

Containment Interventions for the Youth Post-Political Violence: Zimbabwe

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The study sought to understand political youth violence, its psychological effects and how best the youth in selected Seke urban areas could be rehabilitated for reintegration into the society. The study adopted a qualitative methodological approach which emphasises on narrative and descriptive results. In-depth structured interviews and bibliometric approach were used to collect data. Thirty participants were sampled purposively for interviews that were conducted over a 90-day period before analysis of data was conducted through Latent and Manifest Content approaches. The study was anchored on the theory of Social Integration. The study established that the nature of political youth violence is not predetermined as it is dependent on the level of resistance and psychological influence. It also found out that various effects had been recorded; psychological and physiological. The study established that various containment and reintegration programmes could be rolled out realizing the gravity of the effects and future development.

Keywords: youth violence, politics, culture, rehabilitation, reintegration, containment

Introduction

The world over, there are various reports about conflicts and most of them involve the youth as the chief perpetrators of violence. Zimbabwe has not been spared. Since the colonial era, most cases of violence have been driven by the youth on account of their flexibility, agility and the fact that they are the most affected by social and economic challenges in any economy (The Forum 2017). After the youth have participated in violence, they eventually grow out of the youth constituency and leave others behind them to take over the criminal and violent acts. Unfortunately, they take with them all the moral blame, regret and psychological trauma. Questions that have always remained unanswered include the sincerity of the government in protecting the youth from political abuse and if these youths have always offered their services voluntarily.

Acknowledging that the youth have participated in most conflicts and having suffered the most psychologically, there is need for some deliberate rehabilitation and rescue programmes to attend to the youth challenges and their well-being. Therefore, the study which adopted a multi-perspective approach sought to understand the nature of youth violence, the psychological effects and how best the affected could be rescued for integration into the society and for future stability. The study argues that politically, youth have been isolated from the social structures. Therefore, reintegration seeks to place them back in their societies and make them acceptable and respected by the generality of the people.

Background

Stopping violent conflict is vital for development. However, that may only be possible if the perpetrators of violence are rehabilitated and taken back into the right life path. To identify violence perpetrators, there is need to first of all acknowledge the involvement of some well-resourced adults who seek to satisfy their political, economic or social agenda by creating disorder. While in other countries, conflicts and hostilities are facilitated through the trade of small arms and light weapons, in Zimbabwe, everything revolves around small food and alcoholic items. Therefore, because of the deepening levels of poverty and hopelessness, most perpetrators of violence are attracted by offers of food, beer or identity.

Most political violence in Zimbabwe is recorded ahead of an election as political contestants jostle for power and in the process; rope in the services of the desperate idle and jobless youth to campaign for them. However, the forms of campaigns often involve violence and terror. Violence and terror are political cultures that have been developed since the 1960s-1970s liberation struggle (Dodo 2014, p. 97). After the attainment of Zimbabwe's political independence in 1980, a sizeable number of the former liberation war participants were resettled in Seke urban thus sowing the spirit of violence that had been developed during the war.

Seke urban district lies in Chitungwiza Municipality which is 25 kilometres to the south east of Harare. Seke town is made up of 15 Sections with a total population of over eight hundred thousand people. The town is basically a dormitory of Harare as its small industry is no-longer functional owing to the effects of the economic structural adjustments of the 1990s and general maladministration by the ruling regime. Resultantly, there are over four hundred thousand unemployed youth who are exposed to conscription into political violence ranks (Dodo 2016b, p. 145).

It has been observed that episodes of violence in Zimbabwe are recorded in identifiable periods that come soon after another violent period (Reeler 2009). It has also been observed that it is often the same people who partake in violent acts if different violent episodes occur within a short space of time (The Forum 2017). In the case of Zimbabwean youth and in particular those in the urban Seke district, they have been socialised into violent conduct from immoral and violent family and political practices that have been allowed to develop without reprimand (Research and Advocacy Unit [RAU] 2012; Dodo 2016b, p. 145). In Seke urban, the youth have been coerced into participating in political violence. The political parties have always promised jobs, residential stands, food and identity as rewards for participation in political programmes that always end up turning violent (RAU 2012; Dodo 2016b, p. 145). In most situations, the sponsors of the violence are not prosecuted leaving the defenceless and poor youth paying for the criminal and immoral acts. Often times, they are disowned and abandoned to languish in poverty and destitution. In Seke urban, it is believed that over 10 youth suffer from psychological trauma emanating from the violence and murders that they committed during political violence between year 2001 and 2008 (Reeler 2009; Muronzi 2009; The Forum 2017). Some of the affected families are seeking help from the local Christian prophets and African traditional healers.

