role of civil society in peacebuilding was also explained focusing on Zimbabwe. The chapter also examined the various empowerment models which the government of Zimbabwe has initiated and how these have impacted on the life of the youth.

This chapter attempts to look at the theories of conflict transformation and peacebuilding from the perspective of scholars of peace studies. It presents the theoretical perspectives through which conflict and peacebuilding are understood and applied in this study. The theories underpinning this study are the community-based approach to peacebuilding and the human needs theories. Particular interest was given to establishing the nexus that exists between the theories of community-based and human needs to peacebuilding. The suitability of the theories to the situation in Zimbabwe is going to be interrogated. Informed by the research objectives and the literature review, community-based approaches and the human needs theory were adopted as the theoretical prism that sustain this study. These theories provide the **basis** upon which the argument for the contribution of youth empowerment programmes to peacebuilding is based.

It is true that the present study could have been informed by various theories which are appropriate like the empowerment theory, youth bulge theory, or Paul Lederach's conflict transformation theory. Though the theories are relevant to the study, a closer look at each of them revealed that the theories do not really fit in addressing the key questions of the study. As a result, human needs theory by John Burton and the community-based approach to peacebuilding were chosen to underpin the study. The chapter explicates the human needs theory and the community-based approach to peacebuilding and give reasons for the adoption of the two as the theoretical lenses for the study.

Human needs theory argues that for peace to endure, the peace process should address the basic needs of the generality of the population. It deals with issues of human security as very crucial building blocks in the establishment of peace in post-conflict societies. On the other hand, community-based approach to peacebuilding emphasises involvement of the affected

communities in issues of peace that affect them. In other words, the approach opposes the traditional way of doing things; top-down approach in peacebuilding. These two theories are critical to Zimbabwe as they relate to the challenges that Zimbabwe is currently going through. Issues of human security are so critical to the current Zimbabwean situation. Moreover, over the years peacebuilding initiatives in Zimbabwe have always been top bottom. It is important to note that because of this, peace has been elusive in the country. However, before delving into the details of the two theories, the chapter first examines the other relevant theories that might feed into the general concept of peacebuilding. It is particularly important to understand Lederach's conflict transformation theory, the youth bulge theory by Huntington, the youth crisis theory by Richards and the empowerment theory by Jennings et al. (2006)

4.2 Conflict Transformation

Conflict transformation theory is often associated with the works of the academics Johan Galtung and John Paul Lederach. In particular, Galtung's work in 1996 provides a rich brew of core concepts of conflict transformation. According to Miall (2004), the theory of conflict transformation borrows heavily from the familiar concepts of conflict management and conflict resolution. It is a reconceptualization of its predecessor concepts of conflict management and resolution in order to make it more relevant to contemporary conflicts. Galtung argues that conflicts have a double pronged effect on people—they have life-affirming and life-destroying effect. These conflicts are manifest in a variety of attitudes and behaviours. Once a conflict develops, it goes through a series of transformation phases “articulation or dis-articulation, conscientisation or de-conscientisation, complexification or simplification, polarisation or depolarisation, escalation or de-escalation” (Galtung, 1996:116). Conflict transformation is, therefore, a process which seeks to engage and transform relationships, interests, discourse and if need be the very constitution of society that perpetuates and furthers violent conflict (Miall, 2004). What is apparent is that conflict transformation is a comprehensive and wide-ranging approach which emphasises support for groups affected by conflict rather than giving preference to external interventions. Lederach (1995) posits that:

Conflict transformation must actively envision, include, respect, and promote the human and cultural resources from within a given setting. This involves a new set of lenses through which we do not primarily, see 'the setting and the people in it as the, problem' and the outsider as the, answer'. Rather we understand the long-term goal of transformation as validating and building on people and resources within the setting.

Given the above, conflict transformation according to Lederach (2003), is not just a set of some activities but rather entails a new way of looking and seeing, which ultimately provides lenses through which humanity fathom social conflict. Lederach's conflict transformation theory is based on two realities of conflict being normal in human relationships and conflict being a vehicle of change in society (Lederach, 2003). In line with this argument, Lederach (2003:3) defines conflict transformation as:

...to envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real life problems in human relationships.

Lederach posits that transformational approach is based on two foundations: a positive disposition toward conflict as a natural phenomenon that creates potentialities of constructive change, and an inclination to positively engage in the conflict with the view of producing constructive change or growth. Furthermore, the transformational approach does not look at isolated cases of conflict but rather seeks to understand how the different episodes of conflict are embedded in the greater pattern of human relationships. The central goal of conflict transformation is to build constructive change out of the energy created by conflict. So, by channelling this energy towards the underlying relationships and social structures, conflict transformation results in constructive change. The key aspect of conflict transformation is to turn the destructive tendencies of conflict into constructive ones. The primary concern of conflict transformation is not "to find quick solutions to immediate problems, but rather to generate creative platforms that can simultaneously address surface issues and change underlying social structures and relationship patterns" (Lederach, 2003:4).

Lederach further argues that:

...central to transformation is to build a base that generate processes that 1) provide adaptive responses to the immediate and future iterations of conflict episodes, and 2) address the deeper and longer-term relational and systemic patterns that produce violent, destructive expressions of conflict.

This implies that in other words, a conflict transformation platform must be short term responsive and long term strategic. The essence of the transformational approach is to establish lasting and enduring peace. Through the lenses of conflict transformation, peace is

understood as centred and revolving around the quality of relationships. It should be understood that this is not all that determines peace, peace is broader than just human relationships. The quality of relationships argues Lederach (2003:4), includes face to face interactions, and the ways in which the political, social and cultural relationships are structured. Conflict transformation sees peace as a continuously evolving and developing quality of relationships.

4.3 Youth Bulge theory

Another theory which is relevant to the current study is the youth bulge theory. A growing body of research on youth in the world has revealed that the population of youth cohort is fast growing into what has become known as the youth bulge. This has been said to be the explanation behind youth restlessness and has had a profound influence on the studies of youth and conflict. The submission that an exceptionally huge proportion of youth population in society ultimately results in conflict can be traced back to the work of Choucri in the early 1970s. Huntington and Goldstein are arguably the fathers or leading theorists of contemporary arguments about youth bulge. Goldstone (2002) claimed that violent epochs in the past have always coincided with periods of demographically young societies. Because the youth are susceptible to novel ideas and religious fundamentalism, they also have fewer responsibilities for family and career, they are therefore relatively easy for recruitment for social or political conflicts. Goldstein claims that:

Youth have played a prominent role in political violence throughout recorded history and the existence of a “youth bulge” (an unnecessary high proportion of youths 15-25 relative to the total population) has historically been associated with times of political crisis (2001:95).

But the proposition has only received adequate academic and scientific attention following the publication of ‘Sons and world power: Terror in the rise and fall of nations’ by Heinsohn in 2003. Henceforth, the discussion of the subject of growing youth volumes and the nexus to conflict has generated immense interest from conflict and peace researchers. The term ‘youth bulge’ was coined by Fuller in 1995 in his work ‘The Demographic backdrop to ethnic conflict: A geographic overview’.

According to Heinsohn and Fuller (2003) youth bulge develops when there is a high proportion of children and a low proportion of older people. Heinsohn who assumes the stance of

Goldstein observes that the excess of young adult males within any given youth bulge is the explanation behind most internal civil and social instability, which is civil war, terrorism or genocide (Heinsohn, 2003). He defines a youth bulge as a situation when the ratio of adequate (that is prestigious and/ or well-paid) positions (in companies or public sector) to the amount of such positions demanded by succeeding sons is substantially smaller than one. The phrase 'youth bulge' refers to a phenomenon when the population share of the 15-24 year-olds is above 20% and that of the 0-14 year-olds is higher than 30% of the total population (Schomaker, 2013). These surplus sons, argues Heinsohn (2003) are susceptible to all forms of violence, which can result from indoctrination by political and various sorts of religious extremists.

Youth bulges can be defined by a variety of disciplines and the age structure that categorises the concept also differ. The conventional age set for youth bulge is the 15-24 year-old male population as a share of all males aged 15 and older (Urdal, 2006). Weber (2013) proposed his own age set of the youth bulge; male population aged 15-29 divided by the total male population aged 15 and older. Bricker & Foley (2013) are of the conviction that the 17-26 age set is quite interesting to consider in a socio-economic investigation of the youth bulge. This age group is said to be mature and economically active, and if unsatisfied by the economic opportunities available to them will engage in political violence. They argue that 15-year-olds are often not affected by lack of employment and its attendant consequences. It is only the older age groups that would suffer the consequences of unemployment and view it as a hurdle from attaining their goals in life.

According to the proponents of the youth bulge theory, the incidence of violence in a given society is relative to the size of its youth population. Leahy et al. (2007:24) observe that the majority of the wars raging on in the world today are in demographically young nations. If this view is anything to go by, Sub-Saharan Africa is at a greater risk of violent conflict because its youth represent the majority share of the population pyramid (Eguavoen, 2010:268). Urdal (2004:16) says that many developing countries suffer from proportionally huge youth population and most studies have shown the strong correlation between countries with youth bulges and the incidence of violence. Paying particular attention to the developing countries, Urdal, (2004) suggests that a large youth population alone is enough to increase the likelihood of violence and conflict. Owing to such arguments, Cincotta (2008:80) has argued that societies with "excessive number of young people invite a higher risk of political violence and civil strife than others." Researchers such as Urdal, Cincotta and others have argued that the correlation

between violent conflict and youth bulge is valid. The situation obtaining in the Middle East has been used to justify this view. Several countries in the Middle East experience huge youth bulges, with approximately 30% of their working age in the youth age category. The recent uprisings in this region have been attributed to this abnormally huge youth population (Paasonen and Urdal, 2016).

However, Heinsohn cautions against the mono-causal explanation of any sort of violent conflict through resorting to youth bulges alone. He argues that some of history's most lethal atrocities, for example, Stalin's rule and Hitler's extermination of the Jews are not in any way related to youth bulges. Other proponents of the youth bulge theory have argued that the disproportionately high youth population alone is not enough to explain why societies with this kind of scenario are at a risk of violent conflict. There are other contributory factors to the incidence of violent conflict in the world other than demographic implications alone. If the emergence of large youth populations meets with a stagnant economy and concomitant unemployment, the incidence of violent conflict rises because of the low opportunity cost for youth to engage in political violence (Weber, 2013; Bricker & Foley, 2013). Though they admit that a swelling youth population is problematic socially, Bricker & Foley (2013) found that the mere presence of a youth bulge is no adequate reason to generate violence, but violence is generated because of the pressure youth cohorts exert on the labour market. They developed a variable they called 'Youth Risk Factor' (the ratio of the youth population to the total labour force) to gauge the impact exerted by the youth cohorts on the labour market and its effect on violence. Urdal (2006), Barakat and Urdal (2009) concur that youth bulge alone does not generate violence but rather submit that economic and political factors that accompany the large youth populations are equally important causal factors.

Using his concept of youth grievances, (Urdal, 2004) developed a model to portray the nexus between youth bulges and armed conflict. The model highlights that in circumstances of youth bulges, the youth are most likely to experience unemployment owing to substantial increase of labour as these youths enter the market. Urdal (2004), argues that unemployment which results from youth bulge breeds grievances, especially if the prospects of youth have been enhanced through education. Grievances again arise if the educated youth cannot influence the political system and attain elite status. Figure 4.1 below illustrates Urdal's assertions.

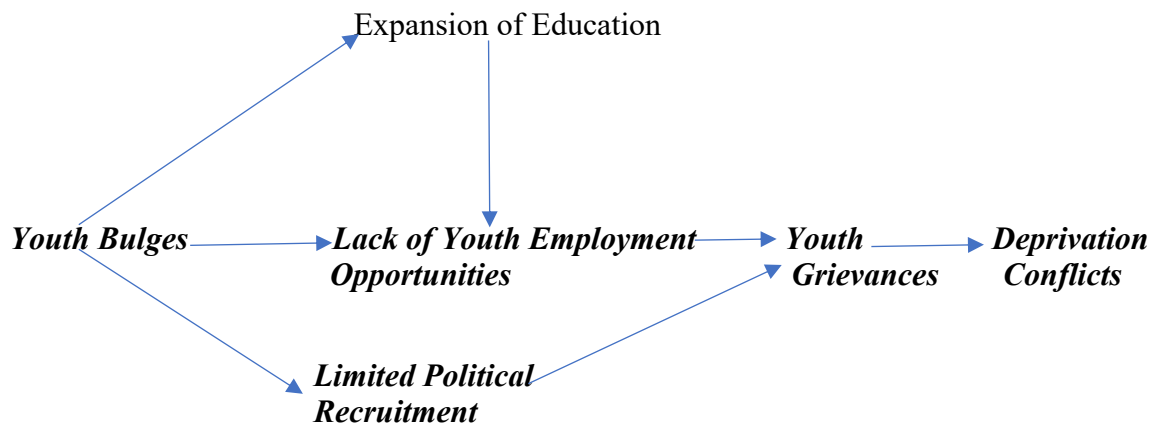


Figure 4.1: Youth Bulges as a source of conflict

(Adapted from: Urdal, 2004)

Most theorists on youth bulge emphasise the incapacity of the labour markets to absorb the bulging youth population as the most important factor for causing grievances among the youth. Urdal (2004) further argues that if young people are to be kept out of employment this is likely to breed dissatisfaction and grievance. This dissatisfaction and grievances result in what Urdal calls deprivation in conflicts. Youth bulges become a threat to peace under conditions of economic downturn and stagnation as those who will be entering the labour market are most likely to find themselves out of employment. Braungart (1984:16) argues that unemployment undermines and weakens political systems and creates conditions conducive for radicalism, especially by the unattached youth. Collier (2000:94) believes that young men's willingness to join a rebellion is influenced by their ability to secure alternative source of income. If young men are subjected to conditions of poverty and unemployment, they go into rebellion as a safety valve.

Moreover, it is argued that the level of education is quite important in influencing the propensity to violence of the youth. The volume of educated youth according to Goldstein (2001:95) is a precedent of any violent episode involving the youth. His argument is in line with Urdal's model which states that expansion in education leads to violent conflict by young people if it does not correspond with expanding employment and political opportunities. Urdal (2004) posits that well-educated youth have often been at the nucleus of riotous situations demanding economic and political reforms. Braungart (1984:16) observes that:

The under employment and unemployment prospects for university educated youths in many developing countries, as well as in more advanced developed countries, enlarge the reservoir of latent rebellion from which revolutionary politics can be drawn.

It is interesting to note that Collier (2000) believes otherwise. He argues that the higher the level of education among men the lower their inclination to violence owing to the high opportunity cost of participating in rebellion by educated men. Generally educated men have better prospects of income earning than the uneducated, they would be circumspect on participation in conflict given the inherent opportunity costs.

While good scholarly work exists about youth bulge, the theories come short of explaining the situation in Zimbabwe. Like other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, Zimbabwe has a very large demographic youth bulge, with over 75% of the population below 35 years (ZimStat (2012)). Though Zimbabwe is in the grip of a youth bulge in the view of the definition of youth bulge, the bulge of its youth falls outside the focus of the youth bulge theorists. The age group that the youth bulge theorists focus (15-24 or 17-26) are not inclusive of what constitute the youth according to the definition of this age group in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe Youth Policy define the youth as those whose ages fall between 15-35 years. This study focusses on the youth from 18 years which the Zimbabwe constitution describe as the legal age of majority. Its upper cut off is 35 years which falls outside the focus of the youth bulge theories.

Moreover, the Zimbabwe situation is unique. Despite its glaring youth bulge and astronomical unemployment notably among the youth, there is no linear relationship with violent conflict as described by the youth bulge theorists. Various scholars confirm how unemployment has affected the youth in the world in general and Zimbabwe in particular. Bhebhe et al. (2015) acknowledge that unemployment among the youth in Zimbabwe has reached crisis proportions. Notwithstanding this unemployment which youth bulge theorists regard as an important variable to youth revolting against the governing parties, the Zimbabwe situation is unique. Despite the biting unemployment the youth have not been anti-government in Zimbabwe as the theory claims. Rather the youth in Zimbabwe have participated in violence during and after elections to serve the interests of the ruling party. Zimbabwe has all the components that the youth bulge theorists envisage to cause violent conflict, but this is not happening. With Zimbabwe's youth among the highly educated in the region, the rate at which they have participated in anti-government riots had been sporadic and insignificant.

The youth bulge also focuses on physical direct violence which is a narrow perspective of looking at conflict and peace studies. This narrow perspective of peace as the absence of war has serious shortcomings especially in giving a correct narrative in what is obtaining in Zimbabwe. Except for cyclical episodes of electoral violence, Zimbabwe has not been at war since the end of the Gukurahundi killings of the 1980s. But despite this absence of perpetual direct violence, Zimbabwe's situation is far from being described as peaceful. The country is immersed in structural and cultural violence. As a result, the theory ignores these other forms of violence. This current study mainly focusses on the establishment of positive peace and hence make structural violence a priority. Moreover, the youth bulge theory focusses mainly on the male population of young people and regards this segment of the population as the one that leads to violent conflict if it continues to bulge. This study seeks also to examine the role that the female youth can play in the establishment of peace.

4.4 Youth crisis theory

Another theory common in the mainstream thinking of youth conceptualisation and closely related to the youth bulge theory is the youth crisis theory. The theory frames young men as the cause and effect of society's challenges. A youth crisis is described as a situation which scuttles the transition of young men to the category of adulthood owing to various socio-economic and political challenges (Mutisi, 2012:98). The situation of youth crisis leads to failure by the very youth to attain the position of adulthood. This theory submits that the concept of youth is not a transitional process from childhood to adulthood but rather the youth are shut in 'perpetual limbo' which results in huge frustration. According to the UNDP (2006), economic and social crises bedevilling many of the world's economies severely affects young people as this hampers their upward trajectory into adulthood. Proponents of the youth crisis often refer to young people in many of the developing countries who are increasingly deprived of education and employment opportunities (Mutisi, 2012:98). They argue that this category of the uneducated and unemployed young people cannot realise the requisite objective of an upward social mobility.

The youth crisis theoretical framework was used by Richards (1996) to assert that young people in Sierra Leone joined the rebellion in that country in an apparent demonstration of the displeasure and frustration with exclusionary policies of the state. With this in mind the youth crisis theory has often been employed to explain the involvement and participation of the youth in violent conflict. Richards (1996) further argues that the motivation for youth participation

in violent conflict in Sierra Leone was chronic and longstanding alienation of young people. This alienation includes lack or limited educational prospects and a dearth of employment opportunities. Massive unemployment, political marginalisation and poverty among the youth have left youth vulnerable to abuse and manipulation by elder politicians. This has resulted in the youth participating in politically motivated violence to push for given political ideologies. According to Benvenuti (2003), youth crime and delinquency in Latin America which is a manifestation of youth crisis is a product of the malfunctioning of society's policies and structures. As cited by Mutisi (2012), Bevenuti (2003:7) asserts that:

Inequality and impoverishment, further reinforced by neo-liberal macroeconomic policies adopted by many countries in the region, together with the incapacity of national states to address poverty and exclusion in the distribution of economic, political and social resources, account for the main reason for the proliferation of juvenile delinquency.

On the bases of the youth crisis theory, the youth have often been referred to as the lost generation. Youth crisis scholars have often presented the youth as vehicles or objects of violence. Richards (1996) posits that the youth's increased role in armed conflict in West Africa reflects what he calls 'crisis of youth'. Collier and Hoeffler's assertion resonate with this argument. They argue that poor and marginalised youth have harboured grievances against their governments, which grievances are often exploited by opportunistic politicians to create violent conflict. The 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya is a case in point here. The majority of those who took part in the violence were youth, around 70% (EDC, 2009). Youth exclusion in the political process constitute a genuine grievance which ultimately pushes the youth into violent conflict. Many studies on the youth and violent conflict have demonstrated the nexus that exists between youth unemployment and youth engagement in violence and gang violence (Mercy Corps, 2013). The Niger Delta has suffered from violence by youth gangs and militancy which has been attributed to the control and distribution of oil resources in the region (Ujeke, 2001). Similarly, in Burundi youth unemployment and poverty are viewed as contributory factors towards insecurity in a country very prone to violent conflict (Ngariko and Nkurunziza, 2005). This argument is furthered by Hilker and Fraser (2009:4) who assert that whenever the youth feel that they are being marginalised due to existing power structures, they resort to violence as an avenue to have a voice. Maclay and Ozerdem (2010:345) observe that

the accounts of Liberia's war lead one to the conclusion that the conflict in Liberia was fought by the youth.

Though the theory provides an interesting dimension on the study of youth and conflict, it falls short of informing this current study. The current study, though it cannot ignore the participation of the youth in violent conflict, sought to establish the peacebuilding ability of young people. Though the study does not deny that disgruntled young people are susceptible to participation in violent conflict, it sought to interrogate how the agency of young people can be utilised to build peace in the communities.

4.5 Critical youth empowerment theory

The critical youth empowerment theory was propounded by scholars such as Jennings, Parra-Medina, Hilfinger Messias and McLoughlin among others is one of the theories which is common in studies which involve the youth. The theory entails actions which the youth can take to influence organisational, institutional, and societal change (Jennings et al., 2006: 40). Young people are thus seen to be active citizens who take part in the construction of stronger communities. The critical youth empowerment theory is a result of the combination of the adolescent empowerment cycle, the youth development and empowerment model, the transactional association model, and the empowerment education model (Martinez et al, 2016). Jennings et al. (2006:40) posit that the theory seeks:

to support and foster youth contributions to positive community development and socio-political change, resulting in youth who are critical citizens, actively participating in the day-to-day building of stronger, more equitable communities.

The theory is constituted by six critical constructs that are pivotal in the evaluation of youth empowerment. These elements include:

a welcoming and safe environment, meaningful participation and engagement, equitable power sharing between youth and adults, engagement in critical reflection on personal and socio-political processes, participation in socio-political processes to effect change and integrated individual and community level empowerment”
Jennings et al. (2006:41).

Of these elements, meaningful participation and engagement is noted as the most relevant element to this current study. This advocates for the youth to be given an opportunity to take

part in the implementation of projects that are meant for them. In this process, the youth develop skills that help them in their lives. The critical youth empowerment theorists emphasise that there is need for “authentic, youth-determined activities that challenge youth to engage in new roles and develop new skills and insights while also engaging in critical reflection and action” (Jennings et al., 2006: 44).

Also important in this theory is the emphasis on youth participation in socio-political processes. The theory advances that “youth are not truly empowered if they do not have the capacity to address the structures, processes, social values and practices of the issues at hand” (Jennings et al., 2006: 48). Youth should be afforded the opportunity to participate in the socio-political environment to improve their ability to influence developments in their communities.

Though this theory speaks into some of the salient aspects of the current study, it however does not address the core of the study. The focus of the study is the establishment of peace through youth empowerment initiatives. For this reason, theories of peacebuilding were considered to be more relevant to the study.

4.6 Towards community-based approach to peacebuilding

In the early years of the 1990s decade, the international community was confronted with very unique and complex challenges in the area of peacebuilding. The significant failure and collapse of peace treaties and peacebuilding efforts around the world triggered the emergence of a new international discourse in the realm of peacebuilding. This period was hallmarked by the emergence of proxy internal conflicts and peacebuilding became prominent. Around the same time two peacebuilding frameworks emerged and remarkably impacted on the broad spectrum and trends of peacebuilding processes (Chivasa, 2017a). The Infrastructure for Peace is one of these frameworks which emphasises that conflict should be considered as a system rather than an event. The framework emphasises the consideration of all issues around a conflict (Lederach, 1997:20). Conflict as a system is understood as behavioural, attitudinal and a systemic phenomenon which entails numerous interlinked constructs such as context, history and actors (Lederach, 1997:20). This kind of peacebuilding discourse emphasises the need for comprehensive and inclusive peace architecture to ensure sustainable peace (Chivasa, 2017a). The framework buttressed the design and establishment of enhanced institutions which act as peacebuilding blocks. In a number of ways, the framework for peace has resulted in a new understanding of peacebuilding. The discourse now could not only be understood as a science

but an art which requires imagination and creativity in the process of building peace (Reychler, 2002:26, 27).

But more interesting to this study was the emergency in the 1980s of another framework, Local Peace Committees (LPC) as a means for establishing local and national peace (Sangqu, 2014: 422). The emergence of such framework followed decades of failed or limited peacebuilding achievements under the auspices of the prevailing peacekeeping paradigm. LPC is defined as “an inclusive forum operating at district, town or village in which stakeholders take a joint responsibility to build peace within their community” (Odendaal, 2010:6). The coming of the LPC mechanism is viewed as a forerunner to a new dispensation in peacebuilding processes and a departure from the contemporary peacebuilding frameworks which were more predisposed to elite structures as opposed to the involvement of the grassroots structures. This kind of framework is of particular interest to this study since it emphasises the participation of the community to the peacebuilding process.

Now thenceforward, a new framework to manage armed conflict has been adopted (Paffenholz & Spurk, 2006). With reference to the new conception of peace given earlier, peacebuilding cannot only be undertaken by state authorities and United Nations organisations but also by actual members of society. What has emerged prominently in the new discourse are efforts by peacebuilding practitioners to put emphasis on local ownership and partnership as key to sustainable peace and to avoid state-centric approaches. State-centric approaches to peacebuilding owing to their nature of imposing strategies and the way of doing things from above (top-bottom) were subjected to a barrage of criticism after their blatant failures in Rwanda and Somalia. As a result, peacebuilding from below as advocated by civil society emerged as the most preferred approach in peacebuilding. Civil society emphasises that peacebuilding should be carried out at the grassroots level or bottom-up.

The shift towards a human-centred form of peacebuilding was necessitated by the emergence of a new trend in the discourse of peace during the 1990s. During this period, there was growing dissatisfaction with state-centric peace processes and an orientation towards human security championed by the UN Development Programme. Prior to this, Tsurumi had pioneered the theory of ‘endogenous development’. The theory regards indigenous people not as passive objects of development aid but are rather active and conscious agents of development from within. Tsurumi’s conception of development is in line with the definitions of peace as given by Galtung and the Canadian government. The Canadian government commenced a

peacebuilding initiative in 1996 whose intention was to capacitate local communities to manage conflicts without resorting to violence and regarded this as key to future peacebuilding initiatives. The UN added weight in the importance of local actors in peacebuilding when it published the Brahimi Report in 2000. The Report mentions that for peacebuilding to be effective there should be effective engagement with the local parties (Brahimi, 2000).

With the emergence of the new approach to peacebuilding, arguments supporting it have been put forward. It has been realised that in the event of violent conflict, the local community endures and suffers the consequences of the violence. It is the community that remains after the conflict has subsided and the external intervention is gone. With this in mind, any peacebuilding initiative should seriously consider the role and participation of the local community for peace to endure. So, community-based approaches seek to empower the local community groups and institutions by giving direct control over project design, planning, implementation and monitoring (Haider, 2009). This, therefore, means that the peace process is not the preserve of those in the corridors of power alone but involves the empowerment of communities ravaged by war and violence. This according to Ramsbotham et al. (2005: 216) enhances and consolidates the chances of building sustainable peace. Describing the involvement of community members in the Life and Peace Institute's approach towards peacebuilding in Somalia, Paffenholz (2006) used the term "community-based bottom-up peacebuilding." She posits that the approach underscores the primacy of undertaking an inclusive and participatory process, which empowers the local community to actively participate in the peace process.

Society is not uniform but is constituted by various groups which structurally are at different levels. The different levels of society can be approached differently with different peacebuilding strategies. According to Paffenholz & Spurk (2006), the first level in any society, or what is sometimes called 'track one', is the highest level and it comprises the military, political and religious leaders. Verkoren (2008) says that track one activities are those used in diplomacy or high-level negotiations to prevent or end wars. These strategies have in most cases been implemented by states and UN agencies or International Non-Governmental Organizations who have sufficient or good 'high level' relationships. In most cases in the aftermath of armed conflicts, the preoccupation of peacebuilding practitioners is the strengthening of institutions and structures that make the government strong and accountable to its citizens. "Strengthening government legitimacy and building up the judicial system,

army, and police forces are all generally considered elements of a long-term peacebuilding strategy” (Verkoren, 2008:52).

Peace agreements at ‘track one’ level is typical top bottom which often fail to address deep-rooted issues in society. Taking cognisance of this, ‘track two’ peacebuilding strategies focus on bringing in prominent individuals from the society into the peace process, in order to build a broader base (Verkoren, 2008). The prominent figures comprise the following people: ethnic or religious leaders, academics and intellectuals, leaders of local NGOs and leaders of political parties (Paffenholz & Spurk, 2006; Verkoren, 2008). At this level, the peacebuilding discourse is often led by NGOs, and sometimes in collaboration with UN agencies. Activities range from “consultations, workshops and dialogues in which representatives of different sides in a conflict are involved... institutional development of local NGOs, media, and other potential checks and balances” (Verkoren, 2008: 53).

Oda (2007) calls this ‘track two or citizens’ diplomacy’ which is said to be relevant to the concept of peacebuilding from below. Track two diplomacy is defined by Davis and Kaufman (2002:2) as:

the bringing together of professionals, opinion leaders or other currently or potentially influential individuals from communities in conflict, without official representative status, to work together to understand better the dynamics underlying the conflict and how its transformation from violence (or potential violence) to a collaborative process of peacebuilding and sustainable development might be promoted.

The middle-range and grassroots members of affected society have been called by Oda (2007) peacebuilding from below. He defines peacebuilding from below as “practices by non-state actors utilising various resources, to create amicable relationships with national, ethnic, racial, religious or political others and to build a social structure which is able to promote a sustainable” (Oda, 2007: 7). The term non-state actors mean in this context neither transnational corporations nor big international NGOs, but local, grassroots members of the affected community. That the local community takes centre stage when building peace from below means that the peace process is community or society based.

Track three peacebuilding is the last level, which focuses on the majority of the population at the grassroots, ‘the ordinary people’ (Paffenholz, 2006, Verkoren, 2008). The strategies at this level are dominated by NGOs, and which work in collaboration with local authorities and the

national government. The concern at this level is dominated by issues of inter-communal hatred, discrimination, unequal opportunities, poverty, and trauma. The interventions reach a wide range of peacebuilding approaches, such as peace education, the reintegration of former combatants, training of community mediators, local peace commissions and community dialogue projects, just to name a few (Paffenholz, 2006, Verkoren, 2008).

The importance of local people or community in peacebuilding is emphasized by (Lederach, 1997) in his conceptual model which highlights the potential local people possess for peace. Lederach formulated a pyramid model outlining the three levels of peacebuilding more or less similar to the three tracks of society as enunciated by (Paffenholz, 2006, Verkoren, 2008). The pyramid consists three categories or levels: Level 1 (top leadership-military, political or religious leaders); Level 2 (middle-range leadership-leaders respected in sectors such as religion, academia and humanitarian organisations) and Level 3 (grassroots leadership-local leaders, leaders of indigenous NGOs, community developers, local health officials etc.). The broad base of the pyramid emphasizes the centrality of the grassroots players in peacebuilding efforts. Peacebuilding from below can be broadly be defined as “practice by local non-state actors, utilizing various resources to create amicable relationships with national, ethnic, racial, religious, of political others, and to build a social structure which is able to promote a sustainable” (Santana, 2009:27). The community is necessary to identify the needs of the people and how they wish those needs to be addressed. Moreover, empowerment of communities is an activity that should consider the participation of the very communities in the empowerment matrix. For this study which sought to interrogate the empowerment and development of the youth, participation of the very youth as individuals and communities is paramount. This makes the community-based approach to peacebuilding ideal and very relevant for the study.

4.6.1 Community-based peacebuilding and the Zimbabwe context.

Experiences from Zimbabwe highlight the serious limitations of top-down approaches to peacebuilding. Depriving communities of participation in any peace process, especially the participation of victims, make any mechanism for peacebuilding fail to achieve its objectives. In the three outstanding attempts to achieve peacebuilding in Zimbabwe, the parties concerned were naïve to believe that peacebuilding could be imposed from the top. Without full participation of communities, the Lancaster House of 1979, the Unity Accord of 1987 and the Global Political Agreement of 2008 failed on their mandate to achieve sustainable peace. The

three arrangements were associations of the powerful, and only managed to serve the limited political purpose of ending violence but failed largely on the most important goal of achieving peace.

The top-down approaches to peacebuilding in Zimbabwe, never considered the victim's rights perspective. The arrangements were dominated by the major focus on broader political and geo-political economic considerations which do not necessarily favour the rights and needs of the victims. Political elites have vested interests in post-conflict mechanisms which do not necessarily serve the needs of the ordinary people. What has happened in Zimbabwe over the years highlights how the political elites have hijacked the peace process for the sake of self-preservation. In arguing for a grassroots based approach to peacebuilding in Zimbabwe, Thomson & Jazdowska (2012:77) point out that:

...local communities hold the key to a more inclusive and sustainable restorative justice process in Zimbabwe (and elsewhere). The more people that participate in, and benefit from, a transitional justice programme, the broader the 'ownership' generated, and the more chance there is that outcomes will be sustained. Transitional justice, and its content, should not therefore be the sole preserve of international lawyers, human rights NGOs /or national politicians, as it so often is. Instead, alongside these aforementioned practitioners, those who suffered politically motivated violence also need to participate in policy formulation and decision-making.

In a recent gesture of top-down peacebuilding in Zimbabwe through ONHRI, the organ was said to be riddled with serious corruption and abuse of funds. According to Muchemwa et al (2013: 154) members of ONHRI were accused of turning the organ's funds for personal use and of living a lavish lifestyle at the expense of the victims of the conflict. This is probably the greatest weakness of state-centric, top-down approaches carried out by state bureaucracies. The organ spent considerable funds for the salaries, benefits and allowances for the organ's co-ministers. These resources could have made considerable impact in initiating and establishing community cohesion projects. "Top-down approaches are thus top heavy, requiring enormous financial outlays that do not necessarily flow to the communities or meet any needs of the victims or survivors" (Muchemwa et al., 2013: 154).

The closest Zimbabwe came towards peacebuilding from below was during the Government of National Unity (GNU). During this time, leaders of different church denominations

assembled to ponder on the role of the church during the time of political tension. These deliberations gave birth to the Ecumenical Church Leaders Forum (ECLF), which was given the mandate to engage religious and community leaders across the spectrum of the country to promote local peace dialogues and outreach. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Zimbabwe initiated collaboration with ECLF in 2009 to develop the skills of especially the clergy in conflict prevention, management, resolution and transformation (UNDP, 2014). As a result of this capacity-building, ECLF facilitated community dialogues for peace and social cohesion that brought together traditional leaders, political parties, police and local council leaders. UNDP also facilitated collaboration among ECLF and national stakeholders, such as the ONHRI to develop a more coordinated approach to peace and reconciliation in Zimbabwe (UNDP, 2014). However, this initiative was overshadowed by the continued polarisation in the GNU which ultimately resulted in the lack of co-operation among parties in the ONHRI.

Peacebuilding from below as enunciated by Lederach offers a theoretical framework of community-based peacebuilding. This kind of peacebuilding is very relevant to the scope and context of Zimbabwe. According to Miall (2004:6), the strength of the holistic peacebuilding pyramid is that it broadens the options for peacebuilding by involving all parties at all levels in society. Lederach postulates that the grassroots often bear the brunt of the conflict whenever a conflict erupts and hence should participate in the resolution of the very conflict. Lederach's observation holds true especially in the context of Zimbabwe. As argued above, peacebuilding strategies in post-colonial Zimbabwe have all been top-down. Though the efficacy of Lederach's peacebuilding from below is disputed in some quarters, it however offers a salient conceptual guide. Lederach's model does not disqualify those at the highest level of society to participate in the peace processes but acknowledges their role in providing policy and leadership direction. The domineering argument in Lederach's model though, is that the grassroots must own the peace process. Local ownership has the added advantage of being culturally grounded in the local context (Makwerere, 2017). Tschirgi (2004: 17) notes that peace cannot be superimposed by external actors but rather it must be a product of the domestic processes and grounded in the local political context.

According to Killick (2005:3) as cited by Makwerere (2017), local ownership of the peace process is important because it gives the chance for reforms to be in line with the local circumstances, priorities and political realities. Again, participation gives the community some

sense of ownership of the process and will regard the changes as being their own. This is quite crucial in Zimbabwe considering that all attempts at peacebuilding in the past have largely been driven from the top. This kind of set up has often missed the interests and needs of communities who have often been regarded as objects of change.

4.7 Human needs theory

Within the arena of conflict and peace studies, one of the fundamental issues has always been the underlying sources of conflict. The root causes of conflict and violence should be known in order to comprehensively address the problem. One theory which considers the roots of conflict is the Human Needs Theory. What makes the human needs theory so crucial here, is that the theory is perceived as an explanation behind human behaviour and actions (Askorov, 2011:161). John Burton is lauded as the fore theorist of human needs who has attempted to conceptualise the relationship between human needs theory and conflict. The history of human needs theory is long and complex; it can be traced through disciplines such as philosophy, theology and sociology. The theory is associated with the work of other scholars such as Abraham Maslow, Marshall Rosenberg, John Galtung and Manfred Max-Neef (Avruch, 2013: 46; Danielsen, 2005:3; Kok, 2008:248) – See Table 4.1. However, for the purposes of the current study, human needs theory as expounded by John Burton (1990) shall be given the bulk of the attention. Human needs as expounded by other conflict theorists given above shall be outlined though.

4.7.1 Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs

Human needs has variously been explored and elaborated by various scholars but the importance and role of human needs in human life was initially delineated by the American Psychologist Abraham Maslow who proposed a hierarchy (Bukhari et al. 2015). Maslow argues that every individual in different spheres and levels try to meet his needs at any given time (Danielson, 2005:3). He developed a hierarchy of needs which he presented through a pyramid indicating the importance of the order of human needs. Maslow's seminal theory was later adopted by John Burton, Marshall Rosenberg and Manfred Max-Neef. Acknowledging Maslow, Burton asserted that "...such studies of human behaviour that cut across separate disciplines was a prerequisite to the development of conflict resolution" (Burton, 1990:102).

Discussing human needs, Abraham Maslow devised a hierarchy and presented human needs in terms of priority placing physiological needs at the base of the hierarchy and self-actualisation

needs at the apex (Maslow, 1987). His argument which he presented in the hierarchical order of needs is that not all needs are equally important; some needs are more urgent than others. According to Maslow, human needs can be placed into five categories and these are universal to mankind. Among them, food, water, shelter and those needs which sustain human life, are the most fundamental and primary needs. These needs are the most fundamental and primary in Maslow's hierarchy and are overarching in the motivation of employees. Once these needs are satisfied, humanity start to crave for other needs. The new needs that will appear according to Maslow are safety needs. These needs include: "security, stability, dependency, protection, freedom from fear, anxiety and chaos, need for structure, order, law and limits" (Maslow, 1987:18). When these needs are thwarted the common result and reaction is the easier acceptance of dictatorship or military rule.

The satisfaction of physiological and safety needs results in the emergence of a new set of needs which border on love, affection and belongingness. If these needs are frustrated loneliness, rejection, friendlessness and rootlessness creep in. But for any society to be healthy and functional, it must strive to satisfy these needs (Maslow, 1987:20). If the foregoing needs are satisfied, they are followed by a new set of needs; esteem needs. This is an expression of the person's desire for "self-respect, self-esteem and for the esteem of others" (Maslow, 1987:21). Maslow argues again that the frustration of these needs breeds "feelings of inferiority, weakness, and helplessness" (Maslow, 1987:21). The last set of needs on Maslow's hierarchy is the category of self-actualisation. These needs are the highest level of a person's achievement. They entail what an individual should be doing. The difference of Maslow's hierarchy of needs to Burton's human needs is that the two view the needs serving different purposes in human lives. Burton views human needs as providing answers to human behaviour, Maslow on the other hand saw the theory of human needs as a theory of human motivation (Steinmeyer, 2017).

Maslow's hierarchy of needs can be illustrated in the following pyramidal presentation:

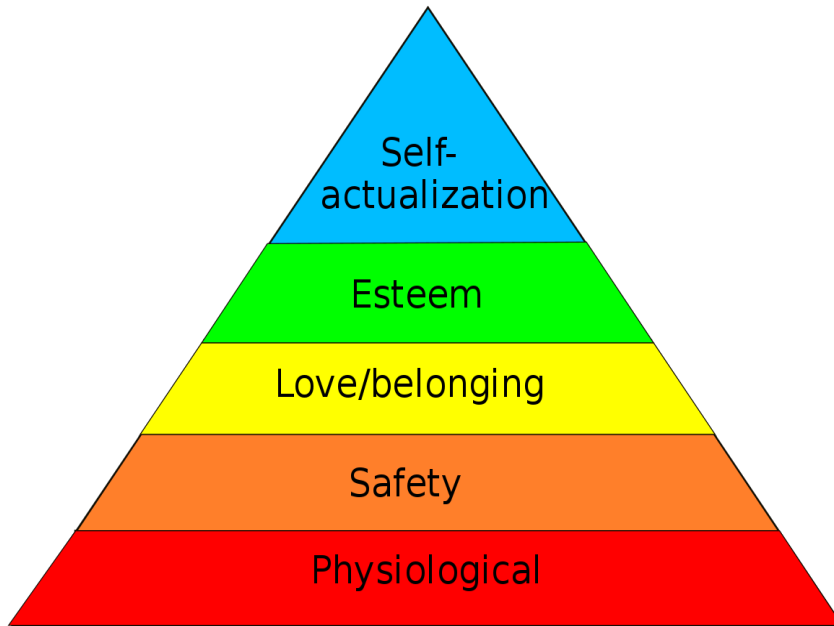


Figure 4.2: Maslow's Hierarchy of needs

Adapted from: Maslow (1987:183)

4.7.2 Galtung's understanding of human needs

Galtung, as one of the conflict theorists also made his contribution towards the theory of human needs and its place in the discourse of conflict. He proposed a list of basic human needs which include security needs, identity needs, and freedom needs (Galtung 1990b). Galtung argues that the list of needs often given has a Western inclination hence was relevant to discuss the problems of Western societies. He, however, gives an idea of universal needs which when frustrated instigates and exacerbates ethnic conflict. All human beings have security needs which translate to needs against assault, torture, and wars, both local and international. To these needs, (Galtung 1990b) elaborated the satisfiers of say security needs as the police and the military. Over and above the earlier set of needs, (Galtung 1990b) adds another crucial set of needs as welfare needs. This he explains as needs for protection against climate, environment; needs for protection against diseases; and needs for nutrition, water, air, sleep, etc.

4.7.3 Marshall Rosenberg

Rosenberg gave a universalistic approach to the doctrine of human needs. He asserts meeting human needs is paramount to the survival and well-being of individuals. Rosenberg groups the

needs in sub-groups and he acknowledges that his list is not exhaustive, and some other needs exist beyond his definition. Like Burton, Rosenberg claimed that no need is more important than the other. However, this study argues that the needs of participation, recognition, self-esteem, personal fulfilment and distributive justice matter most to the youth for these tend to determine their destiny in this life. Recognition includes the recognition of one's identity and recognition from the others; family and community. Personal development includes a dimension of personal fulfilment, or in other words the need to reach one's potential in all areas of life. These are issues which matter in the lives of young people not only in Zimbabwe but the world over. These needs according to Doucey (2011) are naturally fulfilled by the community, or through the policies, public goods, and services provided by the state. He states that the education which people attain and their culture often hinders people from connecting with their real needs (Danielsen, 2005). Rosenberg devised a model in which he suggests that people can connect their own and other's needs and has used this approach severally in the mediation effort in countries around the world.

4.7.4 Manfred Max-Neef

Manfred Max-Neef is a Chilean economist who also proposed his own list of universal human needs. Through his list of human needs Max-Neef suggests that the world can achieve human development and peaceful societies (Danielsen, 2005). His proposal of human needs, Max-Neef has called it Human Scale Development has said that it is

focused and based on the satisfaction of fundamental human needs, on the generation of growing levels of self-reliance, and on the construction of organic articulations of people with nature and technology, of global processes with local activity, of the personal with the social, of planning with autonomy and of civil society with state (Max-Neef, Manfred. On human needs and human scale development. Available on <http://www.raiforestinfo.org.au/background/maxneef.htm>).

Max-Neef follows the thinking of Rosenberg and Burton and agrees that there is no need which is superior to the other; they are all complementary, interrelated, interactive and essential to human life. Both Rosenberg and Max-Neef mention the importance of distinguishing and separating needs from strategies or what they call satisfiers. They claimed that needs are universal and non-negotiable, satisfiers are cultural, contextual, specific and negotiable.

Table 4.1: Human needs as presented by various theorists

Abraham Maslow	John Burton	Marshall Rosenburg	Manfred Max-Neef
Food, water and shelter (1)	Distributive justice	Physical nurturance	Subsistence
Safety and security (2)	Safety and security	Independence	Protection
Belonging and love (3)	Belongingness, love	Integrity	Affection
Self-esteem (4)	Self-esteem	Autonomy	Understanding
Personal-fulfilment (5)	Personal fulfilment	Play	Creation
	Identity	Celebration and mourning	Identity
	Cultural security	Spiritual communion	Leisure, idleness
	Freedom		Freedom
	Participation		Participation

Adapted from (Danielson, 2005:5)

4.7.5 The key constructs of Burton’s human needs theory

Though Abraham Maslow and other theorists of human needs are credited for their contribution to the architecture of the theory of human needs, it was John Burton who consistently and progressively utilised this paradigm to conceptualise the nexus between human needs and conflict transformation (Bukhari, et al. 2015). Burton’s human needs theory is underpinned by the philosophical understanding that all human beings have universal human needs which should be satisfied to guarantee peaceful co-existence in society (Danielson, 2005:4). His is a “theory of human behaviour that argues that the human being...has certain needs that are basic, that are not malleable, and that must be satisfied if there is to be individual development leading to conforming behaviour” (Burton, 1990:33).

The theory holds that in an environment where the “people’s basic psychological and physiological needs are neglected”, conflict and violence is bound to take place (Ikejauku & Dauda, 2011:61). Burton writing in 1979 and 1990 postulated that there is a correlation

between satisfaction of human needs and social cohesion or harmony. Burton further asserts that though people are diverse in race and beliefs, they, however, have identical values and homogenous aims (Burton, 1987) and they will do anything to satisfy their needs (Burton, 1979). From his 1987 work, Burton developed the notion of universal socio-biological values which he asserts proffer explanations of human behaviour in different set-ups. Again, in collaboration with Sandole, Burton presented a complete universalistic and biologically based human needs theory. This theory argues that the fundamental drives and motivations that resist negotiation and suppression are based on universal and generic basic needs and these direct human behaviour (Burton & Sandole, 1986). This line of thought comes in the wake of Rehnson's (1977) postulation that needs have a serious ramification on how reality is perceived and organised. This follows that within a given framework of reality, behavioural activities or actions are influenced by given needs (Rehnson, 1977).

Despite the complexities of human behaviour, human needs is the underpinning explanation of the association and interaction of humanity, hence structures in society must be in tandem with individual needs (Coate and Rosati, 1988). As one of the fore thinkers of "the conceptualisation and theorisation of basic human needs, John Burton identifies a set of needs which he considers indispensable in the resolution, transformation and prevention of conflict" (Danesh, 2011:63; Griffiths, 2013:55). John Burton identifies very encompassing human needs which are not limited to material needs like "food, clothing and shelter but also entail psychological needs such as safety and security, distributive justice, recognition, identity, self-esteem, belongingness, personal fulfilment, freedom and personal development" (Burton, 1993:13; Danesh, 2011:63). The neglect of these needs argues Avruch (2013:41), is motivation for protracted conflict. Owing to its potential to explain conflict causation, human needs theory has gained the confidence and interest of conflict theorists (Avruch, 2013).

According to Burton (1993:13), psychological needs are paramount and are superior to physiological needs like food and shelter. Their indispensability to humanity is non-negotiable and they cannot be suppressed because concerned groups or individuals will pursue them at all costs. These non-negotiable needs often result in destructive social conflicts and they include "security, identity, personal development and recognition" (Kok, 2008:248). Burton (1997: 32) posits that:

...there are certain ontological human needs that will be pursued, that they provide a power greater police and military power, that they lead the individual and identity

group to defy compliance requirements, and that they explain and even justify in some circumstances anti-social and violent behaviours.

So psychological needs over and above subsistence needs are important and fundamental to the well-being of humanity, hence should not be alienated in the resolution of conflicts. That some basic human needs are non-negotiable is the explanation behind the failure of negotiation to end some conflicts (Avruch, 2013:42). Individuals and groups who perceive that their basic human needs are being frustrated resort to violence to redress the situation and satisfy their needs (Kok, 2008:248).

The human needs theory identifies basic human needs whose neglect drives individuals or groups into violent and obstinate conflict. Under circumstances of suppression of basic human needs, no amount of intimidation or deterrent measures can withhold groups or individuals from pursuing what they consider to be their basic human needs (Abu-Nimer & Kadayifci, 2011:1139). Because of this, at the heart of any peacebuilding intervention should be the idea of meeting human needs: “for security and order, for a reasonable standard of living, and for recognition of identity and worthy” (Evans, 1993:39). Burton (1997:19) further argues that “when basic needs are denied, individuals are prepared to go to extreme lengths to defy systems in order to pursue their deeply felt needs, even death by suicide bombing or by hunger strike”. Giving examples from the Palestinian suicide bombers, Kriesberg (2010:2) posits that people sometimes can offer their lives in exchange for the pursuit of their group identity. This defines the behaviour of the Palestinian suicide bombers in the never-ending Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Burton (1993:17) cites another interesting illustration that by nature humanity wants recognition by oneself and by others as strong, competent, and capable. Failure to accord this recognition can cause bitterness and unusual behaviour (especially violent behaviour). So, Burton equates need with drives because both demand satisfaction at any cost despite the consequences (Vayrynen, 2001:6).

The foregoing arguments highlight that human needs theory emphasises the satisfaction of the basic needs and failure to satisfy these needs agitates “an inclination towards hostility and belligerence” (Staub, 2003:1). Collective fears generated by the denial of basic needs, can lead to violent episodes, as the affected people try to secure the necessities of life so as to resolve the apparent injustices (Doucey, 2011:5). According to Burton’s human needs theory, if people are denied the physiological and psychological needs, they usually resort to violent means in order to reclaim such needs (Ikejauku, 2009:16). This indicates that when an individual’s “basic

needs are deprived, it leads to abnormal and deviant behaviours that results in deep-rooted conflicts” (Ozcelik, 2006:139). So, in proposing human needs, John Burton wanted those in positions of authority and related institutions in society to ascertain that the people’s needs and demands are satisfied for authorities to remain legitimate (Griffiths, 1999:107).

What can be deduced from the theory of human needs is that underpinning the survival and well-being of human beings are the essentials of life like food, water and shelter (Danielsen, 2005:3). The theory clearly submits that the lack of institutions that address people’s basic needs is a source of intractable conflict (Griffiths, 2013:62). Kriesberg (2010:5) further asserts that under such circumstances, it is paramount to understand people’s basic needs because the frustration of these needs is the source of the majority of conflicts. Through his human needs theory, Burton calls for the satisfaction of all the parties’ needs in a conflict in order to successfully resolve the conflict (Hall, 2004:18). According to Fisher (1997:247), “John Burton’s human needs theory demonstrates that deprivations or denial of basic needs especially security, identity, recognition, and development will breed protracted social conflicts that are highly resistant to de-escalation”. An understanding of the human needs theory therefore is essential to the resolution of protracted conflicts and the building of peaceful relationships between members of the conflicting groups (Griffiths, 2013:61).

Following the same argument as given above, Askerov (2011:161) posits that the theme of human needs theory is that all human beings have certain fundamental needs that if frustrated can be a source of conflict. The theory of human needs is based on one fundamental foundation that the meeting of human needs is the solution to resolving and transforming conflicts. It follows therefore that from a human needs theoretical framework, conflict resolution needs “to be conceived of as the satisfaction of basic human needs” (Avruch, 2013:42). The theory is therefore relevant in resolving conflicts because it offers valuable insights into the sources of conflict and proffers strategies for the resolution and transformation of these conflicts (Danielsen, 2005:4). It is, therefore, the argument of this current study that the human needs theory as propounded by John Burton is relevant to and can be used to trace and explain the root causes of the ongoing conflict in Zimbabwe and help in developing plausible strategies for the building of peace. The human needs theory does not only provide a holistic analysis of conflict situations but proffers a contextual analysis of the root causes of a conflict. The theory speaks into the objectives of the study. The study principally sought to establish how the issues of empowerment and development-which to all intents and purposes are matters of human

security-are linked to the discourse of peacebuilding. The domineering argument for this study is that the youth have continued to be active in conflict, in particular, political violence, despite the empowerment and development programmes in place for them. The human needs theory will aid in examining the degree to which the youth programmes have been meeting the needs of the youth. However, the theory is not without its weaknesses. The next section deals with the limitations of the human needs theory.

4.7.6 Limitations of the human needs theory

As alluded earlier, Burton's human needs theory is not without its own shortcomings. Prominent among its weaknesses is its failure to clearly define what is meant by human needs (Danielsen, 2005:7). The concept of human needs is very broad, and Burton has failed to give it a concise definition. The lack of conceptual clarity is a challenge that proponents of the human needs theory continue to grapple with even up to today. The fore thinkers of the human needs theory such as Abraham Maslow, John Burton, and Johan Galtung are not in agreement in what constitute the basic human needs (Ozcelik, 2006:139). While Maslow identifies five needs which he places in a hierarchy, Burton and Galtung have inflated the number of these needs to nine and twelve respectively and have paid particular emphasis on the needs of security and identity (Ozcelik, 2006:139). Related to this is the identification of the sources of needs and determining the most important needs. This art of scaling and prioritising certain needs over others will always generate a lot of controversy (Avruch, 2013:46). Kok (2008:253) argues that in a conflict setting, it is not easy for belligerents to come to a consensus on the common needs and how these can be addressed to the satisfaction of the all the parties.

Despite the inherent and apparent weaknesses, John Burton's human needs theory remains a significant and ingenious way of resolving conflicts and establishing peace. The theory's emphasis on the importance of fundamental needs which are universal, hence paramount in the resolution of conflicts, gives an interesting dimension in the resolution of conflicts and establishing peace notably positive peace. The study found the theory very relevant to Zimbabwe, a country which has lived in negative peace for a larger part of its independent history. Several previous attempts to establish peace in Zimbabwe have only gone as far as negative peace.

4.7.7 Burton's human needs paradigm and the Zimbabwean context

The usefulness of the human needs theory as a mechanism for understanding the origins, resolution and transformation of conflict has been underlined by Ikejiaku and Dauda (2011:61). Despite its weaknesses, the theory has emerged as a very useful and distinctive tool to analyse social problems in the few preceding decades. This theory provides a framework to understand the sources of conflict and in the process gives clues to resolve the conflict. The fundamental human needs as enunciated by Burton are distributive justice, safety and security, belongingness, self-esteem, personal fulfilment, identity, cultural security, freedom, and participation. The situation in Zimbabwe is an expression of a coterie of divergences about different activities which all add up to the neglect of human needs by the government. These divergences include differences about the allocation of resources, centralisation of power and undemocratic political structure in general. The human needs theory is useful to identify the needs of the youth in Zimbabwe and explore how the satisfaction of these needs can contribute to the peace process. There are claims that there has been a continuous neglect of the needs of the youth in Zimbabwe by the ZANU-PF led government since independence.

Doucey (2011:5) gives an overview of the significance of the human needs theory to conflict management and ultimately peacebuilding. She highlights that the theory provides a fundamental analysis of the collective needs and fears and this helps in resolving deep causes of lingering and violent conflicts. Ikejiaku and Dauda (2011:65) argue that human needs theory demonstrates the origin of aggression and violence and alludes that these are products of societal institutions and norms with human needs. Because the fulfilment of human needs is the responsibility of governments, governments of different states should work towards the provision of basic human needs for its citizens to avert deep rooted conflicts. The theory, therefore, serves to remind governments and related institutions of the universality and non-negotiability of basic human needs and that their fulfilment is imperative for the establishment of positive peace (Ikejauku, 2009:16). In the Zimbabwe context, Burton's human needs theory is useful for it helps to trace why Zimbabwe has remained in conflict mood for this long despite several endeavours to establish peace. The issue of basic human needs and the failure of the government to address them, is imbedded in the dynamics of the conflict in Zimbabwe (Ikejiaku and Dauda, 2011:61). Governance issues which include misrule, mismanagement and poor resource allocation and utilisation are given as some of the reasons why the Zimbabwean government has failed to fulfil the people's basic human needs.

Literature on Zimbabwe is replete with the failure of the government over the years to meet the human needs of its people. Writing in 2012, the World Food Programme highlighted the reduction of life expectancy at birth and the level of poverty which has gripped Zimbabwe. Life expectancy stood at 54, 4 at birth; people living on less than US\$1, 25 per day constituted 56, 11 percent and 72 percent of the population lived below the poverty datum line. This was exacerbated by the growing and escalating poverty, high unemployment and food insecurity (UNDP, 2011:61). Mills (2011:9-10) found out that poverty is chronic in Zimbabwe and eight people in every ten are living in destitution. Given this scenario, the views of Ikejauku (2009:16) are more salient here. He posits that governments cannot maintain stability and peace where the majority of the populations live under conditions of poverty. Given the depth of poverty in Zimbabwe and conditions of fragility, the establishment of peace is not possible without addressing the people's basic needs. Moreover, poverty in Zimbabwe is aggravated by the widespread unemployment particularly among the youth and this has worsened the situation of human needs.

4.8 Chapter summary

The chapter considered the conceptual issues that might have informed the study as well as the main theories guiding this study. The chapter highlighted the theories which are so common with the studies of youth and violence; youth bulge and the crisis theories. It, however, explained that the theories do not fit in the situation obtaining in Zimbabwe currently. The chapter further outlined the theories that informed this current study. It traced the evolution of the human needs theory and the community based approach to peacebuilding. The two theories focus on the new conception of peace which places human beings at the centre of any peace process. A peace process which prioritises human security and which considers the needs of the affected communities is said to be more durable and sustainable. The two theories of community-based peacebuilding and the human needs theory fit well in the Zimbabwe context. They come against a background of previous attempts by the Zimbabwe authorities in trying to build peace from above. The theories advocate for the needs of the local communities and their active involvement in the identification of these needs. These are seen as salient ingredients in the establishment of positive peace which peace this study seeks to establish.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter is an elaboration on the theoretical framework of the present study and review of related literature. It does not only serve as the theoretical foundations of the study but also provides orientation on how the study should proceed. Guided by the foregoing chapters, this chapter presents an outline of research design and methodology adopted in this thesis. In fact, research by its very nature is informed by some underlying philosophical assumptions which validate it. These assumptions dictate the research methods fit for generating knowledge in every study. To conduct any research, it is crucial to elucidate the philosophical assumptions and the design strategies underpinning the concerned study. So, the chapter first outlines the philosophies which underpin the approach taken, examining the positivist and interpretivist stance and justify the choice of a pragmatist approach. In broader terms, this involves the setting out of the underlying assumptions guiding the research process and justify the methodology. The philosophical assumptions which feed into the pragmatist paradigm have been discussed: positivism and post-positivism and the interpretive paradigms.

Research is broad and the scientific tools available for investigating social phenomena are diverse hence justification should be given for the choice of given tools. That epistemological and ontological assumptions underpinning different methods also differ, the research context determine their suitability for investigating social phenomena (Fraser, 2011). Owing to this view, this study was informed by a new but increasingly growing world perspective of mixed methods. Arising out of the belief that neither quantitative nor qualitative paradigm is sufficient to provide answers to a given phenomenon, mixed methods emerged as an innovative research design which sought to offset the weaknesses of the other paradigm.

It is the goal of this study to identify and explain how the various youth empowerment projects in Zimbabwe have aided the peacebuilding process. This study utilises a mixed methods approach, which brings together in the same study the paradigms of quantitative and qualitative methods during different phases of the research process (Fraser, 2011). Literature reveals increased use and consideration of mixed methods research (MMR) in social sciences (Thaler, 2017). The study which looks at the complex implementation of youth development and empowerment programmes and their relevance in building positive peace can only be sufficiently addressed by the simultaneous use of quantitative and qualitative research methods.

The complexities inherent in the study make it impossible for either method to be sufficient by itself to capture the contexts, trends and dynamics of youth violence in Zimbabwe as well as the intervention which youth empowerment can play in ending this violence. Combining the two, draws from the strengths of each method and permits a more comprehensive and complete analysis of the problem.

Moreover, the chapter discusses research methodologies and design, population of interest, sampling approaches, data collection instruments and analysis methods used thereof. Survey questionnaires and in-depth interviews were used as the main instruments of data collection. These two were the main sources of primary data and they are augmented by non-participatory observation, and secondary data derivable from written government and civil society organisations reports among other sources. Justification for each of the methods used to collect data is given in the sections within the chapter. The study is a descriptive analysis of the youth empowerment programmes and how these have impacted the peace process in Zimbabwe. The study investigated government and civil society initiatives in this regard and seeks to make recommendations to Zimbabwean authorities on how youth development and empowerment programmes can be incorporated into the mainstream of peacebuilding efforts. The overarching hypothesis of this study is that the development and empowerment of the youth can end youth propensity to violence and establish positive and sustainable peace. For this to succeed, the empowerment paradigm should be embedded within the local structures that are attuned to the contexts (relationships, institutions, and persons) of societies.

5.2 Respondents

From a sample of 16 participants, 14 took part in the in-depth interviews. These were made up of: four (4) respondents representing government from the stakeholder Ministry of Youth (District Heads), six (6) respondents from civil society organisations, and four (4) academics from two universities (Bindura University and Great Zimbabwe University). The in-depth interviews were administered among these three (3) different groups with each group responding to the same interview guide and coded. The respondents were coded as follows:

G: Government respondents

C: Civil Society respondents

A: Academia Respondents

The in-depth interviews were supported by survey questionnaires which sampled 400 participants but only 329 questionnaires were completed and returned.

5.3 Research paradigms

Any research should be able to fit into some established and known paradigm or worldview. Paradigm issues are so critical in research that researchers should be clear with which approach to adopt before embarking on any research (Pickard, 2013:5). According to Wagner et al (2011) the most popular approaches are positivism/post-positivism, constructivist/interpretivist, transformative/emancipatory and postcolonial/indigenous approach. However, these have been reduced into two by some scholars that is: positivist (objectivist) and interpretivist (subjectivist) (Locke, Silverman, and Spirduso, 2010: 79; Allan, 2010: 21). This categorisation is considered appropriate for the present study because these two categories fit in the approaches this study adopted.

The term paradigm is linked to the Greek word *paradeigma* which has a literal translation meaning of *pattern*. Thomas Kuhn, an American philosopher is credited for giving the term paradigm its contemporary meaning and application. According to Kuhn (1977), the term paradigm refers to a research culture with a set of beliefs, values, and assumptions that a community of researchers has in common regarding the nature and conduct of research. Since then, the term has become extant in research literature and has been variously defined. Babie (2011:33) says a paradigm is a model or frame of reference that is used to organise how reality is observed. In general, a paradigm is described as a whole system of thinking (Neuman, 2011:94). Research paradigms, therefore, is the source of theoretical, ontological and epistemological assumptions (Blakie, 2010:96).

5.3.1 Positivist paradigm

The origin of positivist research paradigm can be traced to the natural sciences and is associated with hypothesis testing using statistical mechanisms (Creswell 2003:18). Owing to its origin from the natural sciences, positivist paradigm is guided by three principles: reality is objective, the researcher is an independent analyst and that reality can be objectively quantified (Blumberg et al. 2008:20). However, the positivist paradigm has been criticised for its inability to yield “rich understanding of key social issues that directly affect human beings” (Bryman 2003:19).

This philosophy of research was first developed by Rene Descartes in 1637 (Snape & Spencer 2013:5-6). Descartes argued that positivist research promotes objectivity and evidence in research and that researchers in this paradigm should always distance themselves from any influence that could corrupt their analytical capacity. According to the positivist thinking, reality is objective, exists somewhere out there and can be measured scientifically, independent of people's perceptions. Positivists also believe that an "objective reality exists outside personal experiences with its own cause-and-effect relationships" (Babbie & Mouton, 2008:23; Muijs, 2011:4). The argument presented by positivist researchers is that it is possible to adopt a "distant, detached, neutral and non-interactive position" with a phenomenon under investigation (Morris, 2006:3). This kind of position would allow the researcher to assume the stance of objectivity in analysis, allowing making independent interpretations about the data that would have been collected.

The positivist thinking is credited for providing salient statistics so useful to policy makers and for making research fast and economical. It is the conviction of Gratton and Jones (2010:25), that the positivist approach has its own strengths; in particular its precision and objectivity. This naturally arises from its shift towards statistical analysis, thereby eliminating the focus on individual interpretations and views. Because the generation of data under the positivist paradigm is done at one go, and the analysis takes place at the same time, it makes positivist research generally more straightforward in terms of planning. Though social research in the recent past has been dominated by the interpretivist approach, positivism, however, was the major paradigm dominating social research in the past. But more recently, approaches such as post-positivism have become more widespread in social sciences research.

However, the positivist orientation to research has been questioned by some scientists, who have contended that the paradigm poses some serious problems as well as some questionable assumptions. According to Easterby-Smith et al. (2008:71), the methods it advocates are "inflexible, artificial, not very effective to understand the processes, the significance people attach to their actions, and not very helpful when formulating theories". It is the argument of Babbie (2010:42) that all people have elements of subjectivity in the way they act, think and interpret events. This subjectivity is centred on the individual and objectivity is achieved through individual's intersubjective interests. Therefore, the assertion by positivists that reality is always objective is problematic. The positivist paradigm is not singularly suitable for this study because this study sought to understand the key social issues in the youth empowerment

and peacebuilding realms. However, Babbie (2011:44) warns against the complete rejection of the positivist paradigm, noting that they all provide value as complementary perspectives. The different paradigms should be seen as different tools in the hands of the researcher that could be used as and when the situation demands.

5.3.2 Interpretivism

Owing to the weaknesses of positivism, there was a development of other paradigms like interpretivism. The constructivist/interpretivist approach holds that reality is constructed and knowledge is subjective, and its purpose is to understand people's experiences (Wagner et al. 2011). The interpretivist epistemology believes that all knowledge and reality are products of social interaction and are created as humanity interacts with the outside world and reality is attached to the social context (Green, 2017). Blumberg et al. (2008:21) believes that interpretivist paradigm is based on three principles, that is: "the social world is constructed and is given meaning subjectively by people; the researcher is part of what is observed, and research is driven by interests". Because reality is based on the people's perceptions and experiences, interpretivists hold that reality is subjective. Owing to this, there is, therefore, no single reality but rather a multiplicity of realities in the social world which are shaped and enunciated by everyone's epistemological view of the social world. This, according to Green (2017), means that reality and the meaning attached to it is not discovered as argued by the positivist epistemology, but rather it is constructed. So, interpretivists deduce their understanding of the social world through the eyes of the research participants. Interpretive paradigm comprises of qualitative studies.

As has been alluded earlier, the interpretive paradigm is a departure from positivism and its epistemological view of reality is different. To this effect, Bryman and Bell (2007:17), make a very salient observation. They pointed out that, interpretivists are of the view that the subject matter in the social sciences differ significantly from the natural sciences, consequently the study of the social world, therefore, "requires a different logic of research procedure".

Interpretivism can be traced to the work of Max Weber (1864-1920) and Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911). Dilthey posits that science has two distinct branches: the natural sciences and the human sciences. Of interest to his views is his emphasis on the importance of understanding and of studying people's lived experiences which occur within a historical and social setting (Ritchie, et al., 2013). Natural sciences are based on abstract explanation while human sciences

are informed by an understanding of people's lived experiences (De Vos *et al.*, 2011b:8; Neuman, 2011:101). Weber is of the view that as humans try to understand the world, they are constantly engaging in interpreting, creating, defining, justifying and understanding various actions (Babbie & Mouton, 2008:28).

The objective of interpretivism is to explore social phenomena with the view of gaining a comprehensive fathom of the same phenomena from the perspective of the participants. The critical aim of an interpretivist approach is about understanding and interpreting daily human experiences, social interactions and the values placed on these by individuals (Rubin & Babbie, 2010:37). Interpretivists are guided by the belief that social reality is subjective and nuanced because what is determined as truth is shaped by the respondents and their perceptions as well as the researcher's values and aims. Because reality according to interpretivists' view is socially constructed, is complex and continuously changing, qualitative methods are therefore suitable for this kind of approach (Thanh & Thanh, 2015).

Reality is a product of the interpretations which humanity attach to their life in the world. These interpretations which human beings attach to the social world can only be discovered through words, and not exclusively through measurable entities and quantitative analysis (Schwandt, 2007:314-317). The application of quantitative research approaches adopted from the natural sciences cannot explain and attach meaning to the social world. To understand the social world, a research philosophy, different from that advocated by positivists should be adopted. To understand human activity and the relationship of human beings to their environment and the part which human beings play to form the social fabric, interpretivists seek the use of qualitative methods.

From the foregoing, it is apparent that the interpretive approach for a considerable period, existed as a challenge to positivism (Neuman, 2006:94). Notwithstanding the embrace of the interpretive paradigm by some positivist social researchers who have accepted the interpretive approach, only a handful consider it to be fully scientific (Gephart, 1999:5). For the interpretivist, the following holds true: knowledge and meaning emerge from interpretations, most of which are subjective and linked to human ideas and thought. Subjectivity then is varied ideas and understanding in human beings which results in different realities.

5.3.3 Pragmatism

Pragmatism is another branch of research paradigm which has not been embroiled in the philosophical debate of positivism and interpretivism (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). This paradigm provides the philosophical rationale that compels the mixing of qualitative and quantitative models of research into a single study. Research questions lay at the heart of the pragmatist tradition and they determine the kind of framework to adopt. Pragmatists argue that ontology and epistemology just provide the continuum; they are not stand-alone philosophies. Pragmatist researchers believe that objectivist (positivism) and subjectivist (interpretivism) are research philosophies which are not mutually exclusive, but a mixture of ontology, epistemology and axiology is acceptable to have a comprehensive understanding of social phenomena (Wahyuni, 2012). The mixture of both qualitative and quantitative data helps pragmatist researchers to fathom better social reality.

The proponents of mixed methods have frequently adopted the philosophy of pragmatism. In peacebuilding, “pragmatism is a philosophy rooted in common sense which emphasises on what works and is dedicated to the transformation of culture, to the resolution of the conflicts that divide people” (Maxcy, 2003:54). The assertion of Maxcy, (2003:54) approves the use of the formulation or combination of research methods that best meet the needs of the research question and, by extension, a combination of research methods that best serve the interests of society. In simpler terms, pragmatism is the belief in research that advocates the adoption of methods and strategies that work to achieve the desired result. As an underlying philosophy for inquiry, pragmatism allows researchers to choose among the different models of inquiry as research questions being addressed guide and determine which methods best suit the scenario (Morgan, 2007). This means that certain research questions are best addressed using qualitative analysis while others are best answered by quantitative methods.

Though debate still rages on concerning the ontological and epistemological depth of pragmatism to provide foundational basis for MMR, pragmatism has continued to dominate as a paradigm tool for researchers who combine qualitative and quantitative research. To integrate the two approaches of quantitative and qualitative research provides a serious challenge to researchers. However, scholars have endeavoured to give substance to pragmatism and demonstrate how it both can be useful philosophically and methodologically for MMR (Biesta, 2010; Morgan, 2007; Onwuegbuzie, Johnson, & Collins, 2009). Pragmatism gives the researcher the room to make decisions and take actions in response to arising challenges.

Under conditions of conflict, researchers are confronted with the dilemma that they must practically find ways that will solve the conflict, based on structurally created habit. The study of conflict and peacebuilding is frequently divided between the micro level-individual or community-level experiences and processes-and the macro level -larger scale trends and patterns. While the micro level has traditionally been investigated using qualitative methods and the macro with quantitative, this has changed as better data have become available on violence at the individual and community levels. No matter which method is used at which level, though, a more complete understanding of violence results if we can integrate micro and macro explanations.

5.4 Research methodology and methods

Research is a double-thronged exercise, it encompasses both theory and method (actions). It is imperative therefore from the onset to clarify these issues. Theory, according to Neuman (2000), is an explicit framework which guides and leads the way in which data should be collected. Methodology, on the other hand, is an outline of how theory should proceed. Methodology includes accounts of the general structure of the theory how it finds its application in particular scientific disciplines. Methodology, therefore, entails issues of procedures and processes of knowing to collect data. Leedy and Omrod (2005:12) “consider research methodology to be a general approach a researcher” takes when conducting a research project. But research methodology is viewed by some writers as synonymous to research design. Lapan, Quartaroli, and Riemer (2012:1) weigh in and said that methodologies consist of complete designs and frameworks which are employed to conduct a research study. It is imperative therefore to note that methodology informs the choice of research methods to adopt for a given study. Research methods is so broad that it also includes data collection tools and techniques (Silverman, 2013:124).

The study shall be guided by the pragmatist approach for data collection and analysis. Pragmatism is a philosophy which encourages researchers to look at the research problem and use all approaches available to provide answers to the problem (Creswell, 2014). The study shall draw from both quantitative and qualitative paradigms (mixed methods). Creswell and Plano Clark (2011:21) posit that a methodological triangulation of the two paradigms provides the most complete analysis of problems. The logic for the adoption of the two methodologies was to increase the validity and reliability of the data collected. This shall be discussed in detail later in the chapter (section 5.4.3.1).

5.4.1 Qualitative methods

Qualitative research approach can be described as a form of inquiry which is replete with quotations, descriptions and narrations, because the motive of researchers is to capture experiences, dialogues, opinions, meanings and accounts given to events by participants. In this type of research words instead of numbers matter a lot (Willis, 2008:40). Hence, the preoccupation of a qualitative approach of inquiry is non-statistical methods and small samples, often selected through purposive sampling (Delpont & De Vos, 2011:65). The researcher collects “words, images, everyday experiences and instruments which normally have open ended questions” (Ivankova et al. 2016:309). By its very nature qualitative research according to Barbour (2008: 15), provides more details about a given phenomenon than quantitative research. It is the conviction of Rubin (2008) and Silverman (2013: 11) “that qualitative research is appropriate for investigating human behaviour and perception”. One of the objectives of this present study is to investigate the perceptions of participants about the youth empowerment programmes in the country and their implications on the behaviour of the youth.

Researchers who use the qualitative approach have identified the following as the common attributes of qualitative research:

- Qualitative research is often conducted in natural settings that is the researcher is an instrument of data collection who gathers usually words and analyses them inductively, focussing mainly on the meanings attached by participants. Kumar (2011: 57) noted that qualitative inquiry often uses inductive reasoning.
- Qualitative research usually produces thick volumes of extensive descriptive data. Qualitative researchers often are inclined to present their data in form of descriptions of phenomenon, rather than in form of numbers.
- Emphasis in qualitative research is placed on the process of data collection and analysis rather than on product.
- The search for meaning is important in qualitative research as it focuses on how people understand and give meaning to their reality.

- Unlike quantitative research concerns itself primarily with numerical data, qualitative research deals with words and their phenomenological interpretation, which inextricably tie in with human senses and subjectivity.

5.4.2 Quantitative approach

Quantitative research approach concerns itself with the gathering and analysis of numeric data. According to Kumar (2011: 103) quantitative research designs “are specific, well structured, have been tested for their validity and reliability, and can be explicitly defined and recognised”. According Parker (2011: 36) a quantitative approach involves the production of quantifiable data. Payne (2011: 13) notes that in quantitative research the quantification of data generally occurs “in a wide range of research and analysis”. Writing in 2009, Creswell argues that quantitative approaches are meant to examine variables which can be measured and establish the relationship between the variables.

Whereas qualitative research is inductive in nature in its analysis, “a quantitative method often adopts a deductive approach during the data analysis process” (Harwell, 2011: 149). According to DePoy and Gitlin (2011: 8) deductive reasoning involves “moving from a general principle to understanding a specific case”, while inductive reasoning is the opposite. It is imperative to note that human beings use both inductive and deductive reasoning in their day-to-day decision making. Likewise, during research, researchers apply both inductive and deductive reasoning to reach to any conclusion for a given phenomenon (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008: 23). With 60% of Zimbabwe’s population of 13 million people constituted by the youth, the views of these had to be sought to understand the paradigm of youth empowerment from the perspective of the very youth. The gathering of this data from such a huge population could not have been possible without the adoption of the quantitative approach in this study. Quantitative research was quite paramount in gathering the views from four hundred youths across the four provinces of the country.

5.4.3 Mixed methods research

Mixed methods research approach is new and seeks to combine qualitative and quantitative approaches to “construct knowledge about real world issues based on philosophical pragmatism” (Ivankova et al. 2016:312). The approach combines numeric and textual data in one study to allow a better understanding of the research phenomenon (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009). However, the synergy of the two approaches of qualitative and quantitative

methodologies is not new in human and social sciences research (Fouche & Delpont, 2011a:66). For quite some time now, mixed methodology has been used to study some social phenomena.

Despite this methodology being doubted in some quarters, it has over the years been gaining remarkable acceptance across diverse disciplines in social sciences such as sociology, nursing, health and education (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). Though the collection of qualitative and quantitative data is not a new practice in research, combining both forms of data and present them as a distinct research design is relatively new (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). However, researchers differ on what and where mixed methods fits in the framework design. Some like Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) regard mixed methods research as a methodology, but Creswell (2007) argues that as a methodology, mixed methods research focusses on the philosophical assumptions such as pragmatism.

Mixed methods can be defined as a philosophically underpinned model of inquiry that combines qualitative and quantitative approaches of research (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). This is done with the view of mixing the evidence generated and enhance the knowledge in a more meaningful manner than what either qualitative or quantitative approach could achieve on its own. All research is guided by an underlying philosophy that guides the inquirer and in the case of mixed methods, this may be one world view or multiple worldviews (Creswell, 2007). Creswell and Plano Clarke (2011:5) posit that a definition for mixed methods should acknowledge the different perspectives and narratives that exist, something that is a central element of mixed methods research. Creswell and Plano Clarke (2011) further argue that mixed methods combine strategies, philosophy, and a research design orientation.

5.4.3.1 Justification of methodological triangulation

The fundamental justification given for mixed method research is the belief that the combination of the two approaches of qualitative and quantitative research provides a better understanding of the problem under investigation than what each approach can achieve on its own (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007; Elliot, 2005). It is generally believed that the two approaches complement each other as they provide strength to the weaknesses of the other. This was a perfect fit for this present study as the study was driven by the thought of doing a thorough study on the role of youth empowerment in peacebuilding. Accordingly, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:14) posit that “mixed methods research seeks not to replace either quantitative or qualitative approaches to research, but rather to draw from them the strengths

of these approaches and to minimise possible weaknesses”. Henderson *et al.* (1999:253) note in their study that the coalescence of qualitative and quantitative data gives a provision to use statistical analysis, hence covering the non-numerical aspect of qualitative research. The overarching and underlying motivation of having mixed methods is to get most if not the whole story.

Moreover, it is the conviction of Saunders *et al.* (2009:153) that bringing together different methods in a single study has the advantage of bringing forth diversity in the study. Different methods serve different purposes in a study and has the advantage of bringing forth rich data. Besides the triangulation of methods, mixed methods give the researcher confidence in the outcome of the study and that the study has addressed all the most important issues. By its very nature, mixed methods research implores the use of multiple worldviews and paradigms and its flexibility makes it to be a practical approach to research. It cannot be denied that in practical terms, people reason both qualitatively and quantitatively, hence they solve problems in like manner. Thus, the “combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods offers the advantage of the respective qualities of both approaches” (Shank & Brown, 2007:190; Thiéart, 2007:82).

There are various forms of mixed methods designs and the researcher should decide on the specific designs that best addresses the problem area of the research study. Hence, the specific mixed methods design for this research will be discussed in the following sections.

5.5 Research design

Research aim and research questions provide the basis for developing a research design for these provide substance of what the research is all about (Sanders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009). Research design defined as a plan, structure, and strategy of investigation conceived to obtain answers to posed research questions and problems. The plan is the complete scheme, proposal or programme to conduct research (Zikhali, 2009). So, contained in the research design are all the steps that need to be followed to achieve the desired result. In this regard, a research design is regarded as a functional plan which connects and links certain research methods and approaches to “generate reliable data for empirically grounded analyses, conclusions and theory formulation” (Vosloo, 2014:316). This, therefore, means a research design provides terms of reference to the researcher; it provides guidance about methods, decisions and sets the framework for interpretation. Gilbert (2012:35) compliments the above and argues that the

selection of a research design depends on the “research questions, the availability of data and the researcher’s own skills and preferences”.

According to Vosloo (2014:317), research design should be viewed as a “mixed bag that implies the research should choose from a variety of alternatives and options to ensure that the research purpose and perspective are clarified and achieved”. The form of design the study will assume is determined by the research problem. The research problem determines the methods and procedures; that is the types of measurement, the sampling technique, data collection strategies and data collection approaches for the proposed study (Zikmund et al., 2010:66). This current study was empirical in nature using phenomenology, a survey and interviews to gain insight into the real experiences of the youth in the empowerment matrix to reach at sound conclusions. Leedy and Omrod (2010:141) posits that phenomenology concerns itself with understanding people’s perceptions, perspectives and their views about a situation

5.5.1 Specific design

Once a mixed methods approach was decided on, the next step was to decide on the specific mixed methods research design that best addresses the research problem. The mixed method design this present study adopted is one which mixed the methods at the results level. Qualitative and quantitative data shall be collected and analysed separately. The mixed aspect of the study comes in the comparison and contrast of the results.

5.5.2 A mixed methods research model

This study makes use of the exploratory sequential-mixed methods research model. Combining more than one research approach creates the opportunity to adopt a process to examine a complex and multi-layered research problem (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004:17-18; Creswell, 2009:11-12). This model is depicted in Figure 5.1 below.

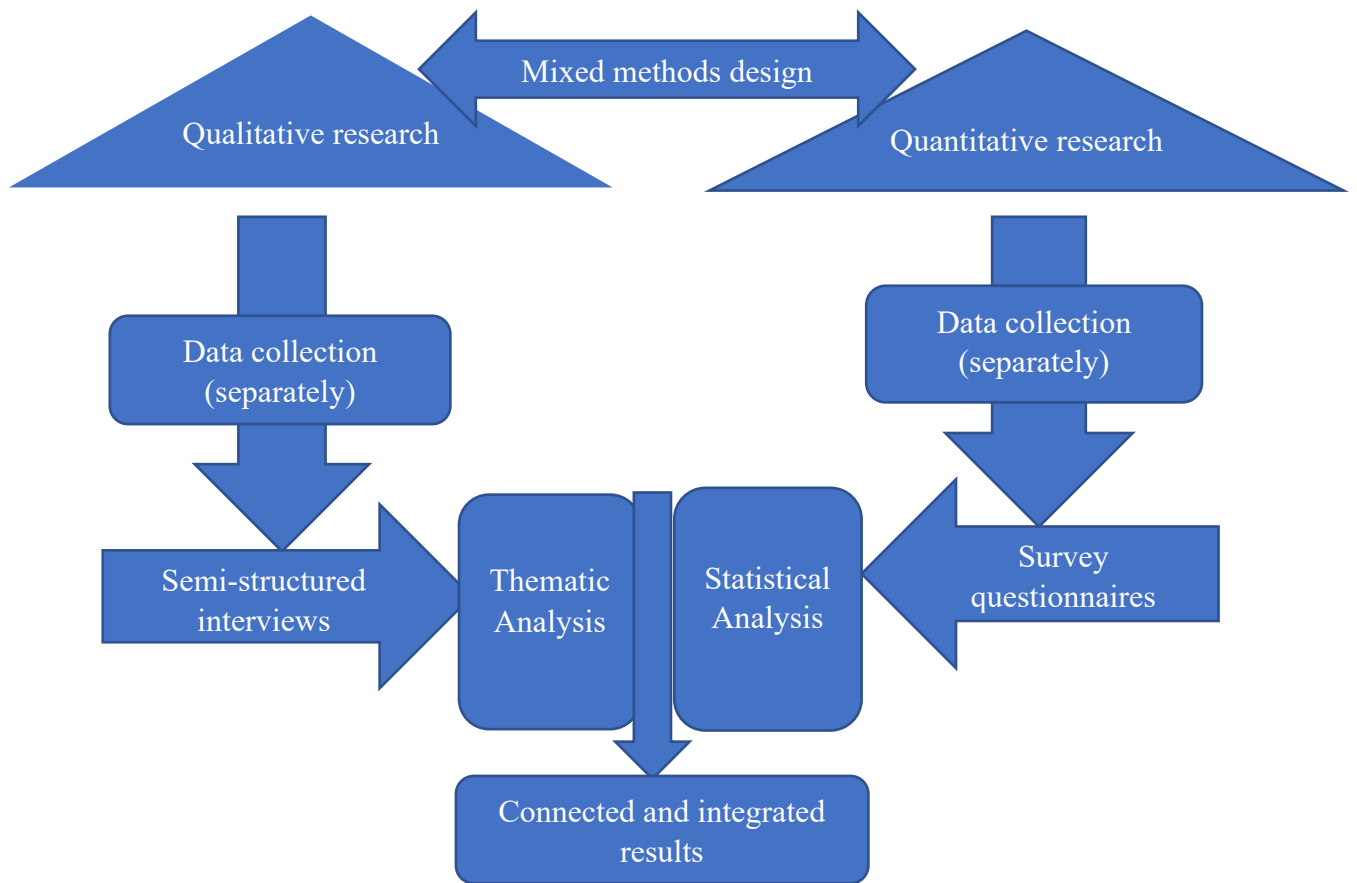


Figure 5.1: Mixed Methods

Adopted from Vosloo (2014: 327)

5.6 Population and Sampling

5.6.1 Target population

A study population is the aggregation of elements from which the sample is selected. For Trochim et al. (2016) and Bryman (2016), a population of study refers to the entire universe of units that the researcher targets to generalise to and from which a sample is drawn. In specific terms Wa Teresia (2011:50), defines the target population as “the entire collection of people or things you are interested in”.

These definitions imply that a population in research refers to the entire collection of people, institutions, entities which a researcher is interested in and wants to draw a sample from. For the respondents of the qualitative aspect of this study, the researcher chose subject experts in the field of study – based on their expertise and experience in working on youth empowerment and/or peace-building efforts. The study targeted people who have personally witnessed or

have profound knowledge of the formulation and the implementation of the youth development and empowerment policies in government and civil society in Zimbabwe, and those who have an accurate, reliable and passionate interest in observing the progress of youth in post-independence. These included people who have witnessed, participated in and who have vested interests in the youth empowerment and peace-building process, either those who are currently involved in youth empowerment and peace-building and in fact have interest to this study, or those that have first-hand, informed knowledge of such processes. The target population encompassed four distinct groups of people for both quantitative and qualitative strands of this study.

The population of interest for this study can be categorised thus:

- Government through the stakeholder Ministry of Youth, Sport, Arts and Recreation;
- Civil Society, those that deal with youth development and empowerment affairs;
- Academics who teach conflict and peace studies from Great Zimbabwe University, and Bindura University of Science Education; and
- The youth

Table 5.1: Target Population

	Population Description	Population	Sample	Participants
1	District Heads: Ministry of Youth Affairs	21	6	4
2	Civil Society Organisations	42	6	6
3	Academics: GZU, BUSE	23	4	4
5	Youth	16 780	400	329
6	Total	16 866	416	343

5.6.2 Sampling

Sampling refers to the “selection of a subset of persons or things from a larger population, also known as a sampling frame” (Scott & Morrison, 2007:219), with the intention of representing the particular population (Neuman, 2011:246). In qualitative research, sampling is not simple, it is a very difficult and contentious aspect. Criticism has been rife for the qualitative sampling

methods owing to their subjectivity and lack of representativeness. The sampling techniques under the qualitative design are said to be non-probability, meaning the “samples are gathered in a process that does not give all the participants or units in the population equal chances of being included” (Etikan et al 2016). In other words, in non-probability sampling, randomization is not important in selecting a sample from the population of interest. Instead, subjectivity is employed to decide on elements of inclusion and exclusion in the sample.

For the purposes of this study, purposive sampling, which Marshall (1996: 523) calls “judgemental” sampling is used to select respondents. This is supported by the stratified sampling method which is a probability sampling technique. Purposive sampling technique is the deliberate choice of a participant due to the qualities the participant possesses. Yin (2011) provides a very salient definition of purposive sampling which he calls ‘purposeful’ sampling. He defines purposeful sampling as “The selection of participants or sources of data to be used in a study, based on their anticipated richness and relevance of information in relation to the study’s research questions” (Yin, 2011:311). It is a non-probability sampling technique so common with qualitative design which does not need a set number of participants. Simply put, the researcher has the discretion to decide what should be investigated and is at liberty to find and choose the people or respondents who can and are willing to participate and provide the information by virtue of their knowledge or experience (Etikan et al 2016). The underlining factor in the choice of participants through purposive sampling is the identification and selection of information-rich participants. According to Oppong, (2013: 203), purposive sampling selects subjects based on their experience and knowledge of the issues under investigation. Patton (2002:264) further argues that the “logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for in-depth study. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry...Studying information-rich cases yields insights and in-depth understanding”.

For a very long time, purposive samples have been said to have a high margin of error and low levels of reliability (Topp et al. 2004: 33-40). This view has shifted in recent years because purposive samples which are well-selected can be valid and reliable, particularly in circumstances where conducting a random sample would otherwise be impossible. It is worth mentioning that purposive sampling embodies several approaches which include expert sampling, critical case sampling, typical case sampling, extreme case sampling, homogeneous sampling, maximum variation sampling, and total population sampling (Tongco 2007). It is

important to mention that there are challenges in identifying the appropriate type of purposeful sampling strategy to use in any study. Despite this challenge, the present study relied on maximum variation sampling (MVS) to purposively select the respondents that provide an informed perspective about peacebuilding and youth empowerment. So, the study used maximum variation sampling form of purposive sampling to draw a sample of 16 respondents for in-depth interviewing.

The idea of sampling as applied in the qualitative strand of this study entails that only a section of the known population is selected for a given enquiry and is referred to as a sample (Oppong, 2013:203). To get the varied views befitting for this kind of study, an MVS form of purposive sampling was adopted and utilised. Youth development and empowerment is a broad subject that cannot be understood by the views coming from one section of the population, hence a wide-ranging sample cutting across the spectrum of society. MVS involves selecting candidates across a broad spectrum relating to the topic of study (Etikan et al, 2016). The advantage of this kind of sampling is its ability to look at a subject under investigation from all available angles, thereby achieving a greater understanding. Thus, for a study involving the youths, the views of civil society, government, academics, and the youth themselves were deemed paramount to gain an in-depth understanding of the subject under study.

The preoccupation of a qualitative approach of inquiry is non-statistical methods and small samples, often selected through purposive sampling (Delpont & De Vos, 2011:65). By its very nature, qualitative research according to Barbour (2008: 15), provides more details about a given phenomenon than quantitative research hence the selection of a small sample. In this sample are 6 respondents from the Ministry of Youth; a ministry responsible for youth affairs. Though 6 participants were sampled from the Ministry of Youth, only 4 took part in the study. This study would not have been complete without the invaluable contribution from this ministry. As the arm of government, the ministry of youth is the custodian of youth policies and empowerment programmes. The study chose district heads of the ministry of youth because of their role in policy implementation and the development of infrastructure and general administration of the youth ministry at grassroots level. They are also responsible for the day to day running of youth affairs in their respective areas of jurisdiction.

Other 6 participants were drawn from civil society working on youth programmes. Civil society is a very vital partner of government across the varied sectors of development. Zimbabwe saw an upsurge of civil society organisations at the turn of the millennium when its socio-economic

challenges were starting to take root. Among these are some working on youth development and empowerment programmes across the country. From an envisaged number of 42 civil society organisations working on youth in the 4 provinces this study focused on, 6 were chosen with due consideration to their experience and history in youth empowerment and development. Moreover, 4 academics were selected from two universities to provide expert and independent views on youth empowerment and development policies. From each of the two universities, the study purposively targeted those which teach peace and conflict studies. From an approximated population of 23 academics, four participants were purposively selected. This sample represented an assortment of perspectives from those most informed about, highly interested in, and involved with Zimbabwe's youth empowerment and peace-building processes. The sampling was based exclusively on the purpose of achieving research objectives and theoretical goals.

Under the qualitative strand of the study where representativeness of the sample to the study population is of less importance, the number of respondents (14) was deemed sufficient. Under this strand of the study, the amount and depth of data was more paramount than the generalizability of the collected data hence the small number of respondents. This study hoped to collect various perspectives from numerous stakeholders of Zimbabwe's peacebuilding and youth empowerment process. This is a unique area and not everyone can provide such information. The study had to be judgmental in terms of who could provide reliable data on the challenges facing the youths in Zimbabwe and the youth empowerment paradigm based on their education, profession, occupation, locality, and their historical experiences. This required that the researcher be very selective in coming up with the list of respondents.

The researcher used personal contacts, public records and internet sources to generate a list of respondents who could provide reliable data. The respondents were selected based on what they know about the programmes of youth empowerment and development in Zimbabwe, where they worked, their awareness of Zimbabwe's peace-building process, their involvement in the country's youth programmes and peace-building processes, their willingness to participate voluntarily in the study, and their accessibility. The researcher was able to generate a list of over 24 potential respondents for the qualitative strand of the study and a sample of 16 participants was subsequently shortlisted. The selected participants were contacted telephonically and by e-mail to set appointments for interviews. Additionally, the provincial and district offices for the ministry of youth were requested to assist where possible; they

proved helpful in providing the researcher with a contact list and the addresses of organisations working in youth empowerment across provinces.

The study population for the quantitative research consisted of probability selection of 400 youths, from four provinces purposively selected from the 10 provinces of Zimbabwe. Of the sampled 400 youths, 329 participated in the study. Because the population is sometimes infinite, it might be overwhelming to study the entire population. This makes sampling quite imperative in quantitative research. Sampling from a quantitative perspective “refers to the process of selecting a small portion or subset from” an identified “population with the intention of representing the particular population” and generalising the findings to the entire population (Hoy, 2010:51; Monette *et al.*, 2011:13; Neuman, 2011:241). However, this research was not meant to generalise the findings to a particular population, but to give recommendations on how youth empowerment can be of use in building peace to curb youth propensity to violence. A non-probability sampling procedure was accordingly selected for the identification of provinces, which provinces were not representative of the population because the researcher had no guarantee that these provinces were either representative, or that they had an equal chance of being selected for this study.

According to Welman *et al.* (2009:69), purposive sampling is:

the most important type of non-probability sampling. Researchers rely on their experience, ingenuity and/or previous research findings to purposely obtain units of analysis in such a manner that the sample they obtain may be regarded as being representative of the relevant population. The adequacy of this kind of sampling for quantitative studies depends on the judgment of the researcher and is therefore sometimes even called judgment sampling.

The four provinces were chosen on the understanding by the researcher that they will yield valuable data for the study. The two provinces of Harare and Bulawayo are metropolitan provinces of Zimbabwe in which what happens in them is basically reflective of what happens in the other cities. Masvingo and Mashonaland Central are pre-dominantly rural provinces which have in past witnessed youth violence in previous elections hence their choice. “In purposive sampling the researcher must first think critically about parameters and then choose the sample case accordingly. Criteria for the selection of the participants are therefore, of critical importance, understood as being dialectical and symbiotic” (Johnson and Christensen,

2012: 219). Purposive sampling was used in collaboration with stratified sampling technique. Stratified sampling is a probability sampling technique that puts the population into strata and a random sampling is applied to each stratum (Johnson and Christensen, 2012: 219). The population of the youth in the four provinces was classified into strata of gender (male and female) and a random sampling was applied to each stratum. Four hundred (400) youth were drawn from the youth data bases in the ministry of youth in the four provinces. Questionnaires were administered to these youths.

5.7 Data collection techniques

According to Flick (2011:104) social research is dominated by four methods of data collection which are surveys, interviews, observation and document analysis. The methods serve different roles in research and their choice is determined by the “type of data sought, subject area, time frame, budget and the nature of the population” (Lewis 2013:58; Simmons 2012:185). Therefore, to generate the requisite data for this present study, more than one data collection instruments were used. These instruments included semi-structured interviews, survey questionnaires, observations and the review of relevant documents (Cooper & Schindler, 2011:183; Thomas *et al.*, 2011:357). The nature and purpose of this study dictated that interviews and questionnaires be used as the primary instruments to collect the data. Hence, six government respondents from the ministry of youth, six from civil society, four academics, and 400 youths were sampled. Qualitative methods were appropriate for collecting data from stakeholder ministry representatives, academics teaching peace studies in universities, and civil society. The data collection instruments which are used are explained below.

5.7.1 Interviews

An interview is variably defined by various authors. An interview involves the exchange of information between the interviewer and the interviewee in a formal or informal manner. In the world of research, conversations constitute an indispensable method of data collection, used to “gain knowledge about all kinds of phenomena” (Alvesson 2011: vii). Human interaction is punctuated with conversations and in formal circumstances, this is called an interview under which the interviewer “interacts, poses questions, learns about experiences, feelings and hopes of their research participants” (Kvale, 2013:1). This form of data collection is common in qualitative research. It is one of the methods which is preferred by scholars owing to its ability to generate rich accounts of data and affords researchers the opportunity to physically interact with research participants (Bewule, 2018).

For the purposes of research, a formal relationship is established to exchange the required information usually under very formal circumstances. According to Monette *et al.* (2011:178), the quantity and quality of information that an interview can generate depends on the creativity and shrewdness of the interviewer and the understanding of the interviewer to manage the said relationship. It is, therefore, the duty of the interviewer to have the skills to create the “meanings that reside within the participants” (Greeff, 2011:342). In essence, qualitative research seeks to view the research topic under investigation from the perspective of the interviewees. It also seeks to get an understanding why the interviewees have such a perspective (King, 1994:14). Laws *et al.* (2013:201) argue that interviews are most useful when the study is interested in “people’s experiences, views in some depth, when relying on information from fairly small number of respondents” and dealing with sensitive information where respondents may not be able to speak freely in groups. For the reasons given above, this study chose to employ in-depth interviews as a method for collecting qualitative data.

Silverman (2013: 324) outlined five major rules which researchers should follow to conduct effective qualitative research. These rules also apply when conducting interviews. The rules are:

- Keep research simple: it needs to focus only on one specific or narrow research problem using a relevant theoretical model;
- Do not assume that people are simply concerned with subjective experience;
- Take advantage of using qualitative research, for example, the researcher can remain flexible during the research process;
- Avoid drowning in data and this means that the researcher should timely plan data analysis without any delay; and
- Avoid ‘journalistic’ questions and answers and this means that researcher need to apply acquired skills to successfully follow academic guidelines when they are carrying out their research projects (Silverman 2013: 324-328).

According to Walliman (2011: 99), an interview is a very flexible instrument to gather data in qualitative research. Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008: 80) outlines the three common forms of qualitative interviews. These include: a structured interview which adheres to a particular order

of questions, semi-structured interview which is systematic, and the unstructured interview which is open and can take any direction. Literature has shown there are three types of interviews that are common in social research: standardised open-ended, semi-structured and structured. For the purposes of this research, interviews were conducted using a **semi-structured interview** schedule, as proposed by Greeff (2011: 151,152). This provisions for predetermined questions for the interviewer.

5.7.1.1 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were employed to gather data from government officials, civil society and academics. Semi-structured interviews involve a series of open-ended questions that relate to the topic of interest to the researcher (Hancock, 1998: 9). Normally these forms of interviews produce in research literature what (Patton, 2002: 453) calls “thick descriptions.” They allow further probing and pursuance of interesting emerging themes for each interviewee (Knox & Burkard, 2009:567). The study conducted fourteen interviews; and this is considered sufficient to generate the required data because in-depth interviews generate large volumes of data from few participants (Patton, 2002: 453).

Interviewing as a data gathering instrument in qualitative research is very ideal for, they clarify vague statements; permit exploration of topics; and yield a deeply experiential account of the extent of youth empowerment in Zimbabwe and how this has affected the peacebuilding narrative. Interviews yield large volumes of data which no any other way of data collection can do. When this data is supported by other data from observations and questionnaires, they produced a complete account of the phenomenon under investigation. The interviews afforded the researcher the opportunity to obtain perceptions of role of youth empowerment in the enhancement of peacebuilding in the country.

Moreover, data from interviews were supported and augmented by secondary data derivable from textbooks, journals, published and unpublished articles, newspapers etc. The secondary sources provided massive bibliographic and contextual information that comprehensively supported primary sources (Adeogun, 2015). The literature review to establish the theoretical foundations of the study was also a method used to gather data.

5.7.1.2 The interview schedule

For the purposes of this study, the structured part of the interview was developed according to the research aims and objectives. The interview questions included the following topics:

- State and conditions of the youth in the country;
- Conditions which contribute to youth violent behaviour;
- Youth empowerment and development programmes;
- The National Youth Policy and the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act
- Civil Society and youth empowerment;
- Government and youth empowerment;
- Relevance of the empowerment programmes to women;
- Shortcomings if any, of the youth empowerment programmes;
- Challenges to youth development and empowerment;
- General comments.

A semi-structured interview is chosen to allow more clarification, probing and cross-checking questions.

5.7.1.3 The interview procedure

To ensure that the responses are recorded, a digital voice recorder and back-up recorder was used to record the responses of the participants. All the interviews took place in places which were chosen and convenient to the participants. A copy of the interview schedule and the contact details of the researcher were provided to each interviewee for possible future enquiries. For purposes of clarification, some follow up were done over the phone with some participants.

5.7.2 Observation

To a very limited extent this current study also used non-participatory observation to collect qualitative data. According to Marshall (1996:98), observation is a “systematic noting and recording of events, behaviour, and artefacts (objects) in the social setting chosen for study.” The study used a non-participatory observation which do not interfere with the respondents and sometimes are not even aware that they are being observed. This reduces bias that often result from the interference of the researcher and the respondents (Trochim et al. 2016:25). If observation method for data collection is done correctly, it leads to the reduction of subjective bias. The data to be collected through observation relates to what is currently obtaining; it is not influenced by either the past behaviour or future intentions or attitudes; and the method is not dependent on the participants’ willingness to participate (Kothari, 2004:96). The study observed the youth and the economic activities they are doing and how they are earning a living. Their behaviour and attitude towards programmes of youth development and empowerment was again observed.

5.7.3 Survey Questionnaire

According to Trochim et al. (2016), a questionnaire is a printed set of questions that are administered personally or through mails to study participants for them to respond to the questions. This means a questionnaire is a written list of questions that administered to study participants in a large population with instructions of how to complete them. Kumar (2011:138) and Maree (2011:157) add that a questionnaire is a data collection instrument that is administered to many respondents to answer the given questions and the researcher waits for the answers. The questions asked should be clear and easy to understand as respondents answer the questions at their own time (Kumar, 2011:138). Moreover, Monette *et al.* (2011:164) regard a questionnaire as “an instrument to collect data in survey research that contains recorded questions that people respond to directly on the questionnaire form itself, without the aid of an interviewer”.

Survey questionnaires are ideal for a descriptive study and are relevant for this current study because it is a descriptive investigation of the youth empowerment programmes in the country. The present study is indeed a descriptive study in nature (Merriam 2009: 16) for the study aims to gain insights into the youth empowerment and development paradigm and how this has affected the peacebuilding process in the country. According to McNeill and Chapman (2005:

28) and Walliman (2011: 10), “a descriptive study collectively involves the use of questionnaires and recorded interviews, and the current study also applied both techniques”.

McMillan and Schumacher (2001: 602) further describe survey research as “the assessment of the current status, opinions, beliefs, and attitudes by questionnaires or interviews from a known population”. This is supported by Johnson and Christensen (2012) who assert that a questionnaire is ideal for obtaining data about the feelings, thoughts, attitudes, values, beliefs and behavioural intentions of the research participants. The present study falls into this same category as it sought to gain knowledge about the attributes of respondents concerning the youth development and empowerment drive in Zimbabwe. The study applied both questionnaires and interviews to gain in-depth understanding of the attitude and perceptions of the youth towards programmes meant to benefit them.

As a data gathering tool, survey questionnaires have special strengths. According to Babbie (2011: 276) these strengths include: they are useful in describing the characteristics of a large population; they make large samples feasible (especially using self-administered questionnaires). Because respondents for this study are geographically dispersed in four different provinces (Connaway and Powell 2010: 108), the use of survey questionnaires to gather data from this geographically dispersed population is necessary. According to Thomas (2010), questionnaires have the advantage of being able to be administered to a wider audience. Survey questionnaires can be distributed in a variety of ways namely, personally administered, sent through mails and emails. This study opted for the self-administered survey questionnaire for it enabled ease collection of the responses within a relatively short period (Taylor-Powell and Hermann, 2003:3).

This study covered four provinces in Zimbabwe. Studying every youth within the 18-35 age group category was not possible given the inherent time and cost implications in carrying such a study. As such survey questionnaires were chosen which targeted a sample of the population to be studied and findings will be generalised for the entire population. A survey assesses public opinion or individual characteristics through the use of questionnaires or interviews. The survey questionnaires are ideal to be administered to youths registered with the Ministry Youth Affairs. The questionnaire consisted of only closed-ended questions and was meant to extract quantitative data. The questionnaire dealt with a wide range of issues related to the youth and peacebuilding; and the youth and empowerment. Four hundred (400) questionnaires were distributed in four research sites purposefully selected.

Despite their known strengths, survey questionnaires also have their weaknesses (Wilkinson & Birmingham, 2003:39; Muijs, 2011:38, 39). In some instances, questionnaires have a low response rate as some respondents might lose them or lack interest in responding. This was countered by administering the questionnaires personally and collecting them immediately after they had been completed. The ease of completing questionnaires can result in the production of large volumes of data which will create a challenge in managing. Sometimes questionnaires are rushed through by respondents and this results in superficial data being gathered. To minimise these weaknesses, the following strategies were employed:

- Clear and consistent instructions were given to respondents on the completion of questionnaires;
- Questionnaire items were scrutinized for content that promotes bias, for example presupposed and leading items;
- Follow-up actions to non-respondents of questionnaires were done expeditiously.

5.8 Data analysis

Data analysis involves “separation of data into constituent parts or elements, and examination of the data to distinguish its component parts or elements in relation to the world” (Oso and Onen, 2009:99). Bryman (2003:11) asserts that data analysis concerns itself with the reduction of the large volumes of data that the researcher gathers to make an interpretation.

In this study, quantitative data that was collected through questionnaires was subjected to excel to generate descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics reports such as central tendency including the mean, median, mode, variation, percentage and correlation variables were produced. On the other hand, the qualitative data that were collected using interviews and observations were analysed through qualitative thematic analysis. Data were sorted, coded, and then categorised into themes and tallied accordingly. Because quantitative and qualitative data were used separately to collect data the analysis was done separately as well.

This current study was a survey which assumed a mixed method approach, hence combining the two methodologies of quantitative and qualitative research. The quantitative data were collected through questionnaires and the qualitative data primarily was collected through semi-structured interviews and were analysed separately. The mixed dimension of the research came in the interpretation of the findings where some comparisons were made.

5.8.1 Qualitative data analysis

Under qualitative research of the study, interviews are the main method that was used to obtain the various perspectives on the research questions related to the nature of youth development and empowerment in Zimbabwe. Qualitative interviews give invaluable insights into social phenomenon as they allow the respondents to reflect and reason on a variety of subjects in a different way (Folkestad, 2008:1). Consequently, conducting interviews with civil society, government representatives (policy makers) and the academia is an option that gave insight into the phenomenon under investigation.

Qualitative data analysis is the process of reading into the views and opinions of participants, and identifying the “corresponding patterns, themes, categories and regular similarities” (Cohen et al., 2007:461). The definition provided by Nieuwenhuis (2007:99-100) provides a working definition for this current study. Data analysis is defined as “...an ongoing and iterative process, implying that data collection, processing, analysis and reporting are intertwined, and not necessarily a successive process.” Qualitative data analysis transforms collected qualitative data, through means of analytic procedures into clear, understandable, insightful, trustworthy and even original analysis (Gibbs, 2007:1). Qualitative methods of data analysis are more suited at looking at the meaning of events and circumstances (Muijs, 2011:9). Creswell (2013:44) refers to this meaning as the intention of the original author and further state that data analysis is both inductive and deductive and establishes patterns or themes. This search of patterns and themes is not a once-off event but is a continuous, cyclical and repeating process which investigates the transcribed data. The essence of qualitative data analysis is to construct interpretive narrative from the data and to capture the complexity of the phenomena under study (Leedy and Ormord, 2010:135).

The method of analysis chosen for this study is a qualitative approach of thematic analysis which is a very common approach to the interpretation of meaning from textual data. Thematic analysis is considered to be the foundational approach to qualitative data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As a framework, thematic analysis is poorly defined but yet is the widely used qualitative approach to analysing interviews (Jugder, 2016). Braun & Clarke (2013:175) also acknowledge that thematic analysis is “possibly the most widely used method of data analysis, but not “branded” as a specific method until recently”. It is a form of inquiry which entails analysing qualitative data in order to identify emerging perceptions, and attitudes (Muchemwa, 2015). In qualitative research, thematic analysis concentrates on portraying reality by

discovering meanings from the textual data (Silverman, 2011). Often, interviews are widely analysed through the thematic qualitative approach of analysis. The framework of the thematic analysis which my qualitative interviews shall adopt is informed by the theoretical positions of Braun and Clarke (2006). To them, thematic analysis is a method meant for “identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within the data” (2006: 79). The reason to choose this method was because of the reason given by Braun and Clarke (2006). According to them, the thematic approach can produce an insightful analysis that answers particular research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2006:97). Because thematic analysis produces insightful answers to research questions, it is fit for the qualitative strand of this present study.

Once the interview data were collected, it was subjected to the three stages suggested by Creswell (2007) that is: preparing the data for analysis through transcription, reduction of the data into themes through coding and representing the data. The transcribed data was coded, broken down and thereafter emerging themes were identified from constantly emerging words and phrases which relate to research objectives and questions. Coding is so key in identifying category in qualitative data analysis. Coding helps the researcher to move data to another level of abstraction (Ng & Hase, 2008:159). The reason for coding is as (Flick, 2002:178) put it that it is “a break down -down of data to understand a text and to attach and develop categories and put them into an order in the course of time” (Flick, 2002:178). Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that patterns are identified through a cyclical process of data familiarisation, data coding, and theme development and revision. Familiarisation of the data was done through transcription and translation of the interviews. The audio recordings of the interviews were listened to a number of times for accurate translation and transcription. The interviews which were conducted in vernacular were directly translated into English verbatim by the researcher. The importance of translating the interviews as they were transcribed is to understand the meaning rather than the language.

Also, important in thematic analysis approach is the identification of themes in the interview data collected. A theme is considered so when it captures the key idea about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned meaning within the data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 82). The research questions and research aims were used to guide the process of cutting the collected texts into pieces and logically recombining them. This break down of the data involved the reduction of a volume of qualitative materials to identify core consistencies and meanings (Patton, 2002: 453). This translation from raw data to findings

facilitated the interpretation of the empirical data. The bottom line in theme identification is consistency throughout the process. As Bazeley (2009:6) claims, themes only attain full significance when they are linked to form a coordinated picture or an explanatory model. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), there are two ways of identifying themes: in an inductive 'bottom up' way, or in a theoretical, deductive 'top down' way. Thomas (2003:2), argues that the primary purpose of the inductive approach is to allow research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies. Thomas (2003) further outlines three reasons why the inductive approach is used: (1) to condense data into brief, summary format; (2) to establish links between the data and research objectives; and (3) to develop theory about the underlying structure of processes which are evident in the raw data.

Thematic approach to data analysis allows the investigation of the interview data from two perspectives: first, from a data driven perspective and a perspective based on coding in an inductive way; second from the research question perspective to check if the data were consistent with the research questions and providing sufficient information (Jugder, 2016). The act of data analysis involves the drawing of inferences from the raw data. This involves multi-methods that are applied sequentially. It should be noted that the analysis of qualitative data is a continuous process which starts with the collection of the raw data. So, all these steps involve some analysis in one way or the other. For raw data to be analysed it needs to be managed. Data from qualitative methods produce texts and this should be managed well. The management of qualitative data involves three important aspects: data storage, transcribing and data cleaning.

One important step in thematic qualitative data analysis is the organisation of data. Once data is organised, what follows is the description of the data. Here the researcher sought to outline the various pertinent aspects of the study, which includes, among other things describing the subjects being studied, justification of any activity undertaken and the view points of the participants. The final phase of the analysis process according to Patton (2002:434) is the interpretation stage. This involves the explanation of the findings, answering questions, attaching significance to certain results and putting patterns into an analytic framework. The aspects of qualitative data analysis are succinctly put across by Scott and Usher (2001:89). They suggested that the process of qualitative data analysis include the following aspects:

- Coding or classifying field notes, observations or interview transcripts

- Examining the coded data to identify the relationships between them; at the same time trying to understand those relationships if they are there.
- Attempting to establish patterns, commonalities and differences. In short, this an attempt to make sense of the data.

5.8.2 Quantitative data analysis

Descriptive statistics was used to analyse the quantitative data from questionnaires. Descriptive statistics quantitatively describes the main features of the data collected. Descriptive statistics describe raw data and helps to explain the “distribution of and relationship among variables” (Mathipa, 2015: 113). The use of tables, graphs and charts were employed to present the data comprehensively.

Descriptive statistical techniques were applied to organise, analyse and interpret the quantitative data. Measurements were recorded as scores indicated on a 0-10 score sheet with a range from a low to a high level of the variable of interest. This was presented in the form of descriptive statistics in graphical and numerical ways to present and analyse the gathered data. “Central tendency measures (for example mean, frequencies and ranking) were applied to describe the distribution of responses and to identify characteristic values. The spread of distribution (for example, standard deviation) was described by numerical variances to the extent to which data measures tend to cluster close together or are widely spread over the range of values” (Pietersen & Maree, 2007:188).

5.9 Reliability and validity

Creswell (2009:190) posits that reliability refers to the production of the same results each time when a technique is repeatedly applied to the same object. To achieve reliability, the interview questions dwelt on the objectives of the study and were standardised to avoid inconsistencies. The same questions were asked to all the participants, and attempts were made to standardise the duration of the interviews. Moreover, the questionnaires were subjected to pre-testing before they were administered to respondents. Of concern, in any research work, is to seek the informed consent of participants. This was achieved through explaining the nature of the research to participants and making sure their voluntary participation is sought. Informed consent was sought before including respondents. To guarantee privacy, no names were used during data collection, analysis and interpretation. Respondents were informed that results of

the study were solely for academic purposes and they were not to be held to account for their views.

5.10 Chapter summary

This chapter has given in details, the research methodology this study put to use. The chapter sets out the research paradigms, research design and methodology and methods, data collection tools and justification for their choice, and how the collected data were analysed. A specific, research design has been identified to ensure the accomplishment of the set aims for this study, that is, to explore the needs of the youth and how the various youth empowerment programmes have done to this effect. In conclusion, it may be stated that the research design and related methodologies were developed with the aim of obtaining reliable and valid data to develop youth programmes that enhance the peace process in the country. Ultimately, this would help to cure the cancer of violence which the country has suffered for quite a long time. In the forthcoming two chapters, the data from the qualitative and quantitative research are presented, analysed, described and interpreted in a systematic manner.

CHAPTER SIX: PRESENTATION OF RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

The current study entailed the stand-alone collection of two sets of data; quantitative and qualitative data. Self-administered survey questionnaires were employed to yield quantitative data, while qualitative data were collected through semi-structured interviews, journal articles, minutes of meetings and other documented sources. The survey questionnaires were self-administered to the youth in four provinces namely Masvingo, Bulawayo Metropolitan, Harare Metropolitan and Mashonaland Central. These provinces represented the rural and the urban set up of Zimbabwe. The survey questionnaires enabled the study to get access to measurable numerical data to describe the perception, understanding, and experiences of the respondents with regards to government and civil society's youth empowerment programmes. The in-depth interviews targeted respondents' observations, underlying meanings and interpretations, as well as the why and how government and civil society youth programmes have impacted on the lives of the youth. The in-depth interview respondents were key informants and provided qualitative data on youth empowerment programmes from the perspectives of the government, civil society and academics.

This chapter is the presentation and analysis of findings of the two data sets. The analysis of findings is a procedure that structures and brings order and meaning to the research findings from the field (Rossman & Rallis, 2017). The data which were collected through the questionnaire and the interviews were condensed and presented in various forms including charts, graphs, tables and narration for easy interpretation and providing meaning to the research findings (Neuman, 2011). The presentation of the findings starts with the survey data supported by qualitative data gathered from the interviews conducted. Quantitative data were presented and analysed through descriptive and inferential statistics approaches using tables and graphs with a special focus on a Likert-type scale. For qualitative results, a thematic approach was used to search for themes and patterns (Braun and Clarke, 2006:79) that emerged from the data. The analysis process was guided by the mixed methods design as discussed in Chapter Five.

When the quantitative data were collected, they were captured on a spreadsheet and each questionnaire item was individually analysed using excel. Every item on the questionnaire was

rated on a ten-point Likert type rating scale coded as follows: 0 =not at all or never, 5= middle, average or neutral, and 10= always, best and N/A= not applicable.

6.2 Response rate

As revealed in Chapter 5, the primary target for this study were government officials and civil society organisations. However, data from this study population had to be augmented by views from the youth and members of the academia. From a total of 416 possible participants for the study, 343 participated, making a response rate of 82.5%. This is constituted by 82.2% who answered the questionnaire, and 87.5% who took part in the interviews. This response rate exceeds the expectation of the rate recommended by scholars (Nulty, 2008). The study adopted the wave analysis, which advocates considering what is at hand rather than the assumed sample size (Creswell, 2014). Researchers aim to attain a response rate which is or surpasses 60% for the study to be considered valid, reliable and free of bias (Fincham 2008).

A total number of 400 survey questionnaires were distributed to respondents in the four administrative provinces purposely selected across the country and 329 were completed and returned, representing an 82.2% response rate. None of the returned questionnaires was spoilt, but a few respondents did not complete all the categories on the questionnaire which was recorded as missing items in the data analysis. The self-administered questionnaire for the youth respondents had five (5) sections. These were: Section (A) Personal Information; Section (B) Youth and Conflict in Zimbabwe; Section (C) Youth Development and Empowerment in Zimbabwe; Section (D) Youth Empowerment and Peacebuilding; and, Section (E) Perceptions.

With regards to the in-depth interviews, a total of 16 respondents were targeted across the four (4) provinces in the country to participate in the study; six (6) from government stakeholder ministry (Ministry of Youth, Sports, Arts and Culture), six (6) from civil society organisations working on youth empowerment programmes, and four (4) from two (2) university institutions that teach Peace and Conflict Studies. All respondents from civil society and universities were available for the interviews representing a 100% response rate, while four (4) respondents were available from the Government stakeholder ministry representing a 66.7% response rate. Therefore, the interview response rate among the different groups of respondents ranged from 65 to 100 percent. The breakdown is as follows: Civil Society Organisations 6 (100%); University Teaching Staff 4 (100%); and Government stakeholder-ministry: 4 (66.7%). Out of the targeted six (6) respondents from the Government stakeholder-ministry, only four (4) participated in the in-depth interviews. The other two could not participate in the interviews

because of personal and professional commitments. An average response rate of 87.5% percent was recorded for the in-depth interviews. The same interview guide was used for each group of respondents. Because statistical generalizability is not the objective, non-response rate is not important in qualitative research (Verhoeven 2011:213). The interview guide consisted of 9-11 questions for the three population sets. Table 6.1 shows the summary of the response rate broken down among the different categories of respondents.

Table 6.1: Response rate of participants (n=416)

Data collection tools	Expected respondents	Actual respondents	Percentage
Questionnaire for youths	400	329	82.2
Government officials' interviews	6	4	66.7
Civil society interviews	6	6	100
Academia interviews	4	4	100
Total	N=416	343	82.5

Source: Field Data (2018)

6.3 Profile of Participants

6.3.1 Gender Distribution of Participants

The current study attempted to have gender balance in the distribution of questionnaires. Four hundred questionnaires were distributed and three hundred and twenty-nine (329) were returned. This was supported by fourteen in-depth interviews. Though deliberate effort was made to have a gender balance, male participants dominated the study. One hundred and seventy-nine (179) males participated in the study representing 52.1% of all the participants. This is against one hundred and sixty-four (164) female participants who took part in the study constituting 47.8% of the total participants. One participant did not disclose their gender and that yielded a 0.29%. The chart below shows the gender profile of the participants. The attempt to have a balanced distribution of gender among the participants was deliberate action by the researcher. This was done in order to get the views of both males and females in the youth empowerment arena and how this contributes to peacebuilding. The chart below presents the gender patterns of respondents.

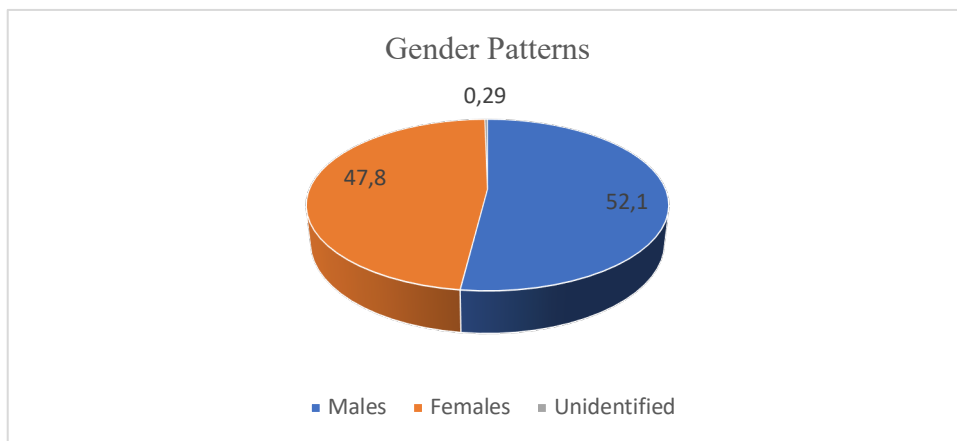


Figure 6.1: Gender patterns of respondents

Source: Field Data (2018)

6.3.2 Settlement Patterns

Most of the participants (225 which yielded 65.6%) lived in the rural areas across the four provinces. This reflects the state of Zimbabwe as a country whose population (65%) are domiciled in the rural areas. This was followed by a sizeable number of urban dwellers; 114 which yielded 33.2%. Five participants (1.5%) did not disclose their place of residence. The chart below shows settlement patterns of the participant.

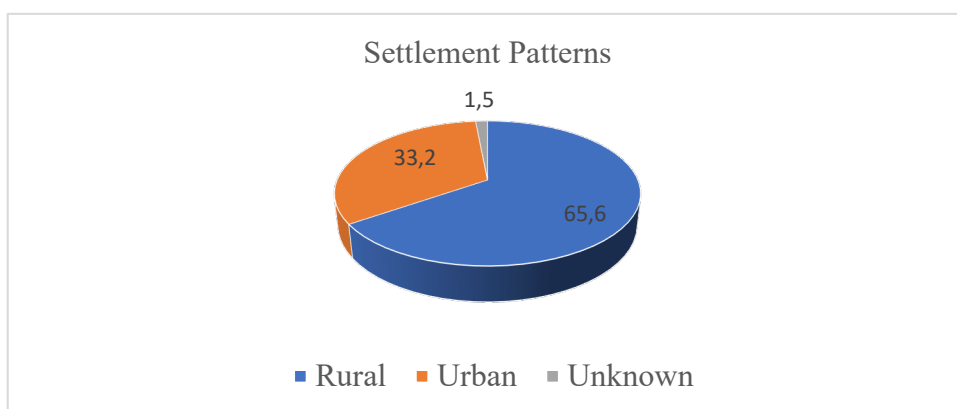


Figure 6.2: Settlement patterns of respondents

Source: Field Data (2018)

6.3.3 Educational Profile

Most of the participants in the survey questionnaires were literate, with a significantly higher percentage (44.1%) having completed or pursuing tertiary education. This is interesting to note

that the majority of the participants in the study have completed or are in pursuit of their tertiary education. This was closely followed by those with secondary education at 42.6%. An insignificantly 0.3% of the youth who participated in the survey questionnaires indicated that they have not received any form of education. The chart below (Figure 6.3) gives a summary of the educational backgrounds of survey questionnaire participants.

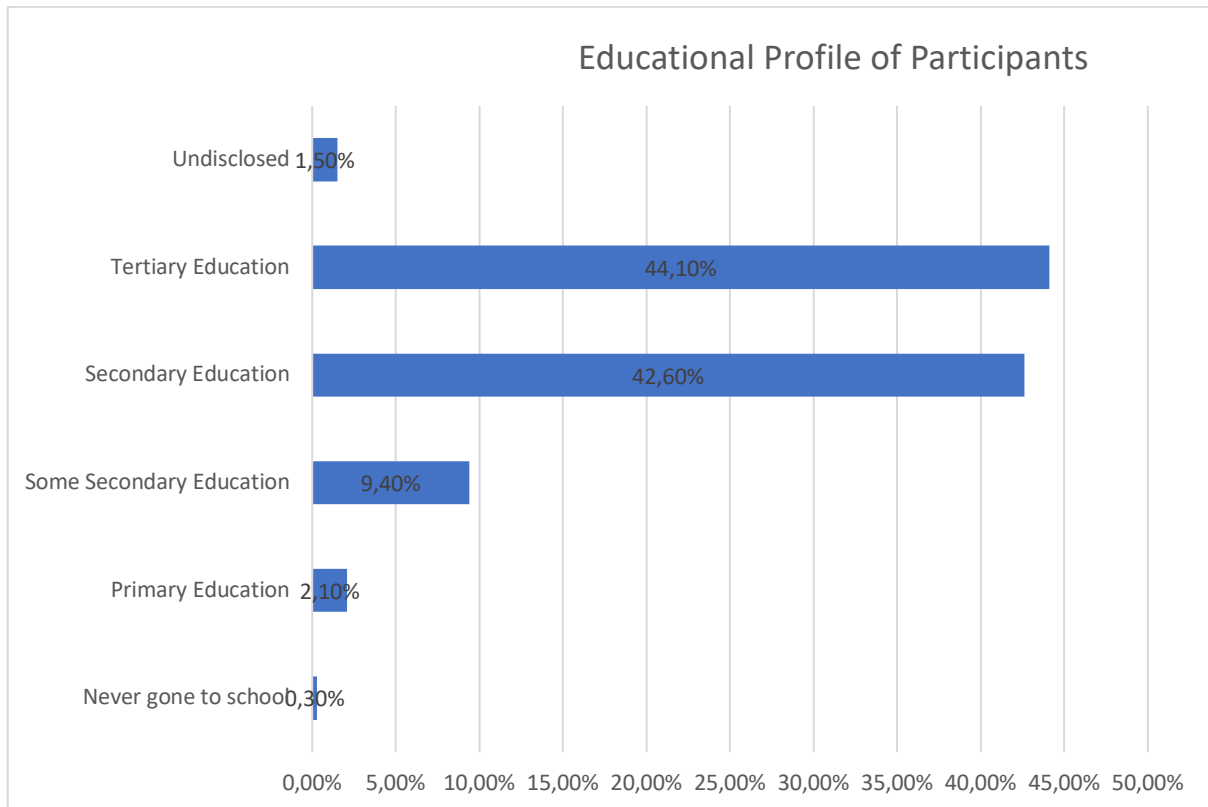


Figure 6.3: Educational profile of questionnaire survey participants

Source: Field Data (2018)

The educational backgrounds for participants in the in-depth interviews was more uniform. From the three (3) categories of participants, all the interviewees had some tertiary education. This is because of the nature of their jobs. All the four respondents (4) from the Government-stakeholder ministry had at least a college diploma or a university degree. A similar situation also prevailed in the respondents from civil society organisations and universities who also were holders of either a diploma or a university degree. Table 6.2 gives a summary of the educational profile of participants in the in-depth interviews.

Table 6.2: Educational profile of interview participants

Respondents	Degree Holders	Diploma Holders
Academic Respondents	4	--
Government Respondents	2	2
Civil Society Respondents	4	2
Total	10	4

Source: Field Data (2018)

6.3.4 Age Profile of respondents

A total of 329 youth with an average age of 27 years participated in the questionnaire survey. The majority of these were in the age range of 18-38. However, there were 6 participants aged 41-50 who took part in the survey. Some of these are workers who work with the youth and some were closely associated with youth projects. So apart from the predominantly youth participants, the study also sought the views of those outside the youth category but who were conversant with youth issues.

6.4 Questionnaire analysis – Scoring and definition of variables

Three hundred and twenty-nine (329) participants completed the questionnaire (See Appendix). The participants indicated their responses on a scale of 0-10 on each item. For ease of presentation and understanding, all the figures were converted to percentages (%) by multiplying by 10. Composite overall scores were obtained, and then comparisons were made between gender (male or female), residential area (urban or rural), and level of education (primary, some secondary, secondary or tertiary).

Of the 400 questionnaires, only 329 were returned. Owing to this, the wave analysis was adopted to deal with what was at hand rather than the assumed sample size (Creswell, 2014: 209). Because descriptive statistics approach is not enough to deal with estimation for hypothesis testing (Teddlie and Takkashori, 2009), inferential statistical methods were adopted to support descriptive methods. Descriptive statistics is simply a way to describe our data, they do not allow to make conclusions beyond the data we have analysed or reach conclusions regarding any hypotheses we might have made. According to Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009), inferential statistics can be used to draw conclusions about significant variables.

6.5 Youth and conflict

The study sought to assess the role which youth empowerment and development programmes play in the peace process in Zimbabwe. But to get an in-depth understanding of this phenomenon, the study also sought to understand the role played by the youth in violent conflict. This section was in response to the study's first research question that sought to know the challenges which are faced by the youth and how they contributed to youth violence. The focus of the question was on different dimensions such as involvement of the youth in violent conflict, the drivers of youth violent behaviour, contribution of poverty to youth violent behaviour, and youth as victims and or perpetrators of violent conflict among others. The findings are presented in the following sections.

6.5.1 Causes of youth violence

The results showed that an overall 65 % of the respondents in the questionnaire survey indicated that poverty was the major driver of youth violent behaviour. The results of the survey questionnaire revealed the involvement of the youth in violent conflict in Zimbabwe. This was confirmed by 52% of the participants. A significant percentage (58%) indicated that youth are driven into violent behaviour owing to their involvement in political processes. The toxic and predatory nature of the Zimbabwe political landscape was said to be responsible for the violent disposition of many young people. There was also a significant percentage agreement of 55% which indicated that young people are victims of violent conflict. The table below illustrates a summary of the feedback from the various categories of respondents.

Table 6.3: Causes of youth violent behaviour

	Over- all	Gender		Residence		Education			
		Fem ale	Male	Rura l	Urba n	Prim ary	Som e Seco n- dary	Seco n- dary	Terti ary
	N=32 9	n=16 1	n=16 7	n=22 0	n=10 5	n=7	n=31	n=14 0	n=14 5
Youth in Zimbabwe are involved in violent conflict.	52	49	55	54	48	61	50	55	50
Youths are driven into violence by politics.	58	55	61	58	59	41	54	59	60
Poverty contributes to youth violent behaviour.	65	64	66	67	60	67	69	65	64
Youth are victims of violent conflict.	55	55	55	57	53	56	56	55	56
Youth are perpetrators of violent conflict	47	48	46	44	53	30	47	45	50

Source: Field Data (2018)

6.5.2 Poverty and violent youth behaviour

It is more interesting to note the contribution of poverty to youth violent behaviour. It came out strongly from the survey questionnaire data that the level of poverty is an important variable in the participation of young people in violent conflict. Results from statement number three (3) on the survey questionnaire which sought to explore the contribution of poverty to youth violent behaviour, indicated that 65% of the respondents viewed that poverty contributes to youth violent behaviour. Across all the categories of the respondents, the percentage agreement was over 60% which shows that participants strongly agreed to the assertion that youth violent behaviour is caused by the level of poverty among young people.

A comparison of the respondents with various levels of education on their perception of the role of poverty in youth violent behaviour is worth noting. Only those with tertiary education had lower than 65% perception agreement on the role of poverty in the violent disposition of young people. The highest percentage agreement (69%) came from respondents with some secondary education who strongly believed that participation of the youth in violent conflict is informed by the levels of poverty that characterise this demographic group. This is so interesting given the levels of poverty among the youth in the country. Figure 6.4 below gives

a comparison of the understanding of participants with different levels of education on the role of poverty on youth violent behaviour.

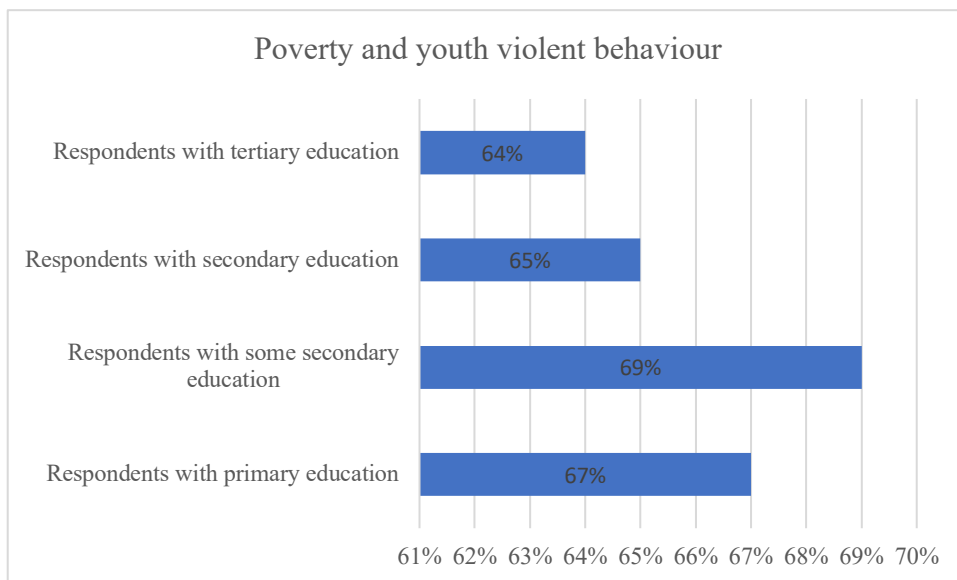


Figure 6.4: Poverty and youth violent behaviour

Source: Field data (2018)

Results as presented in Figure 6.4 above were corroborated by data from in-depth interviews. Respondents in the in-depth interviews confirmed the relationship of poverty among the youth and their disposition to violent behaviour. Respondents lamented on the vulnerability of young people as economic opportunities for them are far and wide. A collapsing economy which could not meet the demands of the population was cited as the reason for the lack of economic opportunities. The vulnerability of young people was said to expose them to the recruitment by political organisations to participate in violent conflict. A more recent exhibition of the exploitation of the youth who lack economic opportunities was their active participation in the violent protests in recent elections. Commenting on this issue, respondent (A1) remarked that:

I think economically we find young people that are vulnerable, young people that lack opportunities, young people that have become desperate for economic opportunities arising from an environment characterised by a collapsing economy that is generally failing to meet the demands of its citizens...Politically we have seen young people that are being used as pawns and instruments of violence because, arising from their vulnerability you can see that young people can easily be rewarded by small tokens for them to participate in violence.

From the comment above, youth vulnerability was said to be a result of the deep-seated poverty among the youth. Another respondent (C1) went further and tried to present the nexus between lack of youth economic empowerment and their participation in insurrections or uprisings. The lack of empowerment which results in extreme poverty among the youth demographic group was viewed as sufficient reason for the participation of young people in insurrection. The participant remarked:

I think based on other countries, if young people are not empowered there is that risk of them doing an uprising. If young people are not empowered and are in poverty, I think there is that risk of them doing an uprising. The government and other stakeholders need to make sure that youth issues are addressed so that we do not end up having a war. A lot of young people, some of them are very angry, some of them are very bitter. If you then push them to the limit they may not necessarily be nonviolent in a way. So, we run the risk of young people starting an uprising.

Responding to the possible consequences of unemployment and rising levels of poverty among young people respondent (C1) remarked that:

The first scenario is we face a similar situation like the Arab springs. That is the first scenario. Secondly, we may have an uprising which may degenerate into a civil war and become a second DRC which is in perpetual conflict. This can be avoided if the government and other stakeholders prioritise youth affairs which is currently not happening.

This was a reference to the violent anti-government protests which were instigated and perpetrated mainly by the youth in the Arab nations of Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Yemen, Syria and Bahrain from 2010. The protests were a response to oppressive regimes and plummeting living standards caused by rising unemployment principally among the youth. It was also a reference to the perennial conflict in the DRC which has dragged on for years now.

It is imperative to point out that the social vice of poverty which young people are subjected to emanates from rampant unemployment among this demographic group. Youth unemployment was cited as the leading challenge which the youth are facing not only in Zimbabwe but across the African continent. This unemployment was as a result

of the shrinking macro-economic environment which the country has been experiencing for the past twenty years. This was said to be the main source of youth vulnerability. One respondent (G1) remarked that:

So, the bulk of young people are unemployed and find themselves in a condition of vulnerability and end up resorting to drug and substance abuse and violence. Formal jobs are scarce, and the situation is set not to improve in the next couple of years and this makes the empowerment of young people a viable alternative.

Unemployment and poverty among young people were said to subject them to political manipulation by political leaders. Owing to poverty, the youth were said to be available for political machinations especially politically motivated violence. Commenting on the availability of the youth to embark in political violence in return for money or food, participant (C1) said:

What I see is that the youth have nothing to do. The issue of unemployment is a very big issue for the youth to the extent that when they are not working, or doing anything for themselves, they are open to political manipulation by politicians. They are given money or beer to participate in politically motivated violence especially in the rural areas.

6.5.3 Politics and youth violence

Statement number 2 on the survey questionnaire sought to explore the role of politics in influencing the violent disposition of young people. Table 6.3 illustrates that 58% of the respondents thought that political influence has a role in youth violence. Respondents indicated that the nature and terrain of politics in Zimbabwe was driving young people into violent conflict. The polarised nature of the political field has divided the populace and set political opponents as enemies. The study here considered how participants responded to this statement in their respective gender. There was a 61% perception agreement from the male respondents compared to a 55% perception agreement from their female counterparts. This is presented graphically by figure 6.5 below

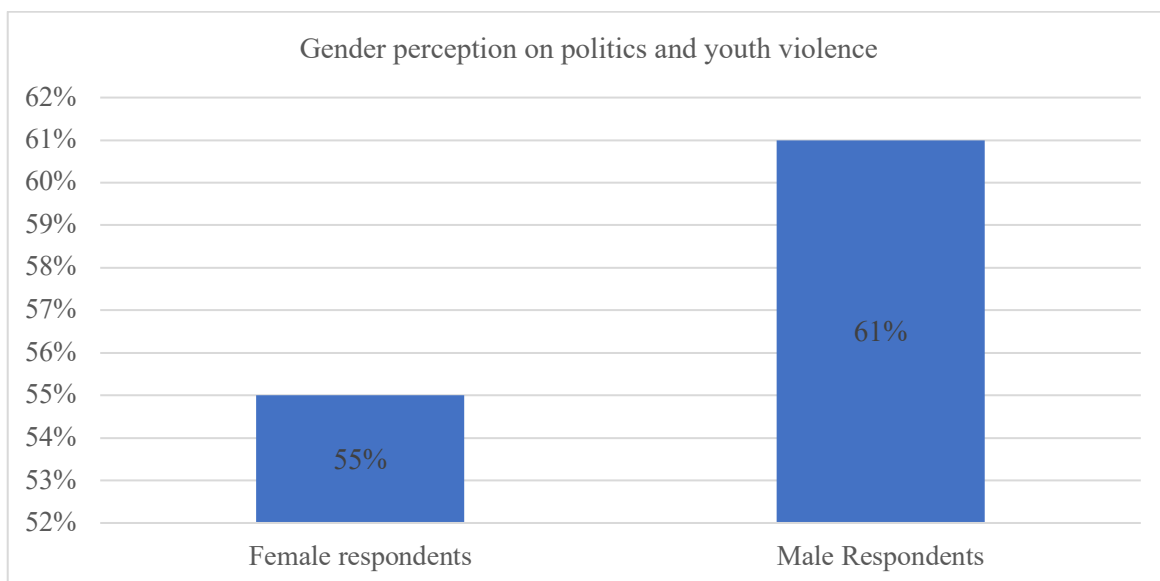


Figure 6.5: Politics and youth violence

Source: Field data (2018)

An interesting trend also emerged from the data that was yielded by responses for statement number two. The percentage agreement on the role of politics in driving young people into violence increased corresponding with the level of education. Respondents with only primary education had a 41% agreement and those with tertiary education had a 61% agreement. This means that the link between politics and youth violence was understood differently by respondents with different levels of education. Figure 6.6 below illustrates the different perceptions of the respondents on the influence which politics has on youth violence.

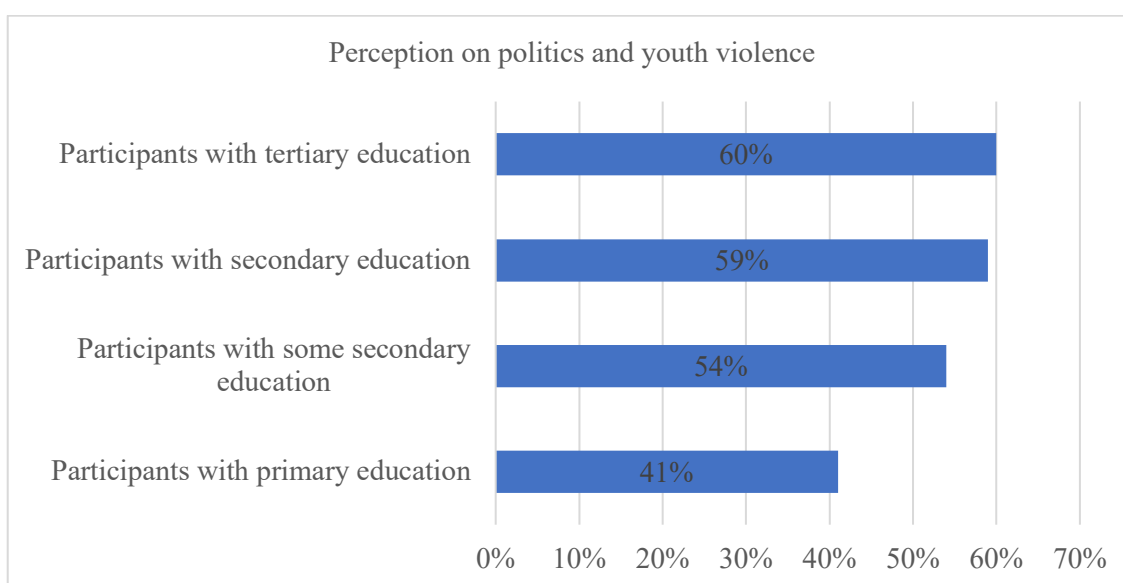


Figure 6.6: Politics and Youth violence

Source: Field data (2018)

Respondents of in-depth interviews explained how the nature of politics in the country entangle the youth in violence. One respondent referred to the politicised terrain of the empowerment discourse which is exclusionary and considers political patronage as a condition to be considered eligible for empowerment. The respondent (A2) remarked:

Over the years we are talking of a heavily politicised terrain where everything is interpreted through political lenses. Sometimes the empowerment kind of thing you are talking about is heavily politicised. We are talking of someone who is being introduced to looting as a way of life, lack of accountability as a way of life, the abuse in government institutions and resources as a way of life because of the political environment that is prevailing.

The role of politics was emphasised as very critical in curbing or instigating and perpetrating young people's violent behaviour. Respondent (A2) emphasised the role of politicians in the violent disposition of young people. The respondent explained that:

Politicians set the youth against their perceived political opponents for some nominal gains. We have seen this especially in the rural areas where the youth in the resettlement areas are indoctrinated to defend the gains of the land reform programme by violently suppressing the political opponents especially of the ruling party. The youth are advised that failure to support the ruling the party, they will forfeit the land which is alleged to have been given to them by the ruling party.

The culture of violence among the youth is even promoted by the impunity which is granted to perpetrators of the said violence. Respondent (A1) decried this culture of impunity by remarking that:

The culture of impunity in this country is so amazing. Young people who have been involved in violence think that they can do it again and be protected by politicians. After unleashing young people against political opponents for perceived economic gains, the system has no appetite to prosecute the suspects and give justice to the victims. This has accentuated the violent culture among the youth and has seen young people being active in politically motivated violence for personal gain. This is because they are

vulnerable economically and are ready to do the dirty work for politicians for promises of economic gain.

Further, the politicisation of the youth empowerment programmes was said to be detrimental to the peace process in the country. The youth empowerment drive was said to be so politicised in favour of members of the ruling party. Politics of patronage which seemed to dominate the youth empowerment programmes were said to be unsustainable and will in the long run result in the rebellion of those who are marginalised. Commenting on the politicisation of the young people's empowerment programmes participant (A3) remarked:

But one of the challenges I have seen with the so-called policies to empower young people, is that those policies have been politicised. They have been politicised to the extent that they tend to exclude other players and they tend to focus on those that are pro-ruling party. So, the empowerment policies tend to be exclusive to those who belong to the ruling party. This is not sustainable in the long run because those who are marginalised are going to rebel against the system. Unfortunately, when the time for implosion comes, it is often disruptive and/or destructive.

6.6 Youth development and empowerment

The survey questionnaire section B looked at the youth development and empowerment programmes in Zimbabwe. This sought to address research question number 2: What are the youth empowerment and development programmes the government and civil society organisations have in Zimbabwe? The study attempted to answer this question from various dimensions such as availability of government and civil society programmes for the youth, participation of the youth in the government programmes meant for the them, availability of loans for projects for the youth, government and civil society economic support for the youth among other dimensions. The results of the survey questionnaire indicated very interesting trends in the youth empowerment programmes by the government and civil society organisations. The overall percentage agreement for the various statements showed that respondents' views on the state of youth development and empowerment was low. Across all the statements from statement number 6 to statement number 16, the overall percentage agreement was 39% or less. The overall trends are shown in Figure 6.7 below.

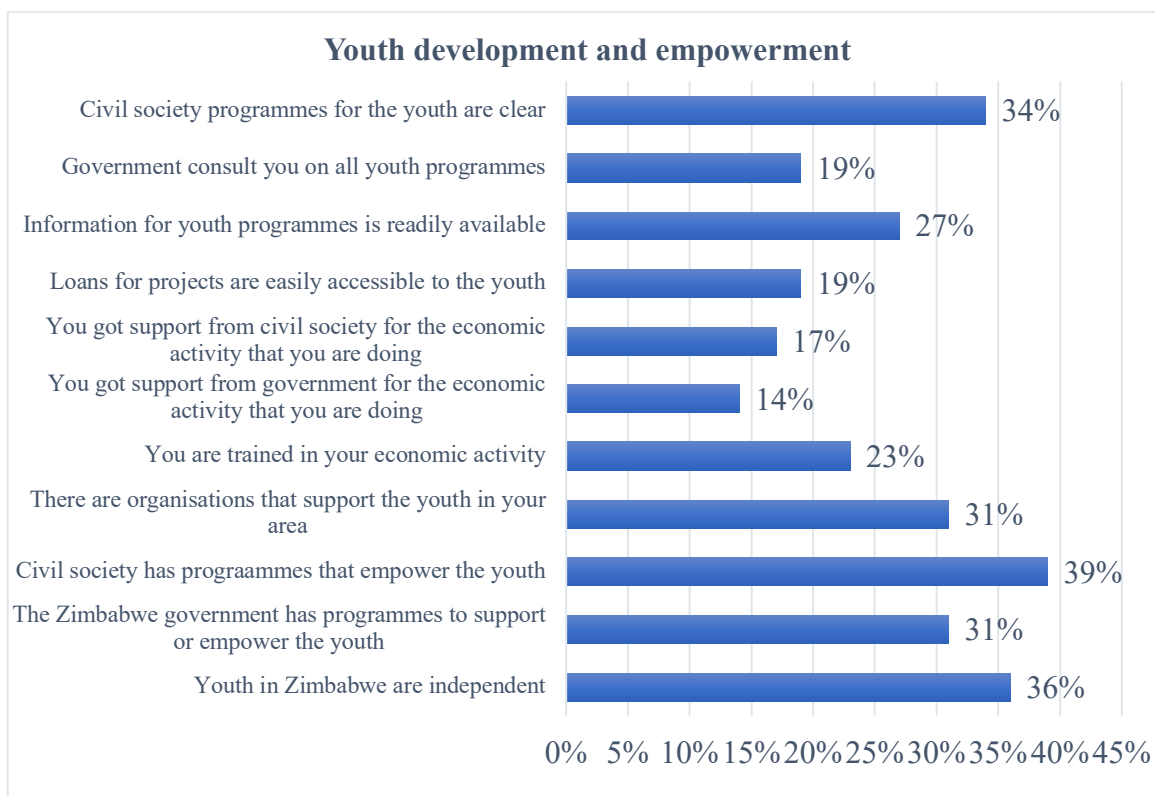


Figure 6.7: Youth development and empowerment

Source: Field Data (2018)

6.6.1 Government-civil society empowerment programmes

The study further sought to examine the feedback of individual statements. In doing this the study interrogated the form and nature of youth programmes which are initiated by government and civil society in order to empower the youth. Statement number 7 and 8 on the survey questionnaire dealt with this. The data which they yielded indicated that though there are youth programmes that are initiated by the government and civil society, they are not enough to meet the needs of the youth population. The data revealed the inadequacy of government-civil society efforts to meet the demand for the youth empowerment programmes. Thirty one percent (31%) consented that there were government-supported programmes that were meant to benefit the youth. This is against a 39% agreement for those who acknowledged civil society-run youth programmes. The summary of the results is shown in Table 6.4 below:

Table 6.4: Government-civil society empowerment programmes

	Gender		Residence		Education				Overall %
	Female	Male	Rural	Urban	Pr. Educ.	Some Sec Educ.	Sec. Educ.	Tertiary Educ.	
Civil Society	38	39	40	36	51	45	37	38	39
Government	32	30	30	33	13	29	29	35	31

Source: Field Data (2018)

The inadequacy of the government and civil society empowerment programmes was confirmed by respondents from the in-depth interviews. The depth of the inadequacy of government and civil society programmes for empowering young people was evident as shown by the lack of skills among the youth. All the respondents in the in-depth interviews concurred that government and civil society lacked the capacity to fund the training of young people. Though civil society organisations were said to be doing better than the government, their efforts still were not sufficient to address the paucity of youth skills in the country. The participants agreed that the training of young people in various technical and vocational skills was critical and key to the youth empowerment drive. This was scuppered because the country does not have enough institutions which provided training in technical and vocational skills for young people. Respondent (G2) highlighted the magnitude of this challenge by asserting that:

The main challenge which the youth are facing is the lack of life or vocational skills. These are so critical in them earning a living. But the government does have the capacity to provide this training which is so critical for the empowerment of the youth. For example, we only have one government-run vocational training institution in the province which ordinarily cannot enrol all the youth in the province who wanted to be trained. This is more or less the situation obtaining across the country. Though civil society organisations try to fill the gap, they are overwhelmed by the demand and as a result they are stretched as well.

Moreover, the lack of employment among the youth was displayed by the skills deficit among this population group. Respondents acknowledged this shortcoming in the youth empowerment drive being spearheaded by the government. Respondent (G3) from the government stakeholder ministry commenting on the skills deficit posited that:

The challenge we have is about skills training. It is a very big challenge because we do not have a vocational training centre in the district. Other districts are better than us because they have got assistance from the civil society organisations which we scarcely get here. The private funders we had previously left at the height of the land reform and the government has not been able to fill this gap which the private funders left. So, you will find out that for skills training of the youth, we depend with Mushagashe Vocational Training College, which is the only one for entire province and this is not enough. If we had a Vocational Training Institution, it would have been a lot easier for youth to be enrolled because it would have been less expensive.

Moreover, where skills training is concerned, respondents pointed out that the youth especially in the rural areas are unable to fund their acquisition of the skills programmes. The government is equally not able to fund these youth programmes. Respondent (G4) had this to say:

In rural areas, there are some communities which respond positively to programmes of youth empowerment. The only problem in the rural areas is the payment of fees for such programmes. Once it is said that there are some fees to be paid for a given programme, the rural youth cannot afford. To make matters worse, the government does not have the financial resources to fund these youth empowerment programmes. We, however, encourage the youth to pay for the training so vocational training to get self-employment because formal employment is no longer available.

However, though it emerged from the interviews that government-initiated youth empowerment programmes were far and wide, results from the in-depth interviews revealed that civil society organisations attempted to fill the gap. It emerged from the interviews that civil society organisations have a number of programmes they have initiated for the empowerment of young people. Thus, one civil society respondent (C2) commented that:

We are doing a lot of work for young people where we do some leadership training and some interventions especially for young women because they face some challenges which we really need to look at. So, we do some work with them around leadership training and development programmes that we have been running since 2005. Through those leadership training, we identify young women with potential to undergo further training. Through such programmes we have seen some of the young people going into

leadership positions in political parties, in government, in private sector and the NGO sector.

6.6.2 Government-civil society economic support for the youth

The study also sought to explore the extent to which government and civil society supported young people in their economic initiatives. Statements number 11 and 12 sought the views of the participants on the nature and extent of economic support rendered to youth by the government and civil society organisations. Results showed a very low percentage agreement for the support which government and civil society render to young people in their economic endeavours. Only 17% of the participants in the survey questionnaire acknowledged that they received some form of economic support from civil society organisations. This is against a paltry 14% who concurred that government is giving them economic support to advance their economic interests. Table 6.5 below provides a picture of the responses from the respondents.

Table 6.5: Government-civil society economic support for the youth

	Gender		Residence		Education				Overall %
	Female	Male	Rural	Urban	Pr. Educ.	Some Sec Educ.	Sec. Educ.	Tertiary Educ.	
Civil Society	20	15	16	19	3	17	15	20	17
Government	15	13	14	19	3	14	14	15	14

Source: Field Data (2018)

The lack of economic support for youth projects was confirmed by the participants in the in-depth interviews. Majority of youth projects were said to be suffering from lack of funding or underfunding. Respondents indicated that though the government through the Ministry of Finance attempted at some point to set up a youth fund which aimed at providing loans to youth to start income generating projects, the youth fund suffered from mal-administration and non-payment of loans by beneficiaries. The youth who benefited from the youth fund were said to have used the money for some other purposes other than what the money was intended for. This resulted in them failing to pay back the loans when they were due. Respondents seemed to agree on the lack of accountability on funds disbursed by the government for the purposes of youth empowerment. This lack of accountability was said to be both from ministry officials and beneficiaries of the funds. One government official respondent (G3) lamented that:

The loans which we give them (youth) is a form of a revolving fund, which means the money should be paid back to keep it running. However, the beneficiaries are not paying back and our revolving fund runs dry and other youth are no longer able to access any money because there is no money in the revolving fund. The problem is lack of a recovery mechanism for the funds that would have been disbursed to fund the youth projects. There are no clear guidelines on the course of action to be taken by the responsible ministry to coerce the recipients of the loans to pay back.

To buttress the point above G2 added that:

We face a problem of political interference whenever we try to enforce the rules for the repayment of the loans. For reasons we are not sure of, sometimes government shows no appetite to seek legal recourse to compel those youth who owe the ministry to pay back the money. There is also an attitude among the youth and even across the general populace that the money belongs to the government and they are under no obligation to pay it back.

G3 added that:

We cannot significantly fund youth projects because as a ministry we are financially crippled. This emanates from a number of reasons, chief among them is underfunding of the ministry from central treasury. If you consider our budget allocation from treasury as the ministry of youth, you will concur that we are underfunded as a ministry and that is the reason why we are unable to fund many of the youth projects. There are many youths who approach us for funding for various projects ranging from skills training and income generating projects, but we do not have the fiscal space to achieve this.

The lack of funding or underfunding of youth for income generating projects was also expressed by respondents in the civil society fraternity. Respondents confirmed that civil society organisations do not provide enough financial support to the youths after providing them with training in technical skills. Responses extracted from the interviews confirm this:

C2: *We don't provide the youth with any financial assistance to start up projects. What we do is that we facilitate what we call village savings and lending...we encourage*

them to form some groups and, in these groups, they pool their financial resources together and start self-lending.

C3: *There are other projects we are doing which started last year 2017, where we offered grants of \$49 to all 'O' and 'A' level graduates for them to start their projects.*

C4: *Maybe I will start with the general challenge; the obvious one we are facing in our endeavours to empower the youth; the issue of resources. We do not have enough resources to be able to serve the youth constituency.*

6.6.3 Youth participation: Negative inclusion

Results from the field showed lack of inclusivity and positive participation of young people in projects that affect them. Results from the survey questionnaires showed lack of youth inclusion and consultation in the formulation and implementation of youth programmes. In responding to statement number 15, which wanted to find out the extent of youth involvement in the formulation of empowerment policy and programmes, the data that emerged showed lack of youth participation. For the youth who participated in the survey questionnaires, there was an overall 18% perception agreement that the government consulted them for programmes meant for them. This is constituted by 19% of the female participants and 17% of male participants who indicated that the government consulted them on youth programmes. The percentage agreement of those who confirmed consultation by the government on all youth programmes is less than 20% across all the categories of the participants. This shows the absence or limited input from young people in programmes rolled by the government for the youth. Figure 6.8 below shows a summary of the findings.

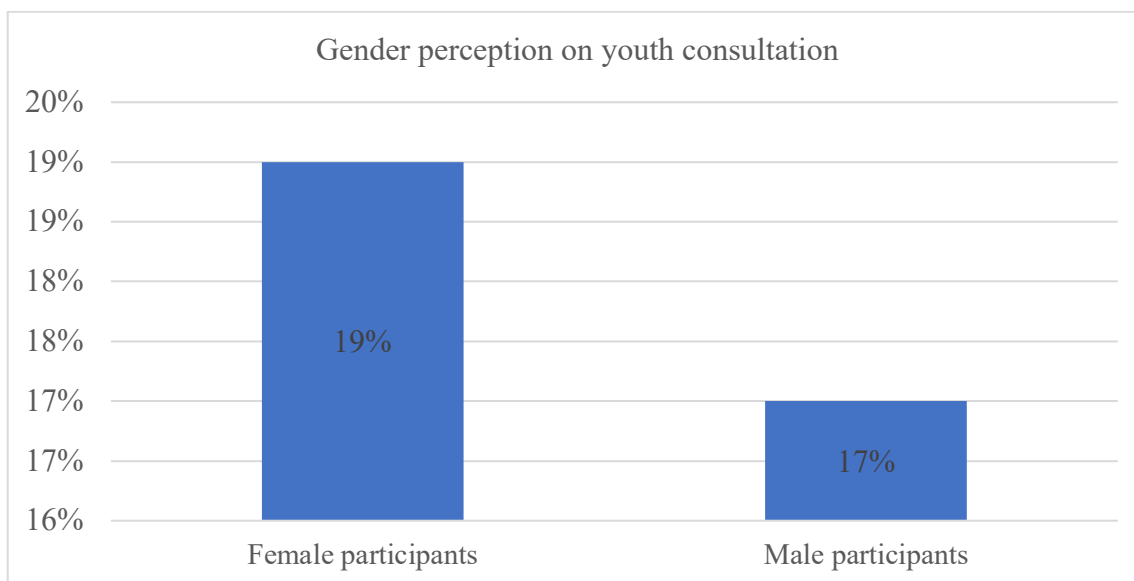


Figure 6. 8: Youth inclusion

Source: Field data (2018)

Moreover, respondents categorised in their levels of education also showed a low percentage agreement on the engagement of the youth in their programmes. The trends are shown in Figure 6.9 below.

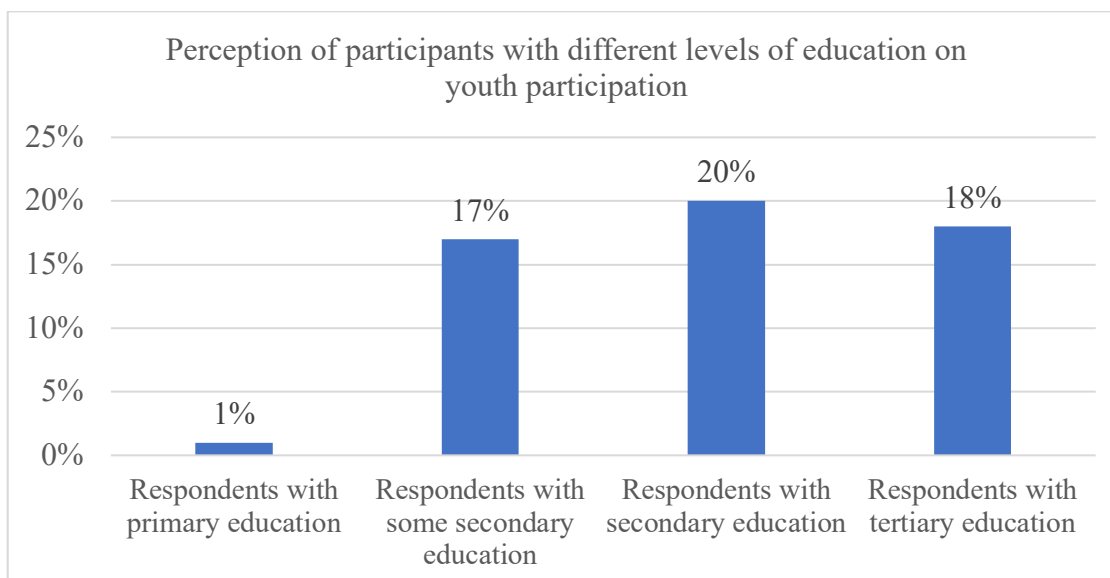


Figure 6.9: Youth Inclusion

Source: Field Data (2018)

Lack of youth participation in decision making in matters that affect them was confirmed by data from the in-depth interviews. Youth were said to be completely absent or under-

represented in the affairs that concern them. The belief that the old possess wisdom and therefore have the sole right to decision making has resulted in the marginalisation of the youth based on age or in what one respondent called ‘gerontocracy’. Despite young people being the majority population, they are underrepresented in key decision-making processes. Respondent C1 said:

...so, there is under-representation. If for, example, the current National Assembly we have after the 2018 elections, we only have 6 Members of Parliament out of the 210 Members who are below 35 years. That basically means that at the end of the day youth issues are not adequately articulated in the key decision-making processes.

Even in circumstances where efforts have been made to include the youth in decision making, the inclusion has been said to be inadequate. C4 added that:

...I think for me is the issue of what I would term an attempt to exclude. You know, I mean negative inclusion of young people where you find out that political parties, government include young people for specific reasons, to put up posters, to clap at rallies, you know. That is a serious challenge because it also comes with a lot of indoctrination which is affecting positive youth participation...

Though the exclusion of the youth appeared prominently in the interview data, attempts to include the youth to participate in the socio-economic affairs of their communities were also manifest. Respondents from civil society organisations confirmed efforts which the CSOs are making towards positive inclusion of the youths in the socio-economic activities of their communities. The inclusion entailed civic participation, consultation, participation in economic and political issues. Commenting on the role of CSOs in including the youth in politico-economic issues, one civil society respondent (C4) asserted that:

We are focussed on the concept of active citizenship which involves participation in economic issues, participation in political issues, participation in social issues so that we build towards what we call a deliberative democratic framework where all citizens have been empowered sufficiently enough to fully participate in the different sectors of the Zimbabwean political and economic landscape.

The inclusion of young people took varied forms and also involved the interaction of young people with policy makers to initiate dialogue that influences policy direction. Respondents

from the CSOs alluded to the creation of platforms for the youth for interaction and interfacing between young people and their leaders who include legislators, local authorities and government officials. In explaining this point C1 submitted that:

So, there are a number of instances where young people participate to shape how funds like the National Youth Development Fund can be utilised in a manner that serve the youth. There are demographic dividends...We have established platforms like running initiatives for the local youth which is basically an initiative meant to increase youth participation at local governance level. We run an active citizen participation programme which is meant to make sure that young people participate in political processes.

However, despite efforts being made by CSOs towards facilitating youth participation, challenges were highlighted by some participants. Commenting on the nature of CSOs-driven youth participation and the difficulties encountered in the endeavour to have the youth empowered, A1 indicated that:

The CSOs, I think are trying but my worry is, the model sometimes does not fit the context owing to the interests of the funders. There is an agenda and they want things done their way; they want to introduce concepts that are not very compatible with obtaining realities. So, sometimes they are doing a lot, but the prescription is very, very wrong to the prevailing context.

6.7 Youth empowerment and peacebuilding

The nexus between the discourse of youth empowerment and peacebuilding came out strongly in the survey questionnaire data. The economic well-being of the citizenry and the youth in particular is crucial in taming the youth's inclination to engage in violent conflict. Figure 6.10 below shows respondents' overall feedback to statements number 17 to 23 in section C of the questionnaire, which dealt with the relationship between youth empowerment and peacebuilding. This sought to address the crux for this current study for it wanted to establish the relationship between youth empowerment and peacebuilding. To a greater extent, respondents submitted that economic insecurity results in the youth resorting to violent conflict, therefore undermining the peace process in any community or country.

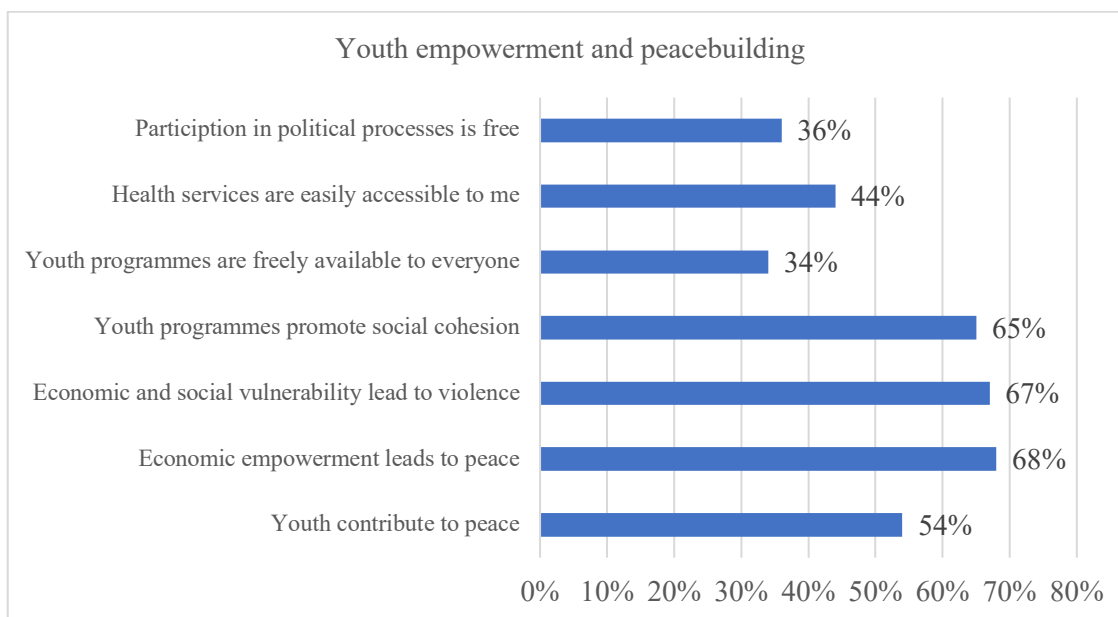


Figure 6.10: Youth empowerment and peacebuilding

Source: Field data (2018)

As shown by Figure 6.10 above, the role of economic and social empowerment of the youth is so indispensable to the attainment of positive and durable peace. Feedback from respondents in the survey questionnaire indicated an overall 68% agreement that economic empowerment of young people translates into peace. If young people are not economically empowered, they become socially vulnerable and this may result in violent conflict being perpetrated by young people. Sixty-seven (67%) percent of the respondents believed that if young people are economically and socially insecure, they resort to violent conflict. Economic and social vulnerability exposes the youth to manipulation by extremist groups which make them ready to support rebel or violent uprisings. It also emerged strongly from the data that social cohesion can be promoted by youth programmes. From the feedback from the survey questionnaires, it emerged that 65% of the respondents believed that programmes for the young people are integral in the promotion of social cohesion. Moreover, the importance of young people in promoting the peace process emerged strongly from the data. The contribution of the youth to the peace process was important across all the categories of the respondents. Fifty four percent of the respondents believed that young people are indispensable to the promotion of sustainable peace.

6.7.1 Economic empowerment translates to peace

It is important to examine the understanding of respondents to some individual statements which are so critical to this study. Statement number 18 sought to explore the correlation between economic empowerment and the peace process, so, it is worth mentioning. The majority of the respondents believed that economic empowerment of young people translates to peace. Among those who responded to this statement, overall 68% believed that there is a strong correlation between economic well-being of young people and their orientation towards peace. As is shown by Figure 6.11 below, the relationship between peace and economic empowerment came out strongly in the data. There was an over 60% perception agreement among the different categories of respondents who agreed that peace and economic empowerment of young people are related. It shows how strong respondents believed in the assertion that economic empowerment of young people translates to peace. Figure 6.11 below illustrate the trends in responses to statement number 18 from a gender perspective.

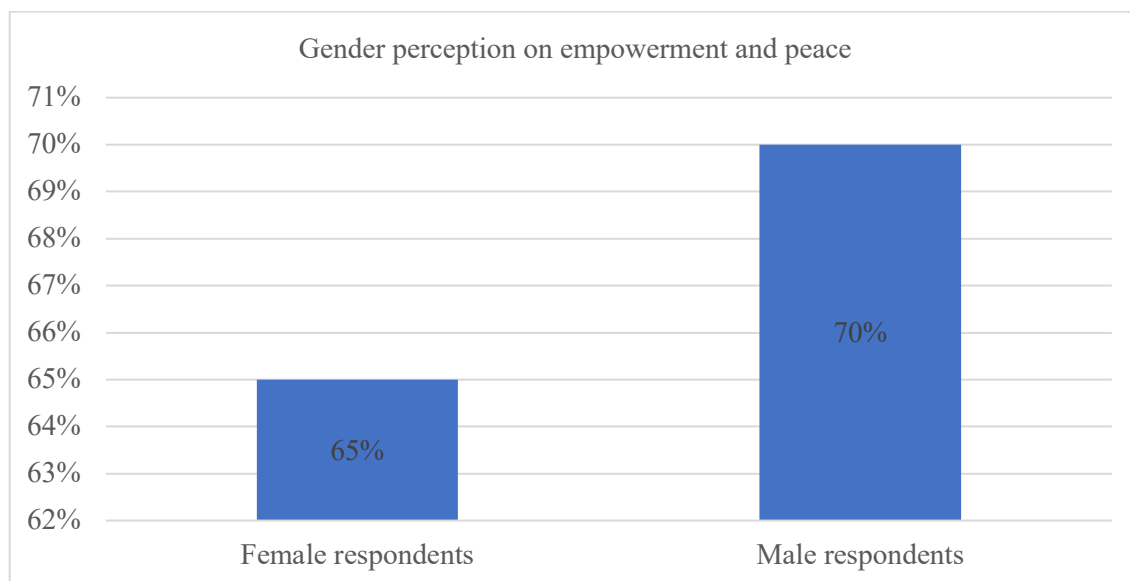


Figure 6.11: Gender perception on economic empowerment and the peace process

Source: Field data (2018)

Figure 6.11 illustrates the gender disparity in terms of the respondents' understanding on the link between youth empowerment and the peace process. As is illustrated, there was between 65-70% perception agreement between female and male respondents on the role which youth empowerment play in peacebuilding.

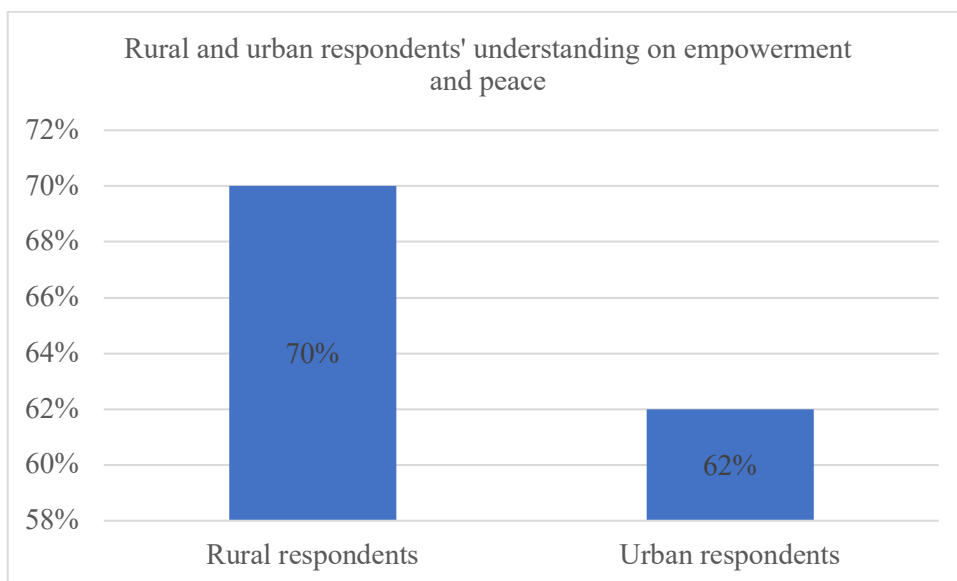


Figure 6.12: Economic Empowerment and the Peace Process

Source: Field data (2018)

There was disparity between rural and urban respondents on the role that youth empowerment can play towards peacebuilding (Figure 6.12). This is important to note for it is very relevant to the study. Respondents in the rural areas had a 70% perception agreement that youth empowerment is so critical to the peacebuilding process. This is against a 62% perception agreement from the urban respondents who believed that economic empowerment is vital for peacebuilding.

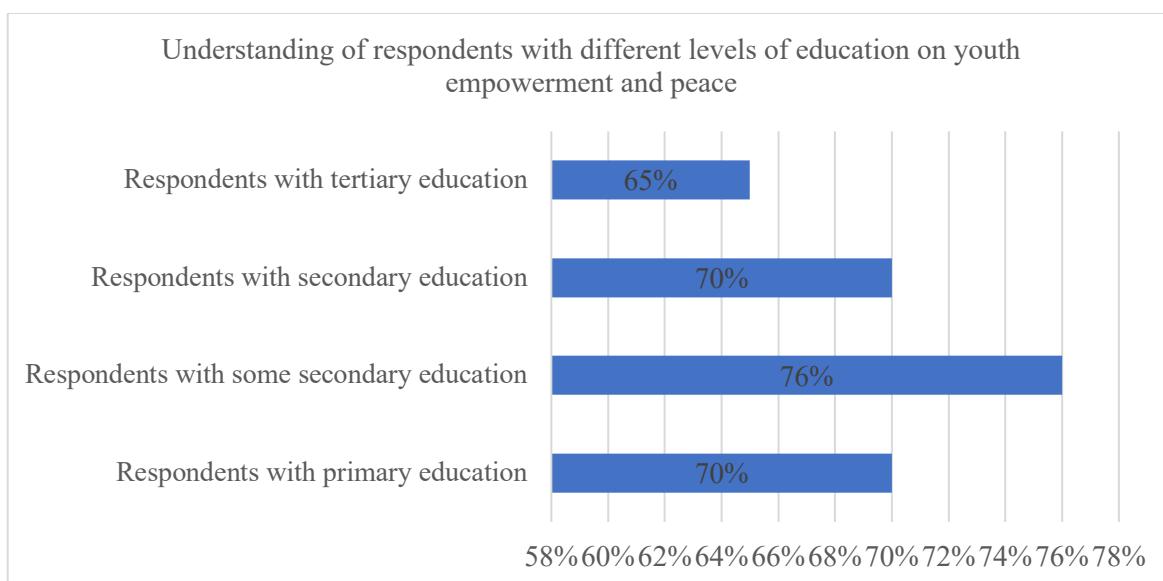


Figure 6.13: Economic empowerment and the peace process

Source: Field data (2018)

Figure 6.13 above illustrates the perception of respondents with different levels of education on the relationship of economic empowerment and the peace process. The respondents with some secondary education had the highest percentage perception of 76% and the lowest came from those with tertiary education which stood at 65%.

The relationship between the peace process and economic wellbeing of young people was confirmed by respondents from the in-depth interviews. One respondent who represented the government (G2) stakeholder ministry buttressed this point by saying:

Zimbabwe is in the grips of a bulging youth demography who find themselves unemployed owing to the macro-economic environment. A dormant youth population has become very agitated by the prevailing macro-economic environment which offers them limited or zero opportunities. This has resulted in the anti-government protests which we have experienced as a country in which the youth have taken a very active role. The anti-government protests we have had beginning 2016 are arguably attributable to the rising unemployment in the country especially among the youth. If this is not addressed, we are most likely to follow in the path of the famous Arab springs.

The same view was shared by one academic who indicated that a rising youth population which faces the prospects of unemployment and dwindling chances of a better future jeopardises the peace process in the country. The academic (A4) argued that:

With many young people leaving universities and colleges with degrees and diplomas, the country needs to create adequate employment opportunities to absorb these young people. Failure to have them absorbed, frustration creeps in and what follows is anyone's guess. I see the youth who are educated not patient enough with the government if they find themselves in the streets with virtually nothing to do. A case in point is what happened in the just ended post-election violence this year (2018). Those who were upfront and who caused the havoc to property were youth probably, unemployed youth.

The creation of employment opportunities and sustainable empowerment programmes were given as the solution to youth violence. Respondents alluded to the idea that youth empowerment makes young people to refrain from violent activities. Unemployment among

young people results in desperation and vulnerability and prompts them to take risks such as participating in insurrection or rebel movements. C5 posited that:

I think the solution to solving youth violence is simple: let the government and civil society focus on empowering these young people. We are trying our part as civil society organisations to give the youth skills for them to create their own employment. With the current prevailing economic downturn which the country faces, formal employment has become scarce. So, training the youth in order for them to get employed is not helping the situation. Failure to have these empowered and have their future secured, there is a risk of socio-political instability. This is not farfetched as it has happened with some other countries and it can happen with us.

6.7.2 Social and economic insecurity: A recipe for disaster

Closely related to the link between youth empowerment and peace was the social and economic vulnerability of the youth which was said to be linked to the violent disposition of young people. It came out strongly from the questionnaire data that if youth are socially and economically vulnerable, that increases their disposition to violence. Statement number 19 sought to establish the link between social and economic vulnerability to violence. Figure 6.14 below shows the data that emerged from respondents on the correlation between social and economic vulnerability to violence.

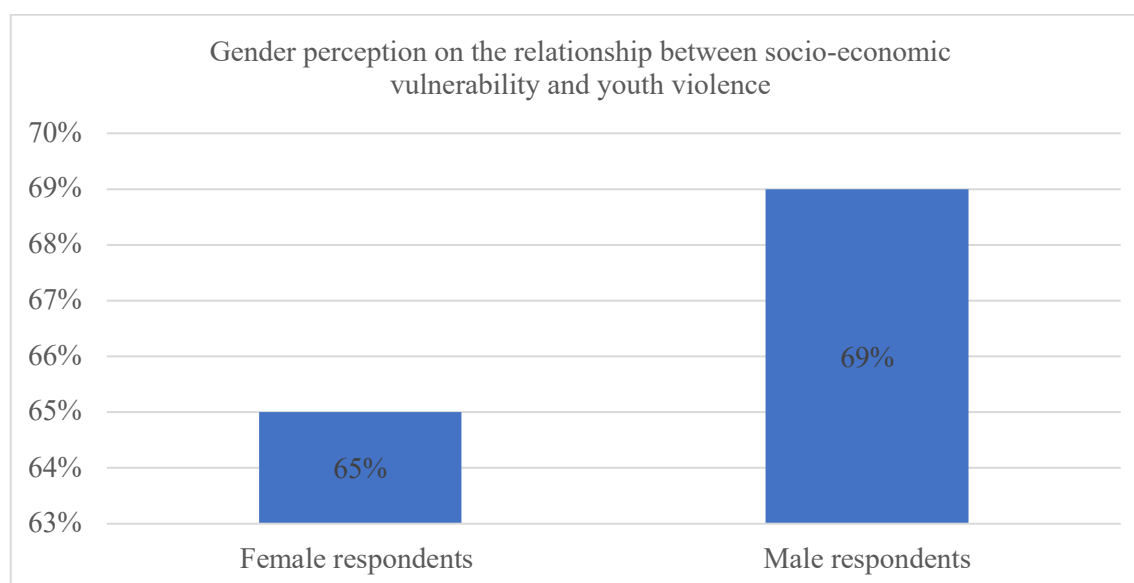


Figure 6.14: Social and economic vulnerability of youth

Source: Field Data (2018)

Figure 6.14 above illustrates the understanding of gender on the correlation between socio-economic vulnerability and youth violent behaviour. A 65% perception agreement for female respondents and 69% perception agreement for male respondent show that respondents believed that a strong link exists between the aforementioned variables.

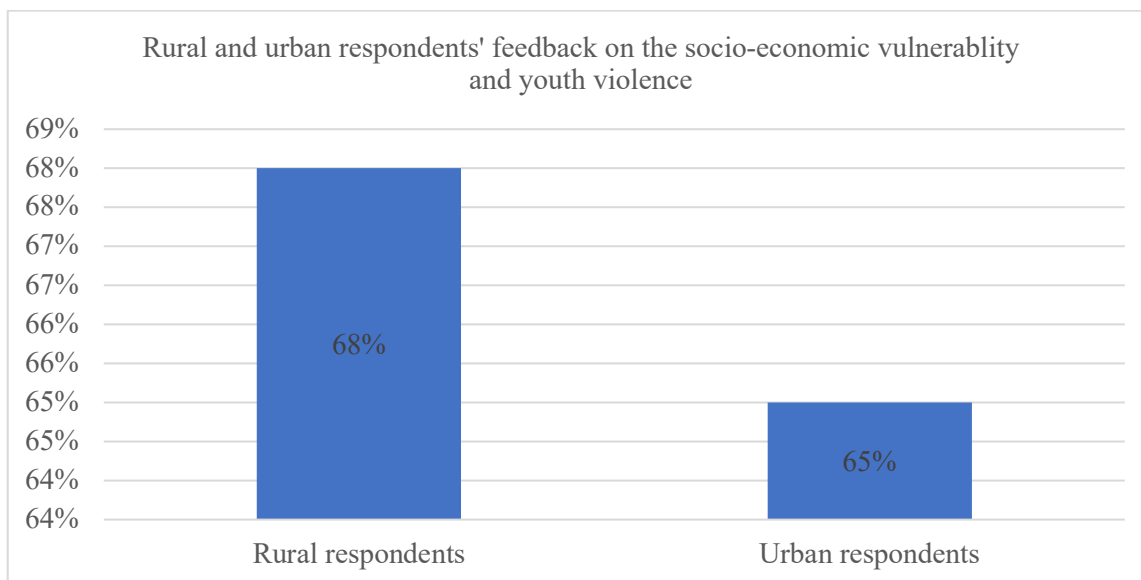


Figure 6.15: Socio-economic vulnerability of youth

Source: Field data (2018)

Feedback from rural and urban respondents also showed a very strong relationship between socio-economic vulnerability of the youth and their inclination towards violence. A 65% perception agreement for urban respondents and 68% perception agreement for rural respondents as shown in Figure 6.15 above indicate this strong correlation.

6.7.3 Youth and peace

Also emerging from the data was the importance of the role that the youth can play in promoting positive peace. In overall, 54% of the respondents indicated that young people are so important in enhancing the peace process. The respondents had more than 50% agreement level in the notion that young people contribute to the peace process. How participants responded to statement number 17 is shown on Figure 6.10 (p. 169) above. The statement wanted to establish the understanding of the respondents about the role of the youth in the peace process.

The interview data confirmed the role of youth in promoting peace. Participants indicated that with correct circumstances the youth are so indispensable to the promotion of peace. Given the fact that the youth are the majority in most communities, their participation in the peace process is so integral. Commenting on the role of young people in peacebuilding, C1 said:

I think its high time that we should seriously consider the role the youth can play in peace and peacebuilding. If we agree that the youth are active in perpetuating violence in communities, it will be naive to leave them out in any process that seeks to establish peace that endures. It is a very integral constituency which we as a community cannot afford to leave behind if we want success in whatever we are doing as a society. Even on issues which have nothing to do with conflict, I think we should seriously consider the youth for this demographic group is so important.

Participant A4 added that:

The future belongs to them (youth), so leaving them out in any developmental process is akin to betraying the future. They should be part of the process that determines the future which in principle belongs to them.

However, respondents indicated how young people have been used to further violent conflict. Respondent from the civil society (C6) organisation asserted:

While I agree that the youth urgency is so crucial to the peace process, it should be pointed out that young people have been very active in the violent conflicts raging on in the world today. If we look for example, the conflicts in Sudan, Syria, DRC and others, young people are the majority of the active combatants. This, therefore, confirms my argument that young people, yes, should be included in efforts to bring peace, but their role in perpetuating the conflicts should not be ignored.

Respondent added A2 that:

In recent years, especially beginning the year 2000 in Zimbabwe, the youth have been active in politically motivated violence. This has been very apparent in the rounds of elections we have had as a country. Youths belonging to the major political players, in particular ZANU-PF and MDC youths, have been accused of terrorising especially the

rural electorate on eve of elections. Intra-party violence again has seen the youth being active in the violence that has gripped political parties.

6.7.4 Accessibility of youth programmes

Despite the importance of young people to the peace process, it emerged from the survey questionnaire data that youth programmes were not easily accessible to young people. A mere 34% acknowledged that youth programmes are freely available to all the youth. It is so worrying that all the participants who responded to statement number 21, less than 40% confirmed accessibility of youth programmes. Figure 6.16 below demonstrates the categories of those who responded to statement number 21 in the survey questionnaire. Figure 6.16 shows that only a minority acknowledged that youth programmes are freely available in their communities. Forty percent of those with primary education indicated that youth programmes are easily available for the young people in their communities. However, only 26% of those with some secondary education admitted to the availability and accessibility of youth programmes. It is also interesting to note that, those in the rural areas and those in urban centres had almost the same view on the accessibility of youth programmes. They stood at 34% and 35% respectively and this is quite interesting.

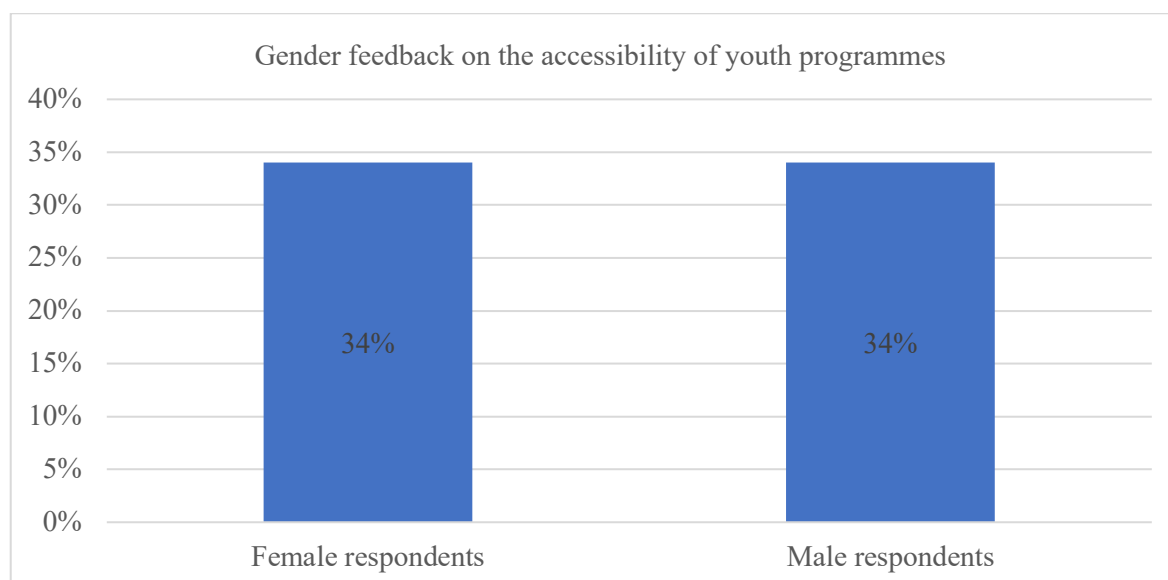


Figure 6.16: Gender perception on the accessibility of youth programmes

Source: Field data (2018)

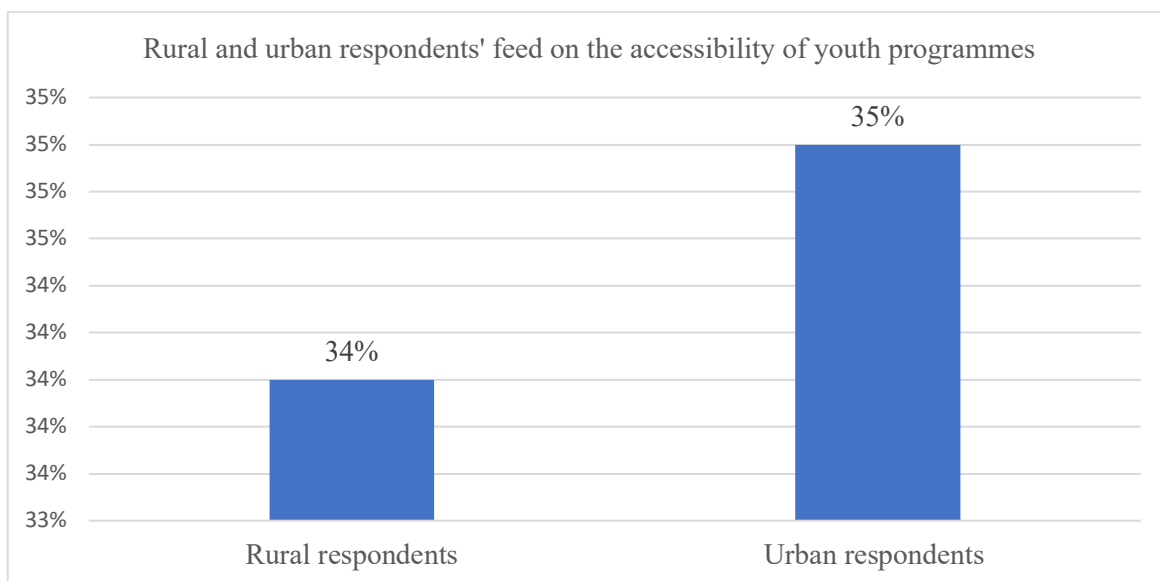


Figure 6.17: Rural and urban respondents' perception on the accessibility of youth programmes

Source: Field data (2018)

Feedback from the rural and urban respondents showed very low accessibility to youth programmes (Figure 6.17). The two categories of respondents had a 34% and 35% perception agreement respectively. This shows the perception of respondents about how accessible the youth programmes were to young people.

However, respondents from the in-depth interviews portrayed a rather different picture on the accessibility of youth programmes. Participant G4 who represented the government stakeholder ministry of youth pointed out that all ministry organised programmes for young people were open to all. They asserted that:

The assertions that our programmes are meant for a given secluded group are just assumptions. Of course, there are some who think or view the ministry of youth as a political organ, but it is not like that. We are like any other government department and our programmes are meant for all our target groups (youth). Our position is to serve or assist everyone despite political affiliations. However, there might be some individual cases of misrepresentation by our officers in the communities who might be inclined to a given political party. That is possible and might have given the impression that people of other political orientation are not welcome.

The point above was buttressed by G3 who represented the government. They pointed out that they Ministry of Youth has community-based officers whose duty is to make the ministry visible in the communities and also identify the interests of the communities. They said:

Youth programmes are open to everyone person who is by the definition of the youth by the National Youth Policy is a youth. Our community-based youth officers are under instruction not to segregate young people for any reason, political, economic or otherwise. However, owing to the history of our country, there might be some perception among some section of the populace who view our ministry as a political arm of the ruling party. I would want to make it clear that we are a ministry meant to serve all the young people just like any other ministry in the country.

The above sentiments were shared by C5 from civil society who indicated that programmes which are organised by CSOs were open to all the young people. The respondent dismissed assertions of segregation of the youth on any ground including political. They asserted that:

Our programmes are open to all the youth. As a civil society organisation, we do not own the people, they belong to the government through the ministry of youth. So, we work in hand with the responsible ministry whenever we are doing some recruitment for a programme.

6.7.5 Participation in the political process

Also interesting is the trend that emerged from the data on statement number 23, which dealt with the political landscape and how it allowed the youth freedom of participation. This statement received a 36% perception agreement, which showed that the political environment did not give the youth sufficient room to participate freely in the political processes. Such a low percentage agreement shows how the participants viewed the political environment as limited to the participation of young people

Lack of youth participation in decision making in mainstream political and economic issues emerged strongly from the in-depth interview data. This lack of participation by the youth was cited as one of the reasons that has resulted in the challenges that are facing the youth in Zimbabwe. Programmes which are formulated by the government and civil society were said to be lacking the youth's input; hence could not meet the needs of this demographic group. Commenting on the limited youth participation respondent C1 from the civil society said:

I think the first challenge that young people are facing in this area is low representation in decision making processes. Look at the population of Zimbabwe, approximately 60% or more of the population is below 35 years. And then when you compare that figure with the representation of the youth in key decision-making processes, you would find out that there are very few young people who are there. So, what that means at the end of the day, is what I can say their issues are not wholly represented as young people...For example, in the current National Assembly, we have only 6 members who are under 35 years out of a possible 210 members. That basically means at the end of the day, youth issues are not adequately articulated in the key decision-making processes.

Moreover, C2 from the civil society organisation lamented on what they called structural exclusion of the young people, which is caused by the policy frameworks in place. They asserted that:

Thirdly, for me is about how our National Youth Policy is framed in terms of youth participation. It wants to reduce youth participation to what I would call sub-sector participation which is not mainline participation. If you look at it how women have pushed for their inclusion in governance processes and some tokenism being given to the youth as a way of participation. So, young people's participation is being given as a tokenistic not necessarily as meaningful participation. So, throughout the youth policy, underlying the youth policy is that kind of belief.

On youth exclusion, they added that government and political parties practiced what the respondent termed “negative inclusion”. They asserted that:

I think for is the issue of what I would term an attempt to exclude. You know, I mean negative inclusion of young people where you find out that political parties, government and other organisations include young people for specific reasons, to clap ta rallies. That is a serious challenge because it also comes with a lot of indoctrination which is affecting positive youth participation obviously linked to how vulnerable they are in relation to their failure to address their economic challenges.

Respondent A2 added that:

The government is not prepared to have the youth participate freely in political processes. Civil society organisations which work on empowering the youth with civil and political rights are often under government surveillance and this limit the working environment of these organisations. The government often thinks that attempts to empower the youth with civil and political rights are efforts meant at effecting regime change. This was so common with the previous administration of President Mugabe. We hope things will change from now moving forward as we have a new administration.

6.8 Perceptions on youth empowerment and peacebuilding

The data that emerged from the survey questionnaires showed that participants believed that the youth empowerment and peacebuilding paradigm in Zimbabwe is not what it should be. The table (Table 6.6) below shows the overall perceptions percentage agreement with each statement. The percentage agreement on the perceptions of youth empowerment and peacebuilding is very low which shows how the participants perceived it. There was a 23% agreement that the government is doing enough to help the youth. This is in stark contrast to a 36% agreement of those who believed civil society was doing enough to help young people. Twenty four percent of the participants believed that the youth in Zimbabwe are economically secure and 34% believed that young people are socially secure. There was also a 39% agreement among the respondents who believed that government and civil society work in collaboration to empower the youth in Zimbabwe.

Table 6.6: Perception percentage agreement with each statement

	Over-all	Gender		Residence		Education			
		Female	Male	Rural	Urban	Primary	Some Secondary	Secondary	Tertiary
	N=329	n=161	n=167	n=220	n=105	n=7	n=31	n=140	n=145
The government is doing enough to help the youth.	23	21	25	24	23	26	23	22	24
Civil society is doing enough to help the youth.	36	33	38	39	29	56	47	35	33
The youth in Zimbabwe are economically secure.	24	22	25	26	18	27	31	25	20
The youth in Zimbabwe are socially secure.	34	33	35	37	28	47	44	36	30
Government and civil society collaborate to empower the youth.	39	35	42	43	30	51	41	42	34

Source: Field Data (2018)

6.8.1 Perception on government-civil society youth empowerment

Responses to statement number 24 and 25 on the survey questionnaire revealed that the government and civil society were not doing enough to empower young people. The statements sought to find out the perception of respondents on the extent of government and civil society youth empowerment initiatives. An average of 23% and 36% (see table 6.6 above) of the participants who responded to statement number 24 and 25 shows how low respondents regarded the empowerment drive by the government and civil society. This is a very low perception agreement and it shows the state of affairs about government and civil society-initiated youth empowerment programmes in the country.

Feedback from in-depth interviews confirmed the findings from the survey questionnaires. Participant G3, who represented the stakeholder ministry highlighted that the government was not doing enough to empower the youth. He cited lack of or underfunding as a major challenge which the ministry has to grapple with. He said:

Our situation is bad in terms of the amount of funding we receive as a ministry. With adequate funding we would have wanted to have as many programmes as is possible for the youth. But we face serious liquidation challenges and we cannot do much in these circumstances. For example, as a district office we do not have a vehicle, and this means we cannot visit communities. Even the few youth projects which are running, we rarely monitor them owing to this challenge of transport. Because of this we have abdicated our responsibility to civil society organisations to run youth programmes on our behalf because us as a ministry we are incapacitated.

The underfunding of the ministry was so apparent across all the research sites visited by the current researcher. The office space for the ministry officials and the furniture in the offices was testimony of the financial challenges which the ministry of youth had to grapple with. To show the magnitude of this challenge, all the four respondents who represented the stakeholder ministry cited the challenge of underfunding as a serious one. G4 said:

We are expected to do much with very little. We do not have a quota in the budget as a ministry of youth despite us representing the majority in terms of the constituency we represent. The youth are the majority, but that is not reflected in the budget allocation and this leaves us unable to fulfil our mandate as a ministry.

It should be pointed out that the role of civil society in the youth empowerment paradigm was also confirmed by respondents who took part in the in-depth interviews. Respondents from government, academia, and civil society confirmed the important part which civil society plays in empowering the youth especially with skills training. Commenting on the role of the civil society in empowering the youth, A1 said:

We have got genuinely honest CSOs, especially the faith-based kind of organisations. Those affiliated to traditional churches like Roman Catholic, the Dutch Reformed, the Methodist. When you trace the activities and the skills training initiatives from those faith-based organisations, you begin to see that there is an element of sustainability. You look at Silveira House, for example, just outside Harare near Mabvuku, they have done quite some work in terms of polishing the skills. Metal work, brick work, carpentry, metal fabrication and so many other youth related initiatives that you might want to think of. And those people have gone on to do quite well on the market.

Moreover, respondents from the civil society cluster confirmed that CSOs are so critical in the youth empowerment matrix in Zimbabwe. Respondents from civil society alluded that:

C1: *We give the youth what we call the revolving fund basically meant to assist young people to actually initiate their own businesses. So, linked to that is the number of entrepreneurship training programmes, mentorship programmes, leadership development programmes trying to get young people to really look into how they can start to run sustainable enterprises.*

The support was not only in providing funding to the youth to start or initiate businesses enterprises but also entailed the integration of basic skills. The participant added that:

C1: *We have been for a while involved in a basic skills integration programme which was basically meant on vocational skills and economic empowerment skills.*

Besides providing skills training and funding to the youth, it also emerged from the interview data that CSOs provided advocacy for the youth. This advocacy included issues on policy reform, national budget and resource allocation, human rights, democracy and governance, economic empowerment and peacebuilding. Speaking about this advocacy, a participant from the civil society sector said:

C2: *We do a lot of advocacy so that government can be able to allocate more resources to youth issues and government be able to address issues around corruption, unemployment and other issues that might come up.*

Respondent C3 added that:

C3: *We make young people to engage in debates that shape the economic dialogue in this country, policy dialogue debates. So, we create various platforms for interaction and intersection between young people and policy makers, young people and legislators, young people and local authorities. So, there are a number of instances where young people get the opportunity to shape how funds like the National Youth Development Fund can be utilised in a manner that serves their interests.*

6.8.2 Socio-economic security of the youth

The socio-economic insecurity of young people in Zimbabwe featured prominently in the survey questionnaires. There was an overall mere 24% and 34% perception agreement on the socio-economic security respectively of the youth in the country. This was in response to statement number 26 and 27 which sought to explore the socio-economic security of young people in the country. This implied most of the participants did not agree that the youth in Zimbabwe were socially and economically secure. This socio-economic insecurity of the youth made the youth susceptible to manipulation especially by politicians. The table below (Table 6.7) portrays the perception of respondents about the socio-economic status of young people in the country.

Table 6.7: Participants perception on socio-economic security of the youth

	Over-all	Gender		Residence		Education			
		Female	Male	Rural	Urban	Primary	Some Secondary	Secondary	Tertiary
	N=329	n=161	n=167	n=220	n=105	n=7	n=31	n=140	n=145
The government is doing enough to help the youth.	23	21	25	24	23	26	23	22	24
Civil society is doing enough to help the youth.	36	33	38	39	29	56	47	35	33
The youth in Zimbabwe are economically secure.	24	22	25	26	18	27	31	25	20
The youth in Zimbabwe are socially secure.	34	33	35	37	28	47	44	36	30
Government and civil society collaborate to empower the youth.	39	35	42	43	30	51	41	42	34

Source: Field data (2018)

The social and economic status of the youth also came out strongly from the interview data. Data from the in-depth interviews showed that young people in Zimbabwe are socially and economically insecure and/or vulnerable. The major source of youth vulnerability was the lack

of employment opportunities for young people or their unemployability. This came as respondents answered the statement about the conditions and status of the youth in the country. Respondents across all the categories highlighted that the major problem which the youth are facing in the country emanated from the limited opportunities for employment and other economic ventures. One respondent from the civil sector pointed out that:

C1: I think economically, we find young people that are vulnerable, young people that lack opportunities, young people that have become desperate for economic opportunities arising from an environment characterised by a collapsing economy, an economy that is generally failing to meet the demands of its citizens...But generally, we have disempowered, vulnerable young person whether educated or uneducated, they cannot find an opportunity.

Respondent C2 from civil society organisations reinforced the argument above by asserting that:

C2: The major challenge that we have is the high levels of unemployment. Estimates say that unemployment in Zimbabwe is more than 60%. What it means is that a lot of people are not employed, and lot of young people have resorted to the informal sector to earn a living. So, the economic context has affected young people and their effective participation in the country. Because they are not employed, it means that they are affected by high levels of poverty. Then when you look at the economy, I think the high levels of unemployment the country has had, economic recession, cash shortages. All these create challenges for the young people. This means at the end of the day; young people are not able to earn sustainable livelihoods and we have seen other young people going to other countries such as South Africa and resulting in the brain drain.

The issue of youth vulnerability emanating from lack of employment opportunities was also emphasized by another participant from the academia sector who posited that many African governments including that of Zimbabwe have not devised plans to deal with the bulging demography of the young people. The respondent (A2) asserted that:

I think you are familiar with the fact that Zimbabwe like many other African countries is having a youth bulge. Unfortunately, government has not come up with any strategy for ensuring that when we eventually get this bulge of the youth, what mechanisms are there to ensure that there are social services to address their needs. So, the situation

that we have is that we have a whole lot of young people who have been rendered redundant, unemployed, hopeless and desperate. In simple terms, the situation of the young people is really dire one because a whole lot of them are in a situation whereby they have no means to earn a decent living.

Socially, young people were said to be perpetual minors because of the lack of economic opportunities which had incapacitated them. The majority were said to be engaged in drug abuse as an escape route to the biting economic challenges. Some have decided to migrate to neighboring countries in search of better opportunities. The majority of those who have decided to emigrate do so without proper documentation. A respondent from the civil society (C4) cluster posited that:

We have young people who have been reduced to perpetual dependents on their parents or guardians. Opportunities are scarce and they cannot be independent economically and as result they have remained in their parents' home.

C3 added:

There is massive migration especially among the youth to neighboring countries to look for better opportunities. But what is worrying is that the majority of those who decide to leave the country do so without proper documentation and they are subjected to an array of dangers in their host countries because they are illegal migrants. The migration has separated families leaving the elderly alone as the young people travel for better economic opportunities.

6.8.3 Government-civil society collaboration

One interesting feature which emerged from the survey questionnaire data were the collaboration of government and civil society in the youth empowerment programmes. The overall perception agreement on the collaboration of government and civil society in empowering the youth was 39%. This perception agreement shows lack of or limited collaboration between government and civil society in driving the youth empowerment programmes.

The limited or lack of government- civil society cooperation in assisting the youth also came out strongly in the interview data. Responding to the collaboration of government and civil society in the programmes that empower the youth one participant (A1) said:

So, we have a situation where empowerment through the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) vehicle in Zimbabwe has also led to further polarization of issues. There is this popular perception especially within government corridors where they actually believe that CSOs are on an agenda to actually effect regime change. This might be far-fetched if you do not look at things closely. But when you look at it, we have had situations where the youth or the NGOs working with the youth are actually mobilizing and at time truly so against government.

Furthermore, respondent (A2) commenting on the apparent animosity between government and civil society organisations said:

I think that simple mudslinging because government is simply trying to abdicate its responsibility. Because the CSOs like I said are just a complimentary partner in the development of any nation. And you cannot ask your partner to play the biggest part of the role; no, you cannot to that. Because the huge moral responsibility of doing so lies with the government of the day...This is why government becomes the embodiment of authority in any given state. Such talk is simple political mudslinging which is hinged on trying to abdicate the responsibility of government by simply trying to push the civil society especially when it mentions on things that seem to point a finger at government.

The role which civil society should play in the youth empowerment matrix was explained by respondents as complimentary. This indicated that for the youth empowerment drive to be successful, civil society was to compliment government efforts. Commenting on this, one respondent (A2) asserted that:

So, coming into the role that civil society can play: civil society can play a supportive role. The CSOs cannot become the main actor. It has to play that complimentary role to what government is supposed to be doing. So, you cannot expect a complimentary partner to play a key role if the main partner is not setting out the right tone. It all has to pass to government in terms of setting the right tone and then CSOs come in as a complimentary partner to support what the government is doing.

The complimentary role which civil society should play was echoed by respondents especially those who represented the government. One government (G2) official participant had this to say:

If the government does not have the resources, in most cases we go to the other stakeholders like the non-governmental organisations to come in to assist.

Despite the relationship between government and civil society being described as toxic by other respondents, those who represented the government viewed it differently. The respondents from the government described the working relationship between government and civil society as conducive. This is how one participant (G2) described it:

Our relationship with those who are currently supporting us (civil society organisations), I can say that it is a conducive one, its good. But they really want things to be done, to be put straight, there is a lot of accountability that is expected there, because it's not an issue of just saying let them do. We have to make some follow up and realise the impact of the programme that they are funding. So, I think our relationship is quite good. Why I say it is good is because they (CSOs) do not come in to create new things. They come in to say, when they are given a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) at a higher level of government, they come down to the district where they meet the District Administrator first who is in charge of coordinating all government programmes in the district.

The cordial and complimentary working relationship between government and civil society also emerged from some respondents from the civil society sector itself.

6.8.4 Challenges to peacebuilding through youth empowerment

The youth empowerment drive was said to be dogged by a myriad of challenges which has the potential to undermine the peace process. Respondents highlighted economic challenges especially the liquidity crunch bedevilling the country as the main challenge which hinder the youth empowerment programmes. The table below (Table 6.8) summarises the in-depth interview participants' perceptions on the challenges that face youth empowerment in the country

Table 6.8: Participants' perceptions on the challenges to peacebuilding through youth empowerment

Challenges to youth empowerment	Government participants (G)	Civil Society participants (C)	Academia participants (A)
Liquidity challenges	✓	✓	✓
Lack of training of youth officers		✓	✓
Lack of education among the youth	✓	✓	✓
High mobility among the youth	✓	✓	
Politicisation of the youth empowerment drive		✓	✓
Economic stagnation	✓	✓	✓
Low response from the youth	✓	✓	

6.9 Chapter summary

This chapter reported on the experiences of the youth, civil society, government and the academia in relation to how youth empowerment can result in positive peace in the country. The challenges that the youth face and how government and civil society organisations are trying to explore ways to alleviate these challenges was the mainstay of this study. The chapter is a summary of the quantitative data collected, supported by qualitative data gathered from fieldwork for this study on the topic: **Peacebuilding through youth development and empowerment in Zimbabwe: Exploring government and civil society initiatives.**

The major findings indicate that the young people in Zimbabwe face a serious challenge of unemployment which in turn makes them very susceptible to the social vice of poverty. This is manifested by the lack of participation of the youth in the mainstream economic activities. This is so despite the increasing youth population in the country and an impending youth bulge. The role that the youth can play in promoting peace came out strongly in the data. It emerged from the data that if the youth are properly empowered, they have the potential to contribute to the establishment of positive peace. The findings also established that between government and civil society, civil society is making efforts to include the youth to be actively involved in their programmes. The issue of lack of engagement and participation by the youth came out strongly in the data. For various reasons, the findings revealed that both government and civil society is not doing enough to have young people participate in the social and economic affairs of their

communities. It emerged that civil society impose programmes on the youth whereas government practiced what one respondent called 'negative inclusion'.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

7.1 Introduction

The process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the collected data according to Wasserstein and Lazar (2016) is data analysis. The organisation and structuring of the collected data were provided in chapter six (6). This current chapter is a discussion and interpretation of the study's results on how the youth empowerment programmes initiated by CSOs and the government of Zimbabwe could foster sustainable and durable peace in the country. The foregoing chapter dealt with the presentation of the primary data collected using the traditional research methodologies of quantitative and qualitative approaches. The data was collected in order to give a better comprehension of the youth empowerment programmes in Zimbabwe and how these programmes can enhance the peace process. The essence of the study is to provide recommendations on how youth programmes can be implemented to consolidate the peace process in the country. Proper and correct interpretation of data is critical and is key to reaching authentic conclusions. Wasserstein and Lazar (2016:131) argue that "properly conducted analysis and correct interpretation of statistical data results play a major role in ensuring that conclusions are sound and that uncertainty surrounding them is presented properly". Interpretation of research findings provides meaning to the data and assists in exploring the relationships that might exist between the research questions and the research objectives of the study (Palinkas, Horwitz, Green, Wisdom, Duan, and Hoagwood, 2015; Mertler and Reinhart, 2016).

The current chapter presents a systematic interpretation and discussion of the research findings from the preceding chapter. The interpretation and discussion of the major research findings gives meaning and better understanding of the research data and attempts will be made to integrate it with broader related literature (Stangor, 2015; Offulla, 2013). The research findings are interpreted in line with the youth empowerment programmes and how these impact on the peacebuilding process on a broader scale. The research findings are also interrogated in line with the human needs theory and community-based approaches to peacebuilding.

The chapter will follow the sub-themes of the study as drawn from the research questions and the data. Chapter Five gives the process, rationale and purpose of mixed methods research design which this study used. The combination of the two methodologies (quantitative and

qualitative approaches) was adopted in order to get comprehensive findings that clarify issues under investigation. Further, the study assumed a pragmatic position, which allowed the practical perspectives of the researcher to be presented. This chapter presents the systematic discussion and interpretation of the gathered data in accordance to the research questions.

The current study aims to investigate how civil society and the government of Zimbabwe can contribute to peacebuilding through youth empowerment programmes. The study sought to address the following research questions: (i) What are the challenges that face the youth and how do they contribute to youth violence? (ii) What are the youth empowerment and development programmes which the government and civil society have in Zimbabwe? (iii) How far have the youth benefited from the empowerment initiatives by the government and civil society organisations in Zimbabwe? (iv) What are the effects of youth empowerment and development programmes on the peace process in Zimbabwe? (v) What are the challenges to youth development and empowerment and how do they affect the peace process?

The current chapter is divided into eight main sections: section 7.1 introduction; section 7.2 is analysis and interpretation of data; section 7.3 a discussion of the demographics of the study; section 7.4 interpretation and discussion of the research findings that relate to the youth empowerment programmes under the auspices of the government and civil society organisations in Zimbabwe; section 7.5 covers the youth development and empowerment programmes and the impact they have had on the lives of the youth; section 7.6 deals with the impact of the youth empowerment programmes on the peace process in the country; section 7.7 is a discussion on the perception on youth empowerment and peacebuilding in the country; finally, section 7.8 is the summary of the chapter.

7.2 Analysis and interpretation of data

The interpretative approach is comprised of the deduction from the data attained, relies on the feelings of the participants and this is part of qualitative research (Robson and McCartan, 2016). It has to be noted that under qualitative research, researchers rely on their experience of some settings for them to understand and be able to interpret the information or data provided by research subjects. While this current study adopted a mixed method approach, it focused on the pragmatic approach and adopted the phenomenological approach as a guide.

In a nutshell, the word data refers to the information that was systematically collected, organised and recorded (Antonius, 2003:2), in order to facilitate a correct interpretation.

Schostak and Schostak (2008:8) further posit that data is not static but can be reconfigured to provide the answers to the questions which the researcher wants to be answered. These ideas informed the methods which were used to analyse and interpret qualitative and quantitative data in this present study. Qualitative data analysis methods need to be systematic, chronological, confirmable, and uninterrupted; they require time, because delay jeopardises the analysis. Moreover, the use of comparison for improved feedback and alternative explanations is encouraged (Morgan and Krueger, 1998: 11). The purpose of conducting a study is to produce findings. In this process qualitative methods employ concepts, terms and symbols to communicate meaning. Quantitative methods use procedures and techniques to analyse the data numerically (Antonius, 2003). As mentioned earlier, the study used both methods.

The human needs theory and the community-based approach to peacebuilding are the theories which underpinned this entire study. This current chapter attempts to link the components of literature review with research questions and the theoretical framework. In order to have a coherent and consistent discussion and interpretation of the findings, questionnaire data were triangulated with data from the in-depth interviews. Semi-structured interviews as a data-gathering tool was so instrumental in gathering data which clarified issues on the youth empowerment programmes and the peace process in Zimbabwe. Further, the semi-structured interviews were helpful to the researcher to explore and expand on the quantitative findings to yield a more in-depth account of the extent of the youth programmes in Zimbabwe.

7.3 Demographics of the study

For the purposes of this study, the researcher collected demographic details of the respondents with the intention of describing the characteristics of research participants. Connelly (2013) notes that demographic data of research participants is important and must be examined carefully. It was thus essential to describe the participants involved in this research. This section discusses the gender, age, and educational profile of participants for this is so fundamental to the key aspects of the study.

7.3.1 Response Rate

The current study targeted 416 prospective participants but 343 participated yielding a response rate of 82.5%. As illustrated in Chapter 6 (6.2), this response rate is constituted by 82.2% who took part in the survey questionnaire and 87.5% who participated in the in-depth interviews. The response rate (82.5%) achieved by this study is sufficiently representative for any

population in a study (Johnson & Wislar, 2012). According to Fincham (2008), for a study to be considered valid, any researcher should strive to attain a response threshold equal to or above 60%. There was a higher response rate from participants in in-depth interviews compared to the response rate of the participants in survey interviews. This is because of the numbers of participants involved in the two approaches.

7.3.2 Gender

Despite deliberate attempts to have gender parity, the current study had more male respondents; one hundred and seventy-nine (179) males participated in the study representing 52.1% of all the participants. This is against one hundred and sixty-four (164) female participants who took part in the study constituting 47.8% of the total participants. This imbalance is a reflection of the gender imbalance that exists in the different spheres of government and civil society in the country. The findings are confirmed by a study by Zikhali (2009) on 'Women in Organisational Management: Theory and Practice' who found out that management positions in public, private and NGOs are dominated by men despite the fact that 52% of the Zimbabwean population is women (Zikhali, 2009: 2). Women constitute 52% of the Zimbabwe population according to the last census conducted in 2012. Despite this demographic majority, women are under-represented in spheres of employment in government and civil society in the country. The survey questionnaires targeted youth in the database of the stakeholder ministry and who are working on empowerment projects. Though frantic efforts were made to have a gender balance in the respondents, the database was dominated by male young people. This is explained by the nature of youthhood in the global south where women from childhood are encouraged to stay indoors while boys are encouraged to explore the world.

7.3.3 Settlement patterns of respondents

The settlement patterns of respondents showed that the majority (225 which yielded 65.6%) of the participants lived in the rural areas and 33.2% are urban dwellers. These findings are in sync with the latest national census in 2012 which reflected that 67% of the population in Zimbabwe reside in the rural areas against 33% who stay in the urban areas. Other quantitative studies which have been done in Zimbabwe also confirm the findings of this current study on this matter. A report on poverty produced by the Zimbabwe Statistical Agency in 2017 revealed that there were more rural dwellers than urbanites.

7.3.4 Educational Profile of Respondents

The information about the educational profile of respondents showed that a significant percentage (44.1%) are holders of a tertiary qualification which includes a certificate, diploma or a degree. This is quite interesting to note that such a percentage (44.1%) of the participants have a tertiary qualification. This result was closely followed by those respondents with a secondary education which stood at 42.6%. The least number of respondents (0.3%) were youths who indicated that they had not received any form of education.

7.4 Youth and conflict

As aforementioned in Chapter 2, youth's active escalation in violent conflict in society in recent years has been confirmed and has received considerable academic attention (Kustrin, 2004:131; McEvoy-Levy, 2001). The notorious use of violence by youth in conflict situations around the world is vigorously interrogated by scholars. Brett and McCallin (1996) provide a quantitative presentation of the involvement of the youth in violent conflict. They argue that 23% of young men have been subjected to sectarian assaults and in many cases likely to be perpetrators of the same violence. The presence of young people in the Arab Springs and their conspicuous presence in the ongoing conflict in Syria further demonstrate the inclination of young people to violence as a means for self-expression in the political arena (Ezbawy, 2012). The above assertions are consistent with the findings of this study. Young people faced a myriad of challenges (social, economic and political) which have a combined effect on their violent disposition.

7.4.1 Poverty and violent youth behaviour: The nexus

The first objective of this study was to investigate the relationship of youth vulnerability and youth participation in violent conflict. With this objective in mind, the researcher asked questions that would explore this relationship. The question(s) that were asked to interrogate this objective were question 3 on the youth questionnaire survey and question 1 on the interview guide (see Appendix).

The results as presented in Chapter 6 (section 6.5.2, Figure 6.3) revealed that the level of poverty is an important variable in the participation of young people in violent conflict. An overall 65% indicated that poverty contributes to youth violent behaviour. A comparison of the respondents with various levels of education on their perception of the role of poverty in youth violent behaviour confirmed this trend. The highest percentage who agreed (69%) came from respondents with some secondary education who strongly viewed that participation of the youth in violent conflict is informed by the levels of poverty that characterise this demographic group. This was confirmed by views of the key informants to this study who submitted that youth unemployment is the major cause of high levels of poverty among the youth and this results in the inclination to violence. A study by Mude (2014) attributes political violence in Zimbabwe to youth unemployment. High levels of unemployment especially among the urban youth, which is estimated to be above 80% results in youth becoming agents of political violence in the country. These unemployed youth are recruited by various political parties to operate as youth militias and have been responsible for torturing, intimidating and killing perceived political opponents (Idris, 2016).

This study resonates with the findings by Collier (2000) and Braungart (1984) that unemployment and the resultant poverty among the youth drive them into violent conflict. The vice of unemployment has also been identified by Urdal (2012) as a challenge any society has to contend with and has resulted in undermining the legitimacy and stability of any political system. Such conditions according to Braungart (1984:16), “produce a climate of radicalism particularly among unattached youth who have the least to lose in the gamble and struggle for revolutionary gain”. This is confirmed by Collier (2000:94) who argues that:

the willingness of young men [and women] to join a rebellion depends on their income-earning opportunities. If young people are left with no alternative but unemployment and poverty, they are likely to join a rebellion as an alternative way of generating an income.

The notion of youth unemployment as a factor that promotes violence among the youth population cohort is common in the literature of youth and conflict studies. Paul Collier (2000) as cited by Cramer (2015:1) identified economic growth as “the single most (statistically) influential variable in determining whether a country returns to war within a few years of a peace settlement” and regarded unemployment as the potential path through which economic stagnation can affect violence. Collier (2000) argues that unemployment is a source of

grievance that provides a motive together with greed for young people especially young male people, to engage in violence and join insurrection groups. Other writers such as Cincotta et al. (2003), Hensohn (2003) and Urdal (2004) buttress the view that unemployment is a key cause of insurrection or civil strife. According to Cramer (2015: 1) “it is believed that unemployment triggers participation in insurgencies, prompts people to join violent gangs, drives people to extremism, and that it is the primary reason behind domestic violence”. Similarly, in relation to crime, young people who are disillusioned by lack of economic opportunities to rescue themselves from the jaws of poverty are more inclined than adults to take part in armed violence, crime, drug trafficking and other extra-legal activities (Ali, 2014).

Interestingly, this study established the relationship between poverty, which often is a direct or indirect result of unemployment, and the disposition of young people to violent conflict. Unemployment and poverty accentuate the vulnerability of young people and expose them to easy recruitment by political parties to participate in violence, especially electoral violence. In this regard, one participant commented that lack of opportunities for young people breeds desperation in an environment that is characterised by a collapsing economy, which is struggling to meet the needs of the citizens. The human needs theory stresses the importance of meeting human needs for peace to endure. Burton’s human needs theory which informed this study is underpinned by the philosophical understanding that all human beings have universal human needs which should be satisfied to guarantee peaceful co-existence in society (Danielson, 2005:4). The failure to satisfy these needs results in people resorting to violence to have their needs addressed. The neglect of these needs argues Avruch (2013:41), is motivation for protracted conflict. Because of this, at the heart of any peacebuilding intervention, there should be the idea of meeting human needs: ‘for security and order, for a reasonable standard of living, and for recognition of identity and worthy’ (Evans, 1993:39). The failure of society to meet the needs (food, clothing, housing, satisfaction, security) of young people is more likely to result in young people becoming violent as a way of life.

To assess how youth unemployment leads to violence, the issue of a deferred future and deferred entry into adulthood should be considered. Hilker & Fraser (2009) posit that lack of opportunities which plague young people block or delay their trajectory into adulthood and this breeds frustration and disillusionment which often compel them to engage in violence. This view is compressed by the UNDP (2006:23) who argue that in Africa:

For many young Africans, 'youth' is not serving as a transitional phase to a more established social status but is an enduring limbo. This is a source of tremendous frustration. Instead of leaving youth behind and entering adulthood by marrying and establishing independent households, an increasing proportion of this 'lost generation' ... are unable to attain any social status.

The correlation of youth unemployment and violence is exacerbated by the bulging youth population in many African countries. The ratio of young people (aged 15-24) in the global demographic structure is higher than at any other time in recent history (Hilker, 2009). Though this has been viewed by some researchers (South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), 2018; Kabonga, 2016) on youth affairs as providing an opportunity for a demographic dividend (extraordinary youth cohort relative to the adult population), but in the absence of corresponding rise in opportunities and employment for young people, the phenomenon becomes a destabilising and a threat to peace. Globally, youth unemployment has been on a steady increase over the last three years. Between 2015 and 2016, the number of unemployed young people slightly rose from 69.4 to 69.6 across the world (ILO, 2017). The International Labour Organisation (2017) predicted that global youth unemployment would reach 13.1% in 2017. ILO (2017) further submits that the youth labour force diminished globally by 34.9 million in the last two decades, but the youth population soared by a whopping 139 million persons. There is also a growing concern especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, that owing to the soaring youth population, unemployment among this demographic group is correspondingly rising.

Literature on youth in Zimbabwe confirm the above assertions. With a predominantly youthful population of approximately 77% estimated to be below the age of 35 years (Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission, 2018), a huge proportion of these young people remain outside formal employment, and they suffer from poverty and other social vulnerabilities like sexual and drug abuse. A Youth Situation Analysis conducted by the then Ministry of Youth, Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment with support from UNICEF confirmed that the youth in Zimbabwe are confronted with a quantum of challenges such as: high unemployment rates, poor quality education and limited educational opportunities, limited civic engagement opportunities, among an array of other challenges (ZHRC, 2018). In 2017, another survey was conducted by the Zimbabwe Youth Task Force and noted the following as the key challenges being faced by the youth: high unemployment, exorbitant costs of education which is of less

quality, limited civic space for effective participation in economic and political spaces, exploitation by politicians for political violence especially during election time, youth migration, lack of clear frameworks for youth development (limited development channelled through partisan lines) (ZHRC, 2018). This survey placed Zimbabwe in the 75 to 100 category, alluding that the youth in the country are experiencing extreme poverty. According to Mokoena (2013), owing to unemployment the youth are caught in a vicious circle of poverty and that translates into social exclusion, lack of participation, lack of command over resources, insecurity and vulnerability. Though Zimbabwe is not experiencing an open revolt, according to Agbor et al. (2012), youth joblessness is an enormous cost to society in terms of lost potential growth through demographic dividend and increased crime.

If the emergence of large youth populations is met with a stagnant economy and concomitant unemployment, the incidence of violent conflict rises because of the low opportunity cost for youth to engage in political violence (Weber, 2013; Bricker & Foley, 2013). The Zimbabwe economy has been stagnant or shrinking in the previous two decades and that has left companies closing and capital leaving. Under these circumstances, governments should create robust frameworks for youth economic empowerment, as without it, this will be a recipe for disaster (Ojok & Acol, 2017). The World Bank in 2007 established that poverty is not only a product of violence but is now its primary cause. Ojok & Acol (2017) further argue that the stability of the African democratic dispensation is under threat because there is a very positive correlation between stagnant economic development and the engagement of young people in political violence. The Zimbabwe situation fits well in this description, as witnessed by the restive youth in the country who are grappling with unemployment and poverty in a stagnant economy. The post-election violence in 2018 and the blood drenched fuel increase induced protests in January 2019 were led by a host of young people who vented their frustration on the government.

Though the economic crisis in Zimbabwe has impacted on all demographic groups with varying degrees, the youth are the most affected. This has resulted in unprecedented unemployment among this demographic group and has robbed them of the benefits of work and represents a dark era in their personal and social development. This perception that it is vital to address youth unemployment in order to avert social unrest particularly violent conflict is also shared by development agencies. The UN Office in West Africa asserted in 2005 that “current levels of youth unemployment among young men and women in West Africa are a ticking time bomb

for the region and beyond” (cited in Stewart, 2015: 4). A 2007 report by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) titled *Youth of Africa: A threat for peace or force for good?* asserted that:

The likelihood of a violent onset is believed to be particularly acute in contexts where a large population of young people are coming of age in the face of unstable governments, insecurity and development challenges... In countries at war this often translates into young people being more susceptible to recruitment into armed rebel groups, either by personal choice or are coercively forced to join. Even in countries that are not formally in conflict, many young people, in particular young men, are drawn into gang activity and predatory activity, partly in response to a sense of marginalisation and social and economic exclusion.

A report by the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change pointed out to the security threat which the youth poses especially in conditions of unemployment. The report highlighted that unemployment is both a cause and consequence of violence and has the potential to lead to further violence (UNDP, 2006: 32). This depiction of unemployed young people as a condition and a cause of violent conflict was very evident in the results of the study.

Though Zimbabwe has made remarkable strides in the fields of education, it has not made sufficient economic progress to create opportunities for youth coming out of school. Educated youth who grapple with few or limited economic opportunities often provide fertile recruiting ground for parties to a conflict. Their dashed hopes for the future breed disaffection with society and makes them susceptible to insinuations of those who advocate for armed conflict. Idris (2016) argues that addressing the needs and aspirations of young people is a long-term strategy to prevent this challenge. This affirms the findings of this study which argue that any peacebuilding initiative should seek to address the needs of young people.

Further, to consolidate the youth unemployment and violence connection, Sommers (2007b) and Maclean Hilker (2009) emphasised the correlation of youth unemployment and poverty with their participation in armed conflict. However, it should be admitted that unemployment is not a monocausal factor in youth participation in violent conflict. Mercy Corps (2015) have identified factors such as corruption, injustice, discrimination, humiliation and experience of violence as equally important in the engagement of youth in violence. It should be noted though that in conditions of economic malaise issues of corruption, injustice, discrimination and dehumanising experiences are common. Issues of mis-governance also underlie much of the

economic challenges facing many African countries today. The economic challenges bedevilling the youth are products of these governance deficits where in most cases, young people do not have access to decision making processes. The findings of this study resonate with the Arab Springs of 2011 which saw unemployed youth taking a leading role in the calls for the demise of regimes in the Middle East. The Arab Springs were ignited in Tunisia, by grievances of young people over high unemployment and authoritarian rule (ILO, 2012a). Lack of productive employment opportunities, coupled with aspirations for civil-political rights, and a better economic future were the underlying factors that fuelled the protests (ILO, 2012a:2). Improvements in education levels across the region contributed to a raise in expectations among young people – and frustration when public sector jobs were no longer available and those in the private sector were low-paid or unsuited to their skills (Gardner, 2003; UN ESCWA, 2014).

The ability of young people to meet their needs through engaging in productive labour is a way to dissuade them from engaging in violence. Employment creation through youth empowerment enables young people to meet their needs of food, clothing, water, shelter and those needs which sustain human life. Human needs brings the understanding that all human beings have universal human needs which should be satisfied to guarantee peaceful co-existence in society (Danielson, 2005:4). Human needs is a “theory of human behaviour that argues that the human being...has certain needs that are basic, that are not malleable, and that must be satisfied if there is to be individual development leading to conforming behaviour” (Burton, 1990). As frustration mount among young people who are unemployed and poverty stricken and cannot meet their needs, they are likely to join groups that participate in political violence. Unemployment as a socio-economic problem provides fertile ground for youth militia recruitment (Urdal 2006: 90).

7.5 Youth development and empowerment

The Zimbabwe National Youth Policy (2000) acknowledges the centrality of empowerment of young people to the attainment of their full potential as individuals, community members and identified political, social groups and youth organisations as key in this regard. As shown in Chapter 3 (section 3.3.1), youth development and empowerment are not new on the socio-political terrain of Zimbabwe. The government of Zimbabwe and civil society have been engaged in youth development and empowerment since independence to aid the transition of the youth into adulthood. Through the youth empowerment policy, the government undertook

to meet the needs and aspirations of young people through youth development strategies and programmes.

In order to answer research questions number two and three, respondents' views were solicited on the nature of youth empowerment and development by the government and civil society in the country. Moreover, respondents were asked about the impact these youth empowerment programmes have had on the lives of the young people in the country. The study attempted to answer these research questions from various dimensions such as availability of government and civil society programmes for the youth, participation of the youth in the government programmes meant for them, availability of loans for projects for the youth, government and civil society economic support for the youth among other dimensions.

7.5.1 Government-civil society empowerment programmes

The National Youth Policy (2000) places the responsibility of youth empowerment on the shoulders of the government, civil society and other youth-oriented organisations. From the early years of independence, government and CSOs have been very active in the youth empowerment drive. Though the National Youth Policy indicates that the priority of government towards young people is to empower them, it was however noted in the study how inadequate the youth empowerment programmes were. The study established that although there are youth programmes initiated and supported by the government and civil society, they are inadequate in addressing the empowerment needs of the youth population. Only thirty one percent (31%) consented that there were government-supported programmes that were meant to benefit the youth. This is was also confirmed by 39% who acknowledged the presence of civil society-run youth programmes.

From the time Zimbabwe attained its independence in 1980, the government was seized by the resolve to tackle the challenge of unemployment (Mararike, 2014: 97). Mambo (2010: 22) argues that unemployment among the youth as a result of failure of the job market to absorb students churned out of educational institutions is a formidable challenge facing the country. Thus, youth empowerment has emerged as a panacea to the challenge of unemployment among the youth. To this end, policies, economic blueprints, projects and programmes have been launched in a bid to resolve the challenge of unemployment (Bhebhe, Nair, Muranda, Sifile and Chavhunduka, 2015: 51). Some of the empowerment projects which have been instituted include the Graduate Entrepreneurship Employment Programme (GEEP), Kurera/Ukondla

Youth Fund (administered through CABS), Training for Rural Economic Empowerment (TREE), Youth Empowerment Fund (YEF), Wealth Creation Fund (administered through Stanbic, CBZ, IDBZ) and Skills for Youth Employment and Rural Development Programme (Bhebhe et al., 2015: 15). From this host of youth programmes which the government of Zimbabwe and civil society embarked upon, skills development was given much effort and resources.

Vocational and technical skills training, entrepreneurship development and mentorship have been identified by the government of Zimbabwe as key vehicles to achieve sustainable youth economic empowerment (Ministry of Youth Interview, 15 November 2017). The idea of training and skills development of young people was emphasised by participants. The policy framework that governs youth affairs affirms that education and skills development are key aspects that result in the holistic and integrated development of youth. As shown in chapter 6, the ministry of youth regarded vocational and technical training of young people as integral to their empowerment. The need for training of young people is confirmed by Murinda (2014: 23), who suggests that vocational training improves the youth skills and prospects to meet the needs of the labour market. Jacobs and Hart (2012: 5) also posit that education, training and the development of necessary skills was vital to achieving a post-apartheid South Africa that is based upon equality. Recently, the government of Zimbabwe sought to address the skill deficit among the youth through the Integrated Skills Outreach Programme (ISOP), adopted in 2006, with the view of addressing the challenges of youth unemployment (Murinda, 2014: 23). The ISOP programme was hatched with the view of increasing access to skills training for the youth particularly those in rural and outlying areas. The vision of the ISOP was to play a leading role in the provision of demand-driven short-term courses for unemployed youths while its mission was to provide appropriate technical and entrepreneurial skills to empower the youths. The specific objectives include: empowering the unemployed youths with technical and entrepreneurial skills; alleviating poverty among the youths in rural and urban areas; increasing productivity in the economy; contributing towards rural industrialization; and generating employment (Mambo, 2010).

The ISOP provide the youth with “specific skills training through short competence-based courses lasting between one and three weeks” (Murinda, 2014:23). The programme was an outreach programme that was aimed at taking the skills training of young people to their communities. According to Murinda (2014: 23) “the training is done within the community

using local skilled experts, imparting skills such as how to make a coffee table, keep bees, solder leaking pots, mould bricks, mend vehicle tyres, repair domestic electric gadgets, or how to grow specific vegetables”. Findings in the current research revealed that training is one of the government initiatives to equip youth with the necessary skills to confront unemployment challenges. Moreover, Mambo (2010) asserts that the use of community based vocational apprenticeship schemes has been recognised as a crucial strategy for developing skills in carpentry, metalwork, farm management and food processing. This is in tandem with community-based approach to peacebuilding, which advocates for the involvement of community members in any peacebuilding initiative. Community-based approaches seek to empower the local community groups and/ institutions by giving direct control over project design, planning, implementation and monitoring (Haider, 2009).

The ISOP programme was meant to bridge the gap between education and socio-economic realities in the country. The accusation that has always been made against the system of education in the country is its mismatch with the socio-economic realities of the country. In an attempt to address this, the government through the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education (MoHTE) formulated a draft National Skills Development Policy which was intended to reform skills development to make it responsive to the socio-economic development of the country (Mambo, 2010). It also sought to address the challenges of unemployment and the mismatch of skills development and the needs of the labour market. The mission of the policy framework was to provide relevant skills through a system that was accessible, equitable, inclusive, and involves all stakeholders (Mambo, 2010).

Though results from this study confirm that government and civil society were aware of the need to empower young people through imparting vocational and technical skills, their efforts through ISOP were insufficient. Though the acquisition of skills by the youth demonstrates government’s commitment to youth development through socio-economic empowerment, the ISOP programme could not absorb all the youth who needed to be trained for skills. Besides, despite the programme being an outreach to the settlement patterns in rural areas of Zimbabwe, it was difficult to reach all the desired targets. Settlements are so sparse in the rural areas, and this did not help the youth to attend the training. They needed to find funds for transport, accommodation and food to sustain themselves during the duration of training. The issue was aggravated by the lack of government funded vocational training institutions in some areas which could have provided a reprieve to these young people. Results revealed that both

government and civil society lacked the capacity to fund youth empowerment programmes. A respondent (G3) revealed this when they remarked that:

The challenge we have is about skills training. It is a very big challenge because we do not have a vocational training centre in the district. Other districts are better than us because they have got assistance from the civil society organisations which we scarcely get here. The private funders we had previously left at the height of the land reform and the government has not been able to fill this gap which the private funders left. So, you will find out that for skills training of the youth, we depend with Mushagashe Vocational Training College, which is the only one for entire province and this is not enough. If we had a Vocational Training Institution, it would have been a lot easier for youth to be enrolled because it would have been less expensive.

It is worth mentioning that the ISOP programme transformed the lives of many youth who were beneficiaries of the training. According to Murinda (2014: 2) “the skills developed through ISOP are such that the youths will not be tempted to leave their communities in search of employment in urban centres. In addition, the skills are aimed at exploiting locally available resources and the items or goods produced can be exported for sale to other communities where these materials may not be readily available”. Besides creating self-employment for the youth, the programme ensured community development as youth were implored to identify and solve development concerns in their communities during implementation. Therefore, one can conclude that the ISOP was in line with the youth empowerment drive that seeks to promote sustainable livelihood and critical social empowerment.

It is also important to note that one of the most important form of empowerment that the government of Zimbabwe has ever given to its young people is education. The government of Zimbabwe has invested highly in education because they perceived education as critical to national and economic development and the empowerment of citizens. The National Youth Policy affirms “that education and skills development are lifelong processes that are relevant to the holistic and integrated development of youth”. Education and training institutions were expanded extensively after independence. This was done on all levels through expansion of the existing and establishment of new ones. This saw the establishment of nine public universities, seven polytechnical colleges, eight agricultural colleges and forty-two vocational training centres (Mambo, 2010). The expansion of primary, secondary and tertiary education resulted in the unprecedented increase in student enrolments in the first two decades of independence.

This expansion produced a remarkable increase in young people being trained in various trades and skills. Despite these commendable gains in education, economic and political factors have eroded the educational gains that were achieved in the educational sector. Of interest to this study, is the dissonance of the education system and the skills demands of the country's economy. The study results confirmed that people who are leaving the country's universities and other colleges are out of kilter with skills demands of the field of work.

The demographic data of the youth participants revealed the extent of education among young people in Zimbabwe; approximately 44% of the participants had tertiary education. This education creates employment opportunities for the few who are fortunate to get them in the country. The majority have migrated to other countries especially neighbouring countries of Botswana and South Africa to get better opportunities. Though efforts to empower young people through education were commended by participants, the government failed to address the demand side of the programme. Not enough opportunities are made available for the young people churned out of the institutions of higher learning. It was also noted that the current education system is not compatible with the obtaining economic structure. Hence there was a need to review the education curriculum from primary to tertiary level. These findings resonated with the broader views on the education system in Zimbabwe. Gondo et al (2019) argue that an updated education curriculum provides improved access and quality education to every learner that would subsequently contribute to bringing about meaningful transformation in the lives of ordinary Zimbabweans. Though the country has embarked on the transformation of its education system since 2015, the initiative has suffered from lack of funding and its implementation has to a given degree been stalled. Munikwa (2016) laments that the present level of underfunding by the state of the public sector education has witnessed stagnation and decay. Although Zimbabwe's education sector was broadened extensively after independence, its quality and ability to empower the graduates with the requisite skills for a rewarding career is still under debate (Mutuku, 2011).

7.5.2 Government-civil society economic support for the youth

Further to answer questions two and three, the study sought to explore the nature and extent of economic support rendered to youth by the government and civil society organisations. Results showed low levels of agreement from participants that government and civil society rendered financial and material support to young people in their economic endeavours. Participants acknowledged that the form of economic support civil society organisations and government

offered was little and insignificant. Most youth projects were said to be suffering from lack of funding or underfunding and many were stalled or have completely collapsed under the weight of these challenges.

The findings about the level of economic support which civil society and the government offered to young people in Zimbabwe go in line with broader research on the state of affairs in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. Findings by Mukuhlanani (2014) ascertained that the claim that government assists the youth to create employment remains a mere rhetoric as the youth have to contend with a myriad of bottlenecks which include lack of political will, corruption and lack of funds. This current study established extensive use of youth empowerment programmes for political expediency. This has resulted in the massive corruption which has punctuated the empowerment drive in the country. The corruption ranges from the selective allocation of resources meant for youth empowerment purposes and misappropriation of empowerment designated funds for young people by bureaucratic officials. The collapse of the youth empowerment fund which the government created is heavily linked to corruption and maladministration of the fund. Parallels can be drawn here with what is obtaining in other government programmes like the ministry of agriculture run command agriculture. According to Magaisa (2019), resources for command agriculture are often devices used by the ruling party to lure voters and falls under the broader scheme of vote buying and election bribery.

Zimbabwe's underperforming economy since year 2000 has not helped the situation. Though the economic malaise has not spared any demographic group, the youth were the hardest hit. To alleviate this challenge, the government sought to promote entrepreneurship as a major policy thrust to achieve economic growth among the youth. To this end the government established a number of funding mechanisms that were to provide funding and operational efficiency in the small and medium enterprises sector (Maseko & Manyani, 2011). Despite these efforts by the government, it emerged from the study that the critical issue of funding of small enterprises for income generating projects was either insufficient or not available. The CSOs who participated in the study confirmed that they did not provide funding for the youth after they had trained them. Evidence from Munyanyi (2013) confirms a lack of support from private organisations and CSOs as the barrier to the success of entrepreneurship. In addition, this study pointed out the lack of CSOs involvement in funding youth entrepreneurial ventures especially in the rural areas has become a barrier to the success of their projects. Lack of government financial support and other forms of support in the rural areas of Zimbabwe has

resulted in the collapse of many youth projects. This was confirmed by Mambula (2002), who posits that inadequate funding, lack of government officials to help upcoming businesses present a serious challenge to the success of new businesses. This is made worse by policy inconsistencies that present bottle necks to the development of entrepreneurship.

The identified impediments to youth entrepreneurship in Zimbabwe are comparable to those faced by entrepreneurs in the region and the rest of the continent. This is testimony that the challenges bedevilling youth in Zimbabwe are not only peculiar to them. In a study conducted by Fatoki and Garwe (2010) in South Africa, they identified the challenge of access and availability of finance to entrepreneurs as a formidable challenge facing most aspiring and existing entrepreneurs. This is confirmed by Herrington and Wood (2003), Herrington et al (2009) and Cassar (2004), whose studies were also conducted in South Africa. The Zimbabwe Trade Fair in 2011 also identified lack of collateral security which results in the inaccessibility of loans, lack of skills and bottlenecks in business registration as challenges faced by young men and women in business in Zimbabwe. In Ghana, Inkoun (2003) found out that the success of small businesses is tied to the entrepreneurial skills of the owner. The findings of this current study therefore conform to the broader literature on the entrepreneurial challenges which young people have to contend with across the world. The availability and accessibility of funds to up and coming enterprises for young people is critical to the continuity of such enterprises.

7.5.3 Youth participation: Negative inclusion

Results as presented in Chapter 6 indicated that the youth are marginalised in the mainstream socio-political affairs of their communities. The marginalisation of groups such as women and youth is common in many societies across the world. The marginalisation of the youth, according to Bangura (2015:103), stems from the inability of this demographic group to meet their essential needs socially and economically. Young people have not been able to get adequate representation and have an input in decision making processes. The reality of the marginalisation of the youth has been attested by Wong, Zimmerman and Parker (2010) and Zeldin, Christens and Powers (2013). Wong, Zimmerman and Parker (2010:7) unambiguously consider “young people as a marginalized population due to their lack of power and voice in adolescent discourse and mainstream culture”. Owing to this marginalisation, many governments and multilateral organisations across the world now advocate enhanced youth engagement to empower young people. The increased participation of young people and the assuming of leadership roles by youth in their communities enhance their development and

civic engagement skills (Zeldin, Christens, Powers 2013: 385). Additionally, Wong, Zimmerman and Parker (2010:101) asserts that “youth participation has the potential to promote individual and community health by satisfying developmental needs in a positive manner while also enhancing the relevance of research, policy, and practice to lived experiences of children and adolescents.

The understanding of peacebuilding that this study adopted is that which seeks to transform conflict towards more sustainable, peaceful relationships. Imbedded in this view is the centrality of the human person (in this case the youth) as critical in the peacebuilding agenda. So, the study sought to analyse the youth empowerment initiatives in the light of how they promote the individual and community empowerment of the youth in the process helping in transforming conflicts, tensions and hostilities to more durable and sustainable peace in Zimbabwe. Unlike the traditional top-down approaches to peacebuilding, the human needs perspective of peacebuilding seriously considers issues of the person’s security and their disposition to peace. Moreover, community-based approaches to peacebuilding view community participation in any peacebuilding initiative as a prerequisite to community acceptance of the initiative. This view acknowledges participation as integral in the effectiveness of any peacebuilding attempts.

The bulging youth population places the youth as indispensable stakeholders of any society. This therefore means that their incorporation in the programmes that affect them is inevitable to ensure the success of such programmes. Community-based approaches to peacebuilding explicitly push for the idea of empowerment of the local community groups (including youth) and institutions so that the community presides over decision making processes including planning, execution and monitoring of projects (Haider 2009:4). The marginalisation of young people had resulted in them being mere recipients of the programmes presented above. So, with a focus on the youth empowerment initiatives in Zimbabwe, this section interrogated the involvement and engagement of the youth in these initiatives.

7.5.3.1 CSOs’ integration of youth in the empowerment initiatives in Zimbabwe

In congruence with increased calls for youth engagement and participation in programmes of development, respondents to this study confirmed attempts by some civil society organisations to incorporate the youth in their programmes and activities. Though the efforts to incorporate the youth were not as expected, it is important to note that efforts are being made by civil

society to have the youth participate in key decision-making processes. One respondent (C2) put this clearly:

We are focussed on the concept of active citizenship which involves participation in economic issues, participation in political issues, participation in social issues so that we build towards what we call a deliberative democratic framework where all citizens have been empowered sufficiently enough to fully participate in the different sectors of the Zimbabwean political and economic landscape.

The assertion above suggests attempts by civil society organisations to involve the youth in community-based empowerment projects. Drawing from the accounts of various participants, civil society organisations created space for the engagement of young people in the developmental projects, especially in advocacy and governance issues. Though it was apparent from the respondents that the involvement of the youth was still limited, it is was equally apparent that the value of youth participation was fully understood. Such initiatives are in congruence with the vision of the Zimbabwe National Youth Policy which envisions young people as “active citizens, taking part in the construction of stronger, fairer communities on a daily basis”. The policy further implores the youth to “participate in the social, cultural and economic development of the country and take an active involvement in decision making at all levels affecting their lives” (National Youth Policy, 2013: 8).

7.5.3.2 Government’s integration of the youth in empowerment programmes: Negative inclusion

Part of the study’s key participants were government officials from the stakeholder ministry of youth. The ministry of youth works closely with the youth and it presides over the formulation and implementation of the country’s youth policy. To achieve this, the government partnered with other stakeholders like civil society organisations and other youth-oriented organisations. Respondents representing both the government, civil society and academia were quizzed about the level of youth engagement in empowerment programmes. Respondents from the stakeholder ministry alluded to the inclusion of the youth in the formulation and implementation of empowerment programmes. Such efforts were said to be epitomised in the form of the liberty given to young people to choose the kind of life skills they would want to acquire and the sort of income generating projects they would want to embark on. Respondents

from the government stakeholder ministry emphasised that this amounted to youth participation in the empowerment drive.

It can be deduced, therefore from the results that the government's efforts to involve the youth revolve around the choice of skills to have, and the kind of income-generating projects to run. Though the youth involvement at this stage is crucial for the youth empowerment drive, the study noted the limitations of such engagement. That the youth who participated in the study could not acknowledge their participation in the empowerment matrix suggest how ineffective the attempts to incorporate young people were. This example of youth participation in youth empowerment programmes is considered inadequate in respect to this study's expectation of youth participation. Findings failed to identify attempts or efforts made by the government in incorporating the youth in decision-making phases of the initiatives of youth empowerment. The youth participants revealed that the government rarely consulted them on youth programmes. Their input was not considered in the planning and designing phase of the programmes. The study called this "negative inclusion", which is depicted by Farthing (2012:78) as an attempt by authorities to have power over the youth. He calls it a hegemonic tool to control the youth and participation of this nature socially neither benefits the youth nor does it empower them in any way. Instead, it is a window-dressing exercise meant only to provide the authorities with the smokescreen excuse to argue that the programmes are youth-driven and attempt to buy the loyalty of this demographic group.

7.5.3.3 Non-participation and the inadequacy of youth involvement in empowerment initiatives

Insufficient youth involvement and participation in the youth empowerment and development drive was expressed in both interview and questionnaire survey data. This provided a call for a critical analysis of the undesired depth of youth engagement in the youth empowerment paradigm in the country. The government of Zimbabwe took active plans to empower the youth through various empowerment projects and programmes. These projects as said earlier include the Graduate Entrepreneurship Employment Programme (GEEP), Kurera/Ukondla Youth Fund (administered through CABS), Training for Rural Economic Empowerment (TREE), Youth Empowerment Fund (YEF), Wealth Creation Fund (administered through Stanbic, CBZ, IDBZ) and Skills for Youth Employment and Rural Development Programme (Bhebhe et al., 2015: 15). Although these are salient and commendable youth empowerment initiatives, the depth of youth engagement and participation in these initiatives revealed the participants'

enormous dissatisfaction with these programmes. The dissatisfaction is evident in the majority of the youth participants' unequivocal assertion that the youth's input is minimal or non-existent in these programmes. This was even confirmed by the participants in the in-depth interviews. One civil society official (C1) who manages a youth organisation asserted that:

I think for me is the issue of what I would term an attempt to exclude. You know, I mean negative inclusion of young people where you find out that political parties, government include young people for specific reasons, to put up posters, to clap at rallies, you know. That is a serious challenge because it also comes with a lot of indoctrination which is affecting positive youth participation...

Though this was common among the respondents, some participants affirmed attempts by stakeholders to incorporate the youth into programmes that concern them. Such divergent views highlight the contrasting perceptions of participants on the engagement of the youth in empowerment initiatives. However, the inadequacies in the participatory processes explain the nature of the empowerment initiatives in Zimbabwe. That the youth themselves considered that their participation and engagement is so limited is an indication of the state of youth involvement in the affairs that affect them. Their absence or lack of consultation in the design of the programmes has resulted in the programmes coming short of addressing the needs of the youth. The UNDP report in 2016 asserted that empowering the young people demands inclusive and comprehensive youth participation and leadership in institutions, markets, communities and societies. Empowerment of youth means the provision of opportunities and capacitation of young people and their organisations to make them act as engaged citizens who influence decision-making and contribute as positive agents of change in their communities (UNDP, 2016). This is in line with the community-based approach to peacebuilding which advocates for active and comprehensive participation of the local community in the design and implementation of peace programmes.

This study is an investigation on youth empowerment and is based on the theoretical framework of human needs and community-based approach to peacebuilding. Under a community-based approach to peacebuilding, the participation of community members is very integral. Youth participation as understood in the current study should involve an active ongoing process of engaging the youth in decision-making process at various levels in matters that affect them, especially about empowerment. This is confirmed by Rowe and Frewer (2000) who argue that public participation should encompass procedures to consult, involve and inform the people

and give provision to those who are affected by a decision to make their input. According to Obaje (2018) participation is not just mere reception of information or instruction but it entails the ability of affected parties to genuinely contribute and influence decisions and their implementation. Haider (2009: 4) emphasised the need to empower the local community, in this case the youth, by endowing the youth with direct control or meaningful influence in project planning, execution and monitoring through a process of inclusive participation and management.

7.6 Youth empowerment and peacebuilding

The gist of this current study was to establish the nexus between youth empowerment and peacebuilding. Indeed, the study established that there is a close correlation between the development and empowerment of young people and their inclination towards peace. Efforts to build peace by focusing on positive youth development and empowerment in Zimbabwe are evident if one considers the theoretical structures that include policy frameworks and Acts of Parliament as well as youth forums and organisations. However, this is not as obvious in practice as it is in theory. The findings of the study established that more should be done about peacebuilding involving the youths especially focusing on their needs as expounded by John Burton. In particular, the economic well-being of the youth is very key and indispensable to the establishment of peace. Economic and social empowerment of young people is so crucial to the attainment of durable and positive peace.

7.6.1 Economic empowerment translates to peace

Results of this study have revealed a pattern that directs that the issue of peacebuilding through youth development and empowerment needs considerable attention. Peace in any country can only be achieved in totality if the problems that bring youth in violence are properly addressed. Though the contribution of economic wellbeing of citizens to participation in violent conflict has been a subject of intense debate in the realm of peace studies, results from this study confirmed how economic empowerment of the youth can result in positive peace in the country. The majority of the respondents believed that economic empowerment of young people translates to peace. Overall 68% believed that there is a strong correlation between the economic well-being of young people and their orientation towards peace.

These findings about the relationship between economic empowerment and positive peace are in sync with broader research on the relationship between economic inequality and exclusion

and political violence. According to Collier (2000), economic growth is the most single influential variable that determines whether the country relapses to war within few years of a peace settlement and regards unemployment as the likely route through which economic growth can influence violence. Collier (2000) further argues that unemployment as a symptom of lack of economic growth is used as a source of grievance- that is it provides the motive alongside greed- and the opportunity cost of idle youth to engage in violence and join armed groups is low. His views are echoed by Cincotta et al (2003), Heinsohn (2003) and Urdal (2004) who view unemployment as a key cause of insurgency or civil war. According to Cramer (2015:1), “unemployment triggers participation in insurgencies, prompts people to join violent gangs, drives people to extremism, and that it is the primary reason behind domestic violence”.

It is important however to recognise that in some contexts where the youth endure extreme levels of exclusion, they are not involved in the acts of violence. These instances however do not undo the reality of lack of economic growth and the corresponding levels of violence. Ali (2014) argues that disaffected young people who lack economic opportunities and who could not raise themselves out of poverty are more vulnerable to participation in armed violence, gangs, drug trafficking and other illicit activities. If economic challenges are critical in driving young people to acts of violence and other activities that undermine the peace process, addressing them is key and a crucial building block to the attainment of peace. Development agencies under the aegis of the United Nations have acceded to the idea that addressing youth socio-economic challenges is key to addressing social unrest that bedevil society. A 2007 UNDP report: *Youth of Africa: A threat for peace or force for good?* asserted that violence is often acute in contexts where huge youth demographics are experiencing unstable governments, insecurity and development challenges. This often translates into easy enlistment of young people into armed rebel groups to escape the socio-economic challenges.

Economic growth is very fundamental in the establishment of peace in communities. According to the Portland Trust (2007), economic growth can divert attention away from the grievances that are responsible for causing conflict. Focusing on economic recovery and growth is necessary for it to contribute to peace and stability as this can foster unity between groups in fragile and conflict-affected settings. This is confirmed by UNDESA (2010) that states that economic revitalisation should be a core component of any national peacebuilding strategy. Inclusive economic recovery results in addressing the needs of young people and encourages young people’s active and meaningful participation in the mainstream economy. There is

growing evidence that development policies that are aimed at empowering the youth and implemented with the participation of the very youth have a higher chance of achieving a lasting impact and reducing tensions in society. Excluding young people from development and decision-making damages the social fabric, the inclusiveness and responsiveness of institutions, threatens social cohesion and citizen security (UNDP, 2016). The logic of empowering and investing in young people has been increasingly and systematically embedded in the substance of recent global agenda, resolutions and agreements. The agendas include the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction, the Paris Agreement, Addis Ababa Action Agenda and the 2030 Agenda. The importance of youth empowerment has gained much relevance with these agendas and also with the adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The Agenda acknowledges the need to empower vulnerable groups including the youth, women and the disabled to make development meaningful and sustainable.

7.6.2 Social and economic insecurity: A recipe for disaster

The social and economic security of the youth is indispensable to the attainment of peace and security. The relevance of economic well-being to peace has already been discussed above and its relevance has been proved. Economic wellbeing of citizens is not separated from their social security. The marginalisation and social and economic exclusion among many young people have resulted in them being drawn into gang activity and predatory tendencies in some communities Mutto, (2007). Ultimately, the social and economic marginalisation of youth aggravates their vulnerability, rendering them more susceptible to violence and gangsterism.

As noted earlier, the youth's experience of being excluded from the socio-political decision-making in communities contributes to a state of powerlessness and marginalisation. As a result of this marginalisation, the affected communities resort to illegal means of making their issues get to the public agenda (Mutto, 2007). Youth empowerment programmes have the result of promoting social cohesion, social and political tolerance and acceptance of diversity and encourage a culture of non-violence. Empowerment through education and participation in development initiatives results in a democratic and inclusive society (Bahou, 2017). In conflict-ridden societies, inclusive education has been seen as a vehicle for promoting young people's well-being and social cohesion (Bahou, 2017).

7.6.3 Youth and peace

Also emerging from the data was the importance of the role that the youth can play in promoting positive peace. In overall, 54% of the respondents indicated that young people are so important in the peace process. The respondents had more than 50% agreement level in the notion that the youth contribute to the peace process. The results confirmed the role of the youth in promoting peace. Participants indicated that with correct circumstances the youth are so indispensable to the promotion of peace. Given the fact that the youth are the majority in most communities, their participation in the peace is so integral. The results of the study are in line in with the broader research on youth and peacebuilding around the world. Mutto (2007) asserts that over the last decade, the youth have been identified across the world as a target group for the prevention of violence programmes. They are viewed as both a threat to peace and a force to establish peace. As shown in chapter 2, youth are so integral to the promotion of peaceful existence in the communities. Authors such as Kemper (2005); Shepler, (2010); McEvoy (2000); Hilker and Fraser (2009); McEvoy-Levy (2001) and Biton & Salomon (2006) have highlighted the contributions of the youth in the direction of peace.

The involvement of the youth in peacebuilding involves a lot of planning and putting in structures that facilitate the participation of young people. McEvoy (2001) believes that “youth are the primary actors in grassroots community development/relations work; they are at the frontlines of peace-building”. This presents a stronger argument for the institutionalisation of young people’s participation in peace-building processes. It is on this note where many African governments including Zimbabwe’s fail. Notwithstanding the study and noting the indispensability of young people to the peace process, recent attempts to build peace in Zimbabwe have not harnessed the potential of young people. Literature reviewed in this current study noted that all past endeavours to build peace in the country have been elitist and have side-lined the youth who fell outside the elite in the political circle. Commenting on the Unity Accord of 1987, Mashingaidze (2005) argues that the arrangement was elitist, and it embodied a top-down approach to governance. It left out the grassroots in its crafting and no attempts to reconciliation were made. More importantly, the arrangement was an exclusionist top-down approach which was initiated and executed by those from the highest echelons of political power. This confirms the importance of community based approach to peacebuilding for it advocates for the incorporation of the community in the design and implementation of any peacebuilding initiative.

Moreover, the youth are conspicuous by their absence in the current apparatus which are important pillars of peacebuilding. The establishment of the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission by an act of parliament in 2017 was a step in the right direction for the peace process in Zimbabwe. Though the commission in its work has been trying to be inclusive by going into communities to obtain community perceptions on the reconciliation paradigm in the country, it is the composition and participation of the youth in the Commission that is of interest to this study. The youth are barely represented on the Commission and because of this one respondent from civil society (C1) alluded to the lack of youth representation. Citing the current parliament of Zimbabwe as the example the respondent (C1) asserted:

Some institutions which are so crucial in the peace process have not enough representation of young people. For example, out of the 210-member House of Assembly, we have less than ten (10) youth members of parliament. This is a tip of the iceberg and reflects the amount of lack of representation of the young people and their issues at the highest level of decision making.

So, the study noted that despite the participants acknowledging the role the youth can play in peacebuilding, previous attempts to build peace in the country have side-lined the youth. This is continuing under the current National Peace and Reconciliation Commission which is mandated to steer the peace process in the country.

The population size and other reasons mentioned in this study make the youth indispensable stakeholders in any development project in society including peacebuilding. The latest records of the 2012 census in Zimbabwe highlight that the youth (15-35 years) constitute the majority of the country's population, approximately 65% of the total population. So, the size of the youth population ensures that their involvement in peacebuilding processes makes the community accept the initiative. Bottom-up community-based approaches to peacebuilding explicitly advocate for the idea of empowerment of local community groups and institutions through complete participation of the community in decision making processes including planning, execution and monitoring of projects and services (Haider, 2009:4). Before this paradigm shift of youth as agents of peace rather than violence, "young people were rarely asked to voice their opinions or participate in the development of research and programs designed for them" (Wong, Zimmerman and Parker (2010: 100). This approach saw young people being relegated to be spectators or passive recipients of programmes meant for them

including peacebuilding processes. Despite the new understanding on youth's agency in society, this study noted that their involvement in peacebuilding is not yet fully embraced.

7.6.4 Accessibility of youth programmes

As presented in Chapter 6 (section 6.7.4), results from the youth questionnaire revealed that a minority 34% of the youth confirmed access to youth programmes. The inaccessibility of youth programmes was also confirmed by respondents in the in-depth interviews who argued that political affiliation is used to segregate some young people from the programmes meant for them. Pronouncement of programmes are done at political rallies and political affiliation is given as condition for participation in these programmes. Though this view was contested by respondents from the stakeholder ministry of youth, it was held by the majority respondents. The inaccessibility of programmes to the young people is confirmed by the percentage of young people who are trained in the economic activities they are currently engaged in.

The polarised nature of the Zimbabwe political terrain has inadvertently resulted in the polarisation of society as well. This polarisation has resulted in the compartmentalisation or grouping of the youth in the country. That Zimbabwe as a country is divided into either ZANU-PF or MDC; political parties which are sworn gladiators, is no secret. This has resulted in the division of the youth as well and has not helped the youth empowerment programmes. This was not helped by the politicisation of the youth empowerment programmes by the governing party (ZANU-PF). The government has viewed the youth programmes as meant to reward its supporters to secure votes in elections. Research results have revealed that partisan politics run deep in the formulation and implementation of government programmes and has in the process divided communities.

The above findings are in line with literature on the youth empowerment and development programmes in Zimbabwe. The country's National Youth Service (NYS) a domesticated idea from the African Youth Charter, was a government vehicle whose stated purpose was to "transform and empower youths for nation-building through life skills training and leadership development" (Siamonga 2014). However, to the contrary the programme became a political orientation platform bent on party-political indoctrination for the ruling ZANU-PF (Dombo and Gwande, 2016). Young people who had joined the NYS programme were instructed to embrace the ZANU-PF ideology. The programme assumed a partisan orientation and became

a vehicle to sustain the policies of the ruling party and this alienated some young people who were not members of the governing party.

However, that views of respondents differed on the accessibility of youth programmes is worth commenting. Respondents especially from the stakeholder ministry of youth dismissed the partisan nature of the youth development and empowerment programmes. They alluded to the fact that they were a government ministry which was meant to serve all the citizens. Instead of refuting the assertions of the partisan nature of the youth programmes in Zimbabwe, this confirmed the polarisation of Zimbabwe's society and this is damaging the peace process.

Respondents indicated that the politicisation of the youth empowerment programmes has undermined the integrity of these programmes. This has reduced the youth empowerment packages into partisan party programmes meant only to benefit supporters of a given political party. That the youths themselves confirmed that the empowerment programmes were not accessible to them is a cause for concern. Parallels can be drawn to other government programmes where political affiliation determined the beneficiaries of such programmes. The agricultural inputs scheme and the fast track land redistribution programmes were punctuated with beneficiaries selected on the basis of political affiliation (Charumbira and Chituri, 2013).

7.7 Perceptions on youth empowerment and peacebuilding

Results as presented in the previous chapter (Chapter 6) showed that participants believed that the youth empowerment and peacebuilding paradigm in Zimbabwe is not what it ought to be. The perception on youth empowerment and peacebuilding was very low which shows the limitation of the youth empowerment programmes in place. Knowledge of the youth empowerment packages and awareness of how these packages can improve the peace process in the country was scanty in most of the respondents. A litany of variables is responsible for this, but government and civil society as the main implementers of the youth empowerment packages should shoulder much of the blame.

The inadequacy of the efforts of government and civil society in empowering the youth was emphasised. Respondents indicated that government programmes concerning the youth suffered from lack of funding by the government. The ministry of youth which oversees the implementation of youth programmes operate on a shoestring budget. This was manifested by the state of affairs in some district and even provincial offices of the ministry which lacked basic furniture. Despite the youth representing the majority in the population structure, this is

not reflected in the allocation which the responsible ministry gets from treasury in the national budget. Lack of political will on the part of the government can be the possible explanation for this underfunding of youth activities.

That the country is the grips of a bulging youth population is no secret and if youth programmes are not well catered for, the country runs the risk of instability. For a government which has faced formidable cyclical economic downturns in the last two decades, government programmes have suffered in the process. The country's economy has been shrinking in the last two decades and this has impacted government programmes. However, it has to be noted that besides the economic challenges which the government of Zimbabwe had to contend with, government priorities have been misplaced.

The gap which is left by the government in providing enough services to young people is filled by civil society. Results confirmed the integral part which civil society organisations play in the empowerment drive. The role played by civil society organisations in youth empowerment was confirmed by all the four categories of the respondents (civil society, academia, government and the youth). Faith based organisations were said to be genuine and straight forward in their operations and programmes for the youth. These worked to enhance the life skills of young people and creating income generating projects. Working with communities to formulate programmes that build community resilience and securing livelihoods was the main task of civil society organisations. This was a welcome given the state's inertia in addressing chronic poverty and vulnerabilities of communities. One theory which underpinned this study highlighted the importance of community-based engagement in the peacebuilding process. The majority of the faith-based civil society organisations are based in the communities in which they operate.

However, this did not eliminate the challenge of civil society organisations which come from outside the communities to impose programmes designed without the input of community members. Here is an excerpt from one of the key respondents:

We have the challenge of some civil society organisations who come with foreign programmes which they think are good for the local youth and will impose those programmes on the young people. These organisations think they know what the young people need, and they think they are wise enough to decide on behalf of the youth what programmes are good for them. We have seen these programmes collapsing as soon as

the organisations are out of the picture because the majority of the young people do not identify themselves with these programmes. They were never part of them from the onset hence do not own the programmes.

The sentiments expressed above point to out the challenges of youth empowerment programmes as championed by civil society organisations. This challenge was so rampant in the rural areas where civil society organisations which are based in urban areas design programmes without consulting the youth and impose those programmes on them. This is confirmed by some other studies which noted that civil society organisations have the tendency of imposing programmes on the communities.

7.7.1 Government-civil society collaboration

To comprehend the government-civil society operations, the study explored the relationship between the state and CSOs. The feedback from the interviews and questionnaires revealed that the relationship was antagonistic and fluid. The collaboration of government and civil society is so paramount in the success of developmental programmes in communities. The perception of participants on the level of cooperation between government and civil society was low. Participants noted that the relationship between government and CSOs is sometimes defined by the nature of work that the CSOs are doing at a given time.

Respondents highlighted that the mistrust and suspicion that characterise the relationship between government and CSOs was impeding the progress of development. This suspicion has roots in the relationship between the government of Zimbabwe and the Western countries especially the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States of America (USA). The diplomatic standoff between Zimbabwe and these countries following the land reform of year 2000 has resulted in the frosty relations between the government and CSOs. The standoff has had profound impediments on the operations of CSOs, many of which receive their funding from the western countries.

Common areas of conflict were noted, and these are outlined in the preceding chapter (Chapter 6). Chief among these is the lack of consensus on the definition of empowerment between government and civil society. Respondents from the stakeholder ministry of youth viewed youth empowerment from the perspective of inculcation of skills and funding/supporting youth income generating projects. They regarded these as the part of empowerment which is most needed by young people and has the potential to transform their lives. They blamed civil society

for focussing on civil and political rights programmes, programmes which the government viewed as aimed at effecting a regime change agenda. The respondent (G1) asserted that:

We are trying as a government to equip the youth with requisite skills like carpentry, building, hairdressing, garment making, metal work and others. This is done through various government and civil society- initiated programmes. However, we have other civil society organisations which come in the name of youth empowerment but are bent on furthering a different agenda which is related to regime change. These organisations put much emphasis on civil and political rights and spend a lot of money in these programmes. But our argument as government is that what the youth need now are skills that would assist them in creating employment for themselves, not political rights.

The above statement underlines the mistrust that exists between the government of Zimbabwe and civil society which is suspected of undermining government authority under the guise of youth empowerment programmes. This mistrust resulted in attempts by government to control the activities of civil society organisations. The acrimonious relations between government and civil society is confirmed by Kagoro (2004) who opined that attempts to curtail activities of civil society can be traced to the Rhodesian era. This continued into independent Zimbabwe when government has constantly used legislations to stifle the operations of civil society. This is also confirmed by Muzondo (2007: 1) who argues that legislation such as the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and Broadcasting Services Act (BSA) have been used to police activities of the civil society. Because the scope and vitality of CSOs hinge upon the regulatory framework by the state, such legislation has stifled the existence, growth and operations of CSOs in Zimbabwe (NGO Consultancy Africa, 2005: 3).

The lack of harmony between civil society and government has resulted in the discord in youth empowerment programmes. Some civil society organisations argued that civil and political rights of the youth were as important and indispensable to youth empowerment as other forms of empowerment. For those CSOs involved in advocacy, they argued that equipping youth with vocational and technical skills without knowledge of civil and political rights was incomplete and unsustainable in the long run. The argument that young people should be informed about their electoral rights and participate fully in governance issues of their communities was emphasised by some respondents who represented civil society organisations. As previously discussed in the theoretical framework, there are two theories which underpinned this study:

human needs theory and the community-based approach to building. Community-based approach to peacebuilding argues that depriving communities of participation in the peace process will make any mechanism for the peace process to fail. This approach makes bottom-up participation very key in any peacebuilding endeavours. A study by Jensen (2010) revealed limited participation by young people in important spheres of their community life. This is as a result of lack of opportunity offered to young people to participate in civic associations, politics and economic issues.

It is worth noting that beyond the year 2000, civil society assumed an increasingly political and more confrontational stance when engaging the government (Kambeba & Olaleye, 2005: 64). This commenced when the government of Zimbabwe was alleged to be responsible for the gross human rights violations. Many civil society organisations which belonged to the advocacy category criticised the government on its alleged human rights record and were immediately drawn into hostilities with the ruling party (Kambeba & Olaleye, 2005: 64). The government responded by imposing restrictions on the operations of CSOs to curb their association with oppositional politics. It is for this reason that civil society found it more difficult to operate in Zimbabwe (Bekoe, 2007). Stakeholder ministry representatives presented a picture that CSOs have ulterior motives when they go out in the communities. They argued that CSOs should play a complementary role of supporting programmes initiated by the state and not initiate programmes of their own with their own agendas. Based on such observations, it can be seen that the working relationship between government and CSOs is problematic. This kind of set up is not ideal for youth development and empowerment programmes because CSOs are indispensable to the development of communities.

Peacebuilding is a very broad concept and it encompasses issues of development, human rights, justice, good governance, forgiveness and reconciliation. Therefore, this means that CSOs working on peacebuilding cannot avoid focussing on the various aspects of civil and political rights; hence, CSOs have generally been viewed with suspicion and their operations have been closely scrutinised by the government.

7.7.2 Challenges to peacebuilding through youth empowerment

Peacebuilding has been greatly politicised in Zimbabwe that any attempts to embark on this exercise is often contested. This is because over the years all peacebuilding attempts have been political in orientation and have been viewed by those in power as meant to implicate them in

the wrongs of the past. Even attempts to build peace through youth empowerment programmes is not without its own share of challenges. Participants in this current study pointed out pertinent challenges they face in the process of empowering young people. These challenges as presented in chapter 6, were common and almost all respondents referred to them. Chief among this array of challenges was limited resources which dogged the stakeholder ministry of youth and civil society organisations. The paucity of resources rendered the operating environment for the ministry of youth and youth organisations difficult. Some youth programmes were discontinued as underfunding made it impossible to sustain these programmes. Youth empowerment programmes demand massive capital injection whose sources should either be the government or other independent benefactors. With the government of Zimbabwe facing a massive liquidity crunch in recent years, its ministries including the ministry of youth have not been able to receive adequate budget allocation to meet its fiscal demands. The international isolation which the country has endured in the last two decades has not helped the situation. Funding from multi-lateral and bilateral institutions has been dwindling and civil society organisations which often rely on bilateral funding have suffered financially. The challenge of lack of or underfunding for youth programmes was so apparent in all the four research sites visited. Almost all the district offices of the ministry of youth had no vehicle or any means of transport for the ministry staffers. The furniture in the offices were in an advanced state of dilapidation which is an indication of serious underfunding of the ministry. The ministry offices had no computers, printers, access to internet and other requisite necessities of office space.

Owing to acute lack of funding, youth programmes have suffered viability challenges; some have collapsed. The ministry testified that they were not even able to monitor the few remaining programmes that are running. This has caused abuse of the projects' funds by the funded youth or misappropriation of these funds because of a lack of oversight by the responsible ministry. According to Gyimah-Brempong and Kimenyi (2013: 22) programs meant for the development of young people ought to be resourced, especially with financial and human resources. However, contrary to the advice of the above authors, the full costs and the sources of funding for youth programmes are either unknown or not guaranteed. With the obtaining situation in Zimbabwe, many of the youth development and empowerment programmes are stalled or abandoned. This has resulted in the development of the youth group which is not empowered and with a future which is very bleak in a shrinking economic environment.

Though the ministry of youth has youth officers who are stationed in communities to work with the same communities on an array of youth projects including those bent on youth empowerment, these could not conduct effective monitoring of projects under the area of their jurisdiction. This was because of the problem mentioned earlier of lack of transport because the areas under their purview are huge to be covered by foot. The youth officers according to one respondent are said to lack proper training to proffer effective monitoring and assessment of the youth projects in their areas. According to Gyimah-Brempong and Kimenyi, (2013: 22), mitigation of risks in youth programmes can be done by setting performance measures and benchmarks that should be monitored and reported regularly. Findings from this study confirm that youth projects have collapsed or stalled owing to lack of the requisite monitoring and supervision by the responsible ministry. This has resulted in the youth who had received loans to run income-generating projects to fail to repay the loans after abusing or misappropriating the funds.

It is worth mentioning that one challenge which the youth empowerment drive has to contend with is the nature of some of the youth. It was noted that some youth, especially in the rural areas, lacked the requisite basic education to make the inculcation of skills for example possible. This made them unable to comprehend some entrepreneurship courses and other issues which needed documentation. One respondent (G3) from the responsible ministry highlighted that:

Despite Zimbabwe being ranked among the leading countries in Africa in terms of education, we are having an upward surge of school dropouts in primary school. This is so alarming especially given the current rate of unemployment among school leavers. Kids find no motivation to continue in school. As a result, there is emerging a pool of semi-illiterate youth who are difficult to train for any skill that requires basic appreciation of some academic concepts.

This is testimony that the challenges that negate and undermine youth empowerment in the country are many and varied. Gyimah-Brempong and Kimenyi, (2013) argue that policies for effective youth empowerment require access to high quality and relevant education by the youth. Though Zimbabwe has invested heavily in primary and secondary education, the motivation for young people to remain in school has dwindled over the years as this is undermined by unemployment rates among school leavers.

Moreover, high mobility among young people has caused the discontinuity of some programmes. The youth were said to be a very mobile group especially from rural to urban areas. The study noted that young people migrate especially from rural areas to urban areas looking for opportunities. Some even emigrate to other countries notably South Africa. This mobility affected empowerment programmes where some young people pulled out of the programmes without completing the courses offered. This was a major problem in rural areas where youth migration is informed by poverty, and this affected the number of people who completed the courses offered. Some have left the income generating projects and these have collapsed.

The youth empowerment drive has been highly politicised in Zimbabwe to the extent that the ministry responsible for youth affairs has been viewed by some respondents as a political arm of the governing party. Politicisation of youth affairs was emphasised by participants, as the reason for non-participation of some youth in the empowerment programmes. The pronouncement of programmes meant to benefit the youth at political rallies was common with political parties. This resulted in the youth programmes being used for the transaction of political business and has excluded those who might be apolitical. As a result, ‘Symbolic policy’ “which are more or less meaningless government programs which neither have a chance at alleviating the underlying problem, nor are intended to do so merely seeking to satisfy public demands that government is ‘doing something’ are an outcome of such political expedience” (Kaboyakgosi and Marata, 2013: 314). For this political expedience, the government of Zimbabwe opened a Youth Empowerment Bank on the eve of elections in July 2018 with the view of providing financial assistance to the youth.

The youth empowerment drive is closely tied to socio-economic environment. The training of young people for various vocational and technical skills, and the bankrolling of income generation projects depends on the macro-economic environment. That Zimbabwe is facing an entrenched economic blitz, which has stalled any economic progress in the last two decades is well documented. There has been massive de-industrialisation and unprecedented capital flight which have left the economy on the brink of implosion. Under these circumstances, the government struggled to fund its programmes including the youth empowerment drive. The participants expressed concern on the prevailing economic challenges which the country continue to grapple with. This would continue to undermine the youth empowerment programmes as the government prioritises other issues.

It is important to note that another thing which undermined the youth empowerment programmes in the country was the indifferent attitude of the young people. There was a general low response to youth programmes especially from those domiciled in the urban areas. The ministry of youth officials lamented that young people in the urban areas have little regard for programmes offered for their empowerment. They regard gaining skills in fields such as building, carpentry, welding and related skills as not fit for them. They prefer careers that will give them white collar employment or office work. This is a big challenge as the economy is not creating such kind of jobs given the obtaining macro-economic environment. Another challenge related to the above is the impatient nature of young people. Young people lack patience to commit themselves to training and get skills before they start earning money. They prefer for immediate benefits and as a result many have opted to go for jobs which give them money without skills. Some in the rural areas have skipped the border into neighbouring countries, especially South Africa for employment opportunities.

7.8 Chapter summary

The chapter provided discussion and interpretation of findings presented in Chapter 6. The findings are presented as an analysis of the quantitative data derived from the questionnaire and the qualitative data obtained through individual in-depth semi-structured interviews. These two sets of data were triangulated to demonstrate the correlation of peacebuilding to youth empowerment drive in Zimbabwe.

The data findings as presented in Chapter 6 are discussed and interpreted systematically. Results in this study indicated similarities with findings by other studies conducted in some other parts of the developing world. Further, it was noted in this study that the state of youth development and empowerment in the country's provinces cannot be generalised as the implementation of the policy differs with provinces. However, the study also noted that the empowerment programmes face largely similar constraints which were reviewed in the literature such as lack of skills, underfunding, politicisation of the empowerment drive and non-committal behaviour of the youth among others.

The chapter noted that despite a myriad of challenges that the youth empowerment drive has had to grapple with, the youth development and empowerment programmes have transformed the lives of some young people. Economic independence, income generation, participation in governance issues are some of the benefits that the study noted which have accrued as a result of youth empowerment programmes. In some instances, the programmes resulted in flourishing

businesses as some young people could raise income, amass assets and employ others in the process. Despite these successes, the chapter noted that the youth empowerment programmes which are derived from the National Youth Policy lack full implementation as is espoused by the policy. The youth policy and other related statutory instruments recommend youth inclusion in the planning, designing, implementing and evaluating of youth programmes, but this is minimal or non-existent. This is evident in the ignorance displayed by the youth on their participation in the designing and planning of youth programmes.

CHAPTER EIGHT: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

The current chapter presents a summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study findings as presented in chapter 6 and the interpretation and discussion of study results presented in chapter 7. The chapter draws a conclusion to the study and proffers recommendations of how youth empowerment interventions can aid the peace process in Zimbabwe. The study made attempts to integrate the study's findings with existing knowledge and took a systematic appraisal of the study taking cognisance of the strengths and weaknesses of the study. This chapter, in other words, is a reaffirmation of the research objectives, justifying the methodologies and theories which underpinned the study and succinctly provide answers to the research questions this study interrogated.

Using quantitative and qualitative data obtained through survey questionnaires and in-depth interviews respectively, the study analysed data using descriptive statistics and thematic methods. From these, the study draws conclusions and presented personal reflections of the researcher on the dynamics of the study in terms of the challenges faced, strengths and weaknesses of the study as well as areas for further study.

Youth empowerment was identified through this study as one among other initiatives that should be considered to foster lasting peace in communities. Other studies also concur that youth empowerment is critical to the establishment of peace across the world. The failure of responsible authorities (governments, civil society and other youth organisations) to initiate sustainable youth empowerment interventions results in the undermining of the peace process. The study established that more should be done in youth development and empowerment if the goal of peacebuilding is to be attained. Sustainable skills development, transformation of the educational curriculum, entrepreneurial training, funding of local youth enterprises and inclusive participation of young people in decision making were identified as key to the empowerment of young people. However, these should not be done haphazardly as this has in the past resulted in the collapse of the programmes and has not yielded the intended results.

Peculiar to this study was a non-political track adopted by the study in attempting to address youth violence and participation in violent conflict. The role of youth development and empowerment interventions in fostering sustainable and durable peace is new to the narrative of peacebuilding in Zimbabwe. Manyeruke and Hamauswa (2012), Karikoga (2011), and Musasa (2013) concur that Zimbabwe has been on the political track of peacebuilding since independence. This has only managed to intermittently halt hostilities but has failed to a large measure to establish peace in the country. The political initiatives have been top-bottom and have in the process marginalised young people who are so critical in establishing sustainable peace.

8.2 Research purpose and research questions

This study grappled with the main objective of how government and civil society have empowered the youth and, in the process, enhanced the peacebuilding discourse. The purpose of this study was to interrogate how youth empowerment packages initiated by the government of Zimbabwe and civil society organisations can contribute to the peace process in the country. The study addressed five research questions namely:

- What are the challenges that face the youth and how do they contribute to youth violence?
- What are the youth empowerment and development programmes the government and civil society have in Zimbabwe?
- What are the effects of youth empowerment and development programmes on the peace process in Zimbabwe?
- How far have the youth benefited from the empowerment initiatives by government and civil society?
- What are the challenges to youth development and empowerment and how do they affect the peace process?

8.3 Summary of the research findings

This section provides a summary of the findings to the five research questions outlined above. However, it is important to give a succinct summary of the whole thesis before summarising the research findings. Chapter One of this thesis provides a background of the study problem and its setting. It also outlines the key objectives and research questions which this study sought to achieve. Chapter Two contextualised the concepts of youth, conflict and peacebuilding. Further, the chapter interrogated the involvement of youth in violent conflict and the reasons

that drive young people into violence. Chapter Three contextualised youth empowerment and peacebuilding in Zimbabwe. The chapter gives a systematic outline of the youth empowerment narrative in Zimbabwe and attempted to draw parallels with other countries in the region

Chapter Four examined the theoretical framework as well as the conceptual framework which provided the theoretical footing for the study. The chapter outlines the theoretical lenses which provides the focus of the study. Chapter Five outlined the research methodology that guided the steps taken by this study in exploring the youth empowerment drive. Data collection methods, choice of the sample size, and the rationale for a mixed methodology is explained. Chapter 6 provided the data presentation and analysis and chapter 7 provided the discussion and interpretation of the findings. As indicated earlier, the current chapter presents the summary of the research findings.

8.3.1 Youth empowerment and development programmes by government and civil society organisations

Since independence, the government of Zimbabwe and civil society have been the most active players in the youth empowerment programmes. Both government and civil society have contributed to the empowerment of young people in Zimbabwe. The two have initiated several youth empowerment programmes whose sole mission was to provide a seamless transition of young people into adulthood. The Zimbabwe National Youth Policy provides the legislative framework for the empowerment of young people in the country. Operating within this framework, the government and CSOs instituted youth programmes like Youth Empowerment Fund, Wealth Creation Fund, Skills for Youth Employment and Rural Development Programme (Bhebhe et al., 2015: 15). The study established that these programmes have had a tremendous impact on the lives of many young people. However, lack of youth participation in empowerment programmes has undermined the integrity of these programmes and has resulted in the programmes failing to meet the needs of young people. Attempts by government and CSOs in incorporating the youth in empowerment programmes are not enough and have left this group marginalised in the activities that affect their lives.

8.3.2 Effects of youth empowerment and development programmes on the peace process

Youth development and empowerment has had limited impact on the peace process in Zimbabwe. Genuine peacebuilding through youth development and empowerment is yet to be

realised in country. The study revealed the following aspects that have negated the prospects of building peace through positive youth development and empowerment:

- (i) There is lack of awareness among the youth about policy and instruments that are meant for their empowerment.
- (ii) Youths in the country are still excluded from the mainstream social, political and economic activities that have a bearing on their daily lives and which are meant to empower them.
- (iii) The consultation and involvement of youth in key decision-making institutions and in policy formulation is still restricted and in some cases absent and this has adversely impacted on their empowerment.
- (iv) The environment that allows for total positive youth development and empowerment is yet to be created.
- (v) The politicisation of the youth empowerment programmes has resulted in the exclusion of some sections of the youth population. As a result, the empowerment drive has not been inclusive and has been segregatory in nature.

8.3.3. Benefits of empowerment initiatives to the youth

The empowerment drive has had varying degrees of success and failure and corresponding benefits and challenges on the youth. Notwithstanding the challenges which dogged the youth development and empowerment initiatives in Zimbabwe, the programmes have had some remarkable benefits on the youth. The study noted some benefits which accrued as a result of the youth empowerment packages:

- i. There was remarkable attainment of skills by young people especially through education.
- ii. Youth in the country through the youth empowerment fund managed to initiate income generating projects which are sustainable and have been a source of employment to them and others.
- iii. Young people who received training in skills development and got support to commence projects became financially independent and indicated no inclination to participate in violent conflict.

8.3.4 Youth challenges and their contribution to youth violence

A domineering challenge which confronted the youth in Zimbabwe was unemployment. This challenge was highlighted by virtually all the participants in the study and was cited as a serious contribution to youth violence. With the current unemployment rate at an approximated 80-90%, young people are the hardest hit by this phenomenon. Findings of the current study alluded that the critical challenge that confront the youth in the country was unemployment. Owing to this challenge, the youth are susceptible to recruitment by political parties and other extreme groups to take part in acts of violence. Similarly, findings revealed that the emergence of large youth populations together with a stagnant economy and concomitant unemployment increase the incidence of conflict because of what Weber, (2013) and Bricker & Foley, (2013) called low opportunity cost for youth to engage in political violence. This is confirmed by Ojok & Achol (2017) who argue that the stability of the African democratic dispensation is under threat because there is a very positive correlation between stagnant economic development and the engagement of young people in political violence. To avert the youth's inclination to violent conflict, findings pointed out that youth empowerment was very salient in this regard.

8.3.5 Challenges to youth development and empowerment and how they affect the peace process.

The study established that peacebuilding through youth development and empowerment was fraught with massive challenges. If the country is to realise peace, more should be done on the front of youth development and empowerment. The study revealed that the programmes of youth development and empowerment in the country are massively underfunded. This underfunding is epitomised by the shoe-string budget which the stakeholder ministry has to grapple with to fund their operations. Owing to underfunding or outright lack of funding, youth empowerment projects have collapsed and some discontinued. What the study established is that youth programmes require massive injection of capital for funding of projects, training, monitoring and evaluation, buying accessories like computers and other related expenses. However, the liquidity crunch and lack of investment, which is currently affecting the country, has undermined the funding of the youth empowerment discourse. The Ministry is understaffed, under-resourced and staff need retraining for them to be able to deal with topical youth issues.

8.4 Conclusion

The findings of the current study have revealed that youth development and empowerment in Zimbabwe is not what it ought to be. The government and civil society are not doing enough to improve the lives of young people who continue to wallow in abject poverty and in the process, jeopardising the peace process. At a time when the economy continues to shrink owing to a prolonged period of disinvestment, many of the jobs in the country lay in the informal sector. For the self-help projects in this sector to thrive, entrepreneurial skills and funding of the projects are critical. The youths who participated in the study revealed that most of them who are running income-generating projects, have neither received training nor got funding from the government or civil society. They implored the government and civil society organisations to initiate innovative models of training and supporting of the youth to make their projects viable. Community engagement in the design and formulation of these projects is paramount.

The results of the study also indicated that there is a strong nexus between youth empowerment and the peace process. Young people who are economically empowered are socially secure and have minimum inclination towards violent conflict. Vulnerability has compelled many young people to participate in violence or insurrection movements for prospects of a better life. Empowerment projects would unlock economic opportunities for youth and would enhance the prospects of peace in the country.

8.5 Recommendations

From the study's literature review and the results, it can be inferred that the youth is a multifaceted demographic group. Admittedly, they are both agents of violence and promoters of peace. Cognisant of their agency, young people are considered indispensable stakeholders in the peacebuilding discourse. For this reason, the nexus between peacebuilding and youth empowerment programmes should be of interest in the analysis of peacebuilding initiatives. Hence, this study offered a litany of recommendations for the government and civil society to consider in their youth empowerment programmes and peacebuilding initiatives. Below are the recommendations proffered in this study.

Recommendation 1

This study noted the disinterested attitude of urban youth in the current regime of youth empowerment programmes. This is caused by the one-size-fits-all approach of the government

and civil society in their design and planning of youth programmes. Interests and ambitions of youth in rural areas are not identical to those of young people residing in urban areas. The uniform approach in terms of programmes that are meant for the youth in rural and urban areas has resulted in urban youth showing little interest in empowerment programmes. This was strongly argued by respondent A1 who emphasised the need for government, in particular the stakeholder Ministry of Youth and civil society organisations to be innovative in their design of youth projects. Empowerment projects such as hair dressing and catering which are being offered to youth in the rural areas, for example are not compatible with the dynamics of the rural economy of Zimbabwe. This study, therefore, recommends that the ministry of youth and civil society should initiate innovative programmes that are compatible with the ambitions of the rural and urban youth. In the current setting of the fourth industrial revolution, Information Communication Technology should be made part of the empowerment programmes for the youth. This would need massive investment in ICT centres around the districts and provinces to equip the youth with these skills.

Recommendation 2

It is critical that the stakeholder ministry of youth makes strenuous efforts to demystify the perception of the ministry as a political arm of the governing party. This perception has alienated many youths who feel excluded because they do not belong to the governing party (ZANU-PF). Respondents C1, C2, A1, A1, A3 underlined the politicisation of the empowerment discourse by the governing party (ZANU-PF). Though this was vehemently rebuffed by the respondents from the stakeholder ministry (G1, G2, G3, G4), youths who participated in the survey questionnaires confirmed the politicisation of the empowerment programmes by the government. Many youth programmes have been announced and implemented from a political party perspective and this has resulted in the exclusion of a section of the youth population in the country. This was so rampant in the rural areas, where political affiliation was said to be important in accessing government programmes. Having observed this, the current study recommends the de-politicisation of government programmes to make them all encompassing to cater for all citizens. It is also important for the Ministry of youth to establish information centres especially in rural areas to disseminate information about the mission and focus of the ministry. The youth officers who are stationed in the communities are not doing enough to debunk the myth that the ministry is bent on furthering the interests of the politicians.

Recommendation 3

Another salient observation which this study made was the mismatch of the country's education system and what the job market demands. Owing to the academic orientation of Zimbabwe's education system, youth leave schools with no technical skills to assist them in earning a living. Respondents across the academia sector (A3, A4, A1, A2) and the government (G1, G2, G3) recommended that the education system should be overhauled to align it to the contemporary demands of industry. Empowerment ideals like skills inculcation should be included in the school curriculum to prepare young people in the life after school. The study noted the transformation that Zimbabwe initiated in its basic education curriculum in 2015, whose aim was to modernise the education sector, to align it with modern technologies. The new curriculum framework sought to prepare learners with skills such as critical thinking, problem solving abilities, leadership skills, good communication and ICT skills. Despite these efforts, the curriculum is still more academic oriented and suffers from non-implementation owing to lack of funding. The study therefore recommends a non-formal education system which is skills oriented for young people who are not good in academics and for those who might have dropped out of the formal system of schooling.

Recommendation 4

Results from this study revealed that there is deep-seated scepticism and distrust between youth and government on one hand and between government and civil society on the other. This was apparent in some participants' reservations on the intentions of government in the youth empowerment drive. There were strong opinions from those in the academia and civil society (A1, A2, A4, C1, C5, C6) on the use of empowerment packages by the government for political expediency especially during election time. This was noted as government often intensify efforts to empower young people in the eve of an impending election. Such conduct by the government undermines the people's confidence in government driven programmes and it justifies the people's scepticism. For this reason, the study recommends therefore, that government should work towards depoliticising the youth empowerment programmes to regain the confidence of the people. It is necessary that adequate effort be made by government through the stakeholder Ministry of Youth to establish an acceptable depth of trust between government and the youth and between government and civil society. This could be done through active and inclusive participation of the youth in the decision-making process. The professional conduct of government officials especially in the stakeholder ministry of youth

through unbiased support for the youth of all categories is another feasible approach through which trust could be fostered.

Recommendation 5

The underfunding and/or outright lack of funds for the ministry of youth was noted to be a serious challenge. Respondents from the stakeholder ministry (G1, G2, G3, G4) and the youth who participated in the study lamented that the ministry is incapacitated to fund potential youth projects, train youth for skills and have inadequate human and material resources to monitor youth enterprises. As a result of this lack of monitoring, misappropriation of project funds by the funded youth was said to be rampant. This study, therefore, recommends the treasury (Ministry of Finance) to allocate a youth quota system in the national budget. Since the constitution of the country makes no provisions for the youth quota to advance interests of young people, the Ministry of Youth should initiate the amendment of the National Youth Policy to give provision for the youth quota. Some countries around the world have adopted the youth quotas with the view of appealing to young voters, mitigate political violence and to increase youth engagement in decision-making. If well designed, youth quotas can increase the number of youths in elected offices hence enhancing their participation in the governance of their own affairs. But youth quotas alone do not guarantee effective participation of young people in decision making. This should be accompanied by holistic strategies to empower young people for them to participate meaningfully in the affairs that concern them.

8.6 Originality and contributions of the study

The conduct of research in a thoughtful, ethical and systematic way is paramount to the generation of knowledge (Rossman & Rallis 2017:293). Such knowledge generated through research is important in the resolution of societal challenges and helps in decision making, building of theories, and influence behavioural changes (Neuman 2011). Therefore, the originality of the study and its contribution to the world of knowledge is very important.

Numerous studies have been conducted on youth, conflict and peacebuilding. Among these studies, few have adequately focussed on youth empowerment and peacebuilding in a single study especially within the context of Zimbabwe like this study has done. The composition of this study (youth, empowerment and peacebuilding) contribute towards filling this gap. Through its focus on the contribution of youth empowerment as an initiative for peacebuilding,

this study makes a distinct contribution by advancing an understanding of the relevance of youth empowerment packages to the building of peace.

The originality of this study is further demonstrated through its attempt to discuss the inherent weaknesses in the current youth empowerment packages and how they are not helping the youth to alleviate the challenges they face. The novelty of the study is embedded in the nature of the study that revolves around the correlation of youth empowerment and peacebuilding as a subject of interrogation. Given the dearth of research that focus on this narrative, this study, therefore, makes a substantial contribution through recommending the use of youth empowerment programmes to achieve sustainable peace in the country. Unlike other quantitative studies on youth, this study offered young people the opportunity to make their voices heard about how the youth empowerment programmes in the country should be modelled.

The findings of the study provide a better understanding of the relationship between youth empowerment packages and peacebuilding. The study revealed that young people are vital in the building of peace if the stakeholders focus on empowering this demographic group. The government, civil society and other youth organisations need to develop programmes that would guide the youth in the running of sustainable projects for them to be economically secure.

From the theoretical point of view, the study provides additional insight to the two theories used: Human needs theory and the community-based approach to peacebuilding. This study validates the use of these theories in understanding the role of the youth in peacebuilding. For a very long-time studies on youth and conflict have been dominated by the youth bulge theories. However, this study brings a new perspective on youth and peacebuilding using the human needs theory and community-based approach to peacebuilding.

8.7 Further research

Based on the findings of this current study, the following are suggested as potential areas for further investigation:

1. The researcher suggests that a similar study be conducted in the other geopolitical regions of Zimbabwe such as Mashonaland West or East and Matebeleland North or South.

2. Furthermore, a related study can be conducted which considers the gender dimension of the empowerment packages in the country. Comparisons can be made on the dynamics of youth empowerment from a gender perspective and how this affects the peacebuilding process. This might possibly yield substantive evidence to enhance understanding of the similarities and differences of the empowerment drive if gender comes under investigation.

3. This being a mixed methods study could not include enough numbers given the time constraints. Subsequent studies can be more extensive and have the potential to yield comprehensive data that enhances the understanding of the socio-economic empowerment of youth in Zimbabwe. These studies could endeavour to highlight some of the potential benefits and challenges of involving the youth in the design and planning of youth empowerment programmes.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Ethical Clearance



6 February 2018

Mr Edwin Yingi Z15082039
School of Social Sciences
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear Mr Yingi

Protocol reference number: HSS/1199/017D

Project title: Peace-building through youth development and empowerment in Zimbabwe: Exploring government and civil society initiatives

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 24 July 2017, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Professor Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Dr ND Louber
cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Manesvari Naidu
cc School Administrator: Ms Nancy Mudau

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Professor Shenuka Singh (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3067/8263/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ahss@ukzn.ac.za / smym@ukzn.ac.za / ethics@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za



Founding Campuses: Edenwood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville

Appendix B: Gatekeeper Letter



UNIVERSITY OF TM
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

University of KwaZulu-Natal
School of Social Sciences, New Arts Building
Golf Road, Private Bag X01, Scottsville, 3209
Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

29 August, 2017

Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development
8th Floor, Kaguvi Building
Central Avenue, Harare
Zimbabwe

Re: Application for permission to conduct research

Dear Sir/Madam

I am Yingyi Edwin, a PhD candidate with the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. I write to seek permission from your office to include your organisation in my study which I wish to undertake later in the year or early next year. The title of the study is: Peacebuilding through youth empowerment and development in Zimbabwe: Government and civil society initiatives. The study seeks to explore and examine how the various youth empowerment interventions by government and civil society have contributed towards the quest for peace in country. The ministry of Women Affairs is important in this study for it gives the gendered dimension of the youth empowerment discourse. To this end, I humbly seek permission to interview staff in the ministry to get their views about the youth empowerment paradigm and how it has affected female youth. This is important to give the study a balanced view of the empowerment drive in Zimbabwe and how it eventually has contributed to peace in the country.

I have made an effort to have the letter hand delivered but you are at liberty to send an electronic response at your convenience. My contact details are as follows:

Email: yingiedwin@gmail.com

Cell +27623710683

N/B: For further enquiries do not hesitate to contact my supervisor:

Email: loubsern@ukzn.ac.za

Yours Sincerely



UNIVERSITY OF TM
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

University of KwaZulu-Natal
School of Social Sciences, New Arts Building
Golf Road, Private Bag X01, Scottsville, 3209
Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

29 August, 2017

Ministry of Youth, Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment
20th Floor, Mukwati Building
Corner Livingstone & 4th Street
Harare, Zimbabwe

Re: Application for permission to conduct research

Dear Sir/Madam

I am Yingi Edwin, a PhD candidate with the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. I write to seek permission from your office to include your organisation in my study which I wish to undertake later in the year or early next year. The title of the study is: **Peacebuilding through youth empowerment and development in Zimbabwe: Government and civil society initiatives**. The study seeks to explore and examine how the various youth empowerment interventions by government and civil society have contributed towards the quest for peace in the country. The ministry of Youth is important in this study for it gives the first-hand data about the youth empowerment discourse and the impact it has had on young people. To this end, I humbly seek permission to interview staff in the ministry to get their views about the youth empowerment paradigm and how it has affected the youth. Questionnaires shall also be distributed among the youth in the ministry's data base especially those who have benefited from the various empowerment programmes. This is important to get the views of the youth about the empowerment programmes the government has and continues to roll for the youth. The data shall be used purely for academic purposes and feedback shall be given to the ministry upon completion of the study.

I have made an effort to have the letter hand delivered but you are at liberty to send an electronic response at your convenience of course. My contact details are as follows:

Email: yingiedwin@gmail.com

Cell +27623710683

N/B: For further enquiries do not hesitate to contact my supervisor:

Email: loubser@ukzn.ac.za

Yours Sincerely

Edwin

APPENDIX C: GATEKEEPER CORRESPONDENCE

Jul
13

HealZimbabwe Research <research@healzimbabwe.co.zw>

to me

Dear Edwin

My name is Edknowledge Mandikwaza, the Research and Training Officer for Heal Zimbabwe Trust and I have been asked to help you in research needs.

We are happy to have you working on your research while being part of us in some way, as you find it fit. I suggest we have a Skype Discussion to commence our conversation and to map the way forward. My Skype handle is : edknowledge.mandikwaza

If you can use Whatsapp, I am on mobile number [+263773244227](tel:+263773244227)

Kindest regards

Edknowledge Mandikwaza

Celebrating Diversity and Overcoming Adversity

Gatekeeper's letter



Grace To Heal

P. O. Box 127, Bulawayo

Tel: (263-9) 883655

Fax: (263-9) 883847

Email: gth@yoafrica.com

www.gth-zimbabwe.org

12/07/16

To whom it may concern

This serves to confirm that Edwin Yingi, has been granted permission to carry out his research with our organisation.

Kind regards



D. Ngwenya (Dr)
(Executive Director)

“...And He has committed to us the message of reconciliation”

Gatekeeper's letter

(F)

All communications should be addressed to "The Secretary, Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development



Telephone: 708541/708065

36

Secretary of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development

C/O P. Bag 7726

Causeway

Zimbabwe

Ref: B/14/ 1

20 September 2017.

Edwin Yingi
University of KwaZulu-Natal
School of Social Science, New Arts Building
Golf Road, Private Gag X01, Scottsville, 3209
Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

Dear Mr Edwin Yingi

RE: APPLICATION FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: PEACE BUILDING THROUGH YOUTH EMPOWERMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE: GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL SOCIETY INITIATIVES

The above matter refers.

The Ministry has granted you permission to carry out research on: **Peace building through youth empowerment and development in Zimbabwe: Government and civil society initiatives.**

We wish you well in your research.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'I. Mandaza'.

I. Mandaza
Human Resources Director

For: Secretary for Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development



Gatekeeper's letter



Registrar

*P O Box 1235
MASVINGO
Tel: 039-252100
Fax: 039-252100*

*Off Old Great Zimbabwe Road
MASVINGO
E mail: registrar@gzu.ac.zw*

GREAT ZIMBABWE UNIVERSITY

14 December 2017

Mr Yingi Edwin

University of KwaZulu-Natal
School of Social Sciences, New Arts Building
Golf Road, Private Bag X01, Scottsville, 3209
Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

Dear Mr Yingi Edwin

**REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CARRYOUT RESEARCH AT
GREAT ZIMBABWE UNIVERSITY**

Reference is made to the above subject.

This is to confirm that your request has been approved, and please note that we will require a copy of your findings too.

Wishing you good luck in your studies.

Sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'P.S. Gwatidzo'.

P.S. Gwatidzo (Mrs)

Gatekeeper's letter



BINDURA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION

P. Bag 1020
Bindura. Zimbabwe

Tel: +263-0271-7615
7531/2/6, 7622/4
Cell: 0772 154 882/7
registrar@buse.ac.zw
buseregistrar@gmail.com

REGISTRY DEPARTMENT

06 December 2017

Mr Edwin Yingi
University of KwaZulu-Natal
School of Social Sciences, New Arts Building
Golf Road, Private Bag X01, Scottville, 3209
Pietermaritzburg
SOUTH AFRICA

Dear Mr E Yingi

RE: APPLICATION FOR PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AT THE BINDURA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION

Permission to carry out Research on

PEACE BUILDING THROUGH YOUTH EMPOWERMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE: GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL SOCIETY INITIATIVES

Bindura University of Science Education has granted you the permission on the following conditions.

- a) That in carrying out this research you do not disturb the programmes of the institution.
- b) That you avail to the University a copy of your research findings.
- c) That the permission can be withdrawn at any time by the Registrar or by any higher officer.

I wish you success in your research work and in your University/College studies.

Yours Faithfully

SG Chitera (Mr)
ACTING REGISTRAR



CC: Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities

"Promoting Science for Human Development"

APPENDIX D: Questionnaire

I EDWIN YINGI, am a student with the **University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg** campus, in South Africa. I am carrying out a study entitled **“Peace-building through youth development and empowerment by government and civil society in the context of the National Youth Policy and the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act in Zimbabwe.** The study is a descriptive analysis of the youth empowerment programmes in Zimbabwe by government and civil society and the implications these have had on the peace-building agenda in the country. It aims at exploring the factors behind youth participation in violent conflicts and how this can be addressed by empowering the youth hence peace-building. Could you kindly respond to this questionnaire as honestly as you can. This is purely academic research and your response is anonymous. Results of this study will only be used for academic and not political purposes. All information will be treated with utmost confidence. The success of this study depends on your cooperation.

Section A: Personal Information									
Gender		Age	Residence		Level of Education				
M	F	(Years)	Urban	Rural	None	Primary	Some Secondary	Secondary	Tertiary

In the following questions the rating scale is from 0-10, with 0 being “not at all, never”, 5 is the “middle, average or neutral” and 10 is “always, best etc.” N/A means not applicable. Please rate each aspect out of 10. Indicate your choice by circling the appropriate number provided.

Section B: Youth and conflict													
1. Youth in Zimbabwe are involved in violent conflict.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A	
2. Youths are driven into violence by politics.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A	
3. Poverty contribute to youth violent behaviour.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A	
4. Youth are victims of violent conflict.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A	
5. Youth are perpetrators of violent conflict	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A	

Section C: Youth development and empowerment													
6. Youth in Zimbabwe are independent economically.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A	
7. The Zimbabwe government is supporting the youth economically.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A	
8. Civil society empowers the youth.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A	
9. There are organisations which support the youth in your area.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A	

10. You are trained in your economic activity.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
11. You got support from government for the economic activity you are doing.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
12. You got support from civil society for the economic activity you are doing.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
13. Loans are easily accessible to the youth.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
14. Information on youth programmes is readily available.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
15. Government consult you on all youth programmes.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
16. You are satisfied with the life you are leading as a youth.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A

Section D: Youth empowerment and peace-building

17. Youth contribute to peace	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
18. Economic empowerment of youth translates to peace.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
19. Youth engage in violence if they are socially and economically insecure	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
20. Youth programmes promote social cohesion.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
21. Youth programmes are freely available to everyone.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
22. Health services are easily accessible to me.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
23. The environment in the country allows me to participate in the political process freely.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A

Section E: Perceptions

24. The government is doing enough to help the youth.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
25. Civil society is doing enough to help the youth.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
26. The youth in Zimbabwe are economically secure.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
27. The youth in Zimbabwe are socially secure.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A
28. Government and civil society collaborate to empower the youth.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	N/A

Any Further Comments:

Thank you for your participation and time.

APPENDIX E: Interview Schedules

I **EDWIN YINGI**, am a student with the **University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg** campus, in South Africa. I am carrying out a study entitled **“Peace-building through youth development and empowerment by government and civil society in the context of the National Youth Policy and the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act in Zimbabwe**. The study is a descriptive analysis of the youth empowerment programmes in Zimbabwe by government and civil society and the implications these have had on the peace-building agenda in the country. It aims at exploring the factors behind youth participation in violent conflicts and how this can be addressed by empowering the youth hence peace-building.

Interview Guide

1. Do you think the youth play a role in violent conflict?
2. What is your understanding of peace and building of peace?
3. What is your understanding of youth empowerment and development?
4. How far have government and civil society empowered the youth in Zimbabwe since independence?
5. In what ways have youth empowerment and development programmes impacted on the peace process in the country?
6. What do you think should be done by government and civil society to enhance youth participation in the peace process in the country?
7. How important are the National Youth Policy and the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act to the empowerment and development of the youth?
8. Do the National Youth Policy and Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act provide sufficient legislative framework for the empowerment and development of the youth?
9. What challenges lie in the path of peacebuilding through youth empowerment and development?
10. What else do you think should be done for the youth to make them desist from the temptation to participate in violence?