Realizing the suffering that most of the youth who would have

participated in violence and sometimes having served time in prison and other forms of isolation, the study sought to establish other possible ways of rescuing them so that they can fit back into the same communities. This is also against a background where all but some non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have not proffered viable containment and integration programmes for the affected youth. This is also in view of the fact that over 10 000 youth have at different times participated in blood violence (Reeler 2009; Muronzi 2009; RAU 2012; Dodo 2016b, p. 145; The Forum 2017).

Methodology

The study had a qualitative methodological approach which emphasises on narrative and descriptive results and applied exploratively. The study sought to explore the involvement of the youth in political violence and how best they could be rescued from the acts and get rehabilitated for integration back into the society. Therefore, to achieve that goal, the study needed to focus on descriptive narratives which explain relationships between a range of not-easily-measurable variables. To collect data, tools that were employed included in-depth structured interviews and *bibliometric* approach, an analysis of the descriptive records of published works. The tools applied helped to expose the efforts and findings by other scholars over time and space (de Bellis 2009). *Bibliometric* analysis allows mobilisation of relevant credible literature and archival material for closer and consistent reviews.

A total of thirty participants (N=30) were sampled purposively from a cross-section of relevant agencies for interviews that were conducted over a 90-day period. There were five health practitioners, five community leaders, five heads of government departments (Youth, Local Government, Security, Education and Justice Departments). All the 15 non-youth participants were mature and professionals who had vast knowledge and experience about youth violence and politics. They were also selected for their expertise in youth behaviour and activities and the fact that they have followed up on the youth violence for some years. Besides, they had experience on the need for youth development and reintegration and rehabilitation post conflict periods. The 15 youth participants were also in the late 20s age group with a history of political violence having participated in at least two violence episodes between 2001 and 2008. On the selection of 15 youth participants, the study considered the fact that it was presented from an anti-positivist perspective that believes in the depth of data rather than width. All participants except

the youth responded to a set of uniform questions as observers, technocrats and policy implementers while the youth responded furnishing on their inner and psychological feelings. Further, health practitioners looked at the questions with a view to responding to the psychiatric and psychological aspects.

The interviews were conducted 'in-homes' as it was considered convenient to the interviewees following a set of uniform questions. The questions sought to establish the following information; the motivation for youth participation in political violence; what effects political violence had on the perpetrators; how the youth could be assisted to fit back into the societies that they unleashed violence. The analysis of data was conducted through Latent and Manifest Content Analysis, which are effective in deciphering human messages and physical mannerisms in an effort to understand human communication and defined narratives. Latent analysis investigates meanings that may not be easily visible while manifest analysis focuses on activities and mannerisms that are on the surface but requiring comparison and interpretation. After the analysis of data, it was presented according to the created themes.

All the participants were informed about the scope of the study and their rights with regards to their participation. Relevant consent was also secured before the study from all the appropriate institutions.

Delimitation

The study was specifically focused on the youth in Seke's three Sections' A, C and F whose combined youth population is over 23 000, of which only four percent is formally employed according to Zimstats (2015). The three Units share geographical boundaries, schools and service centres that the behaviours and characteristics of the residents are almost the same. Politically, the study area falls under the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) leadership. However, during political conflicts post year 2000 when MDC was formed, the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) always establishes political 'bases' at Chinembiri School in Unit A and Chirasavana business centre in Unit F.

Theoretical Framework

The study was anchored on the theory of Social Integration. The Social Integration theory by Emile Durkheim argues that some social deviance and

unusual activities are a result of lack of companionship (Durkheim 1997). According to the theory, if a person has appropriate company, chances of deviance are low on account of constant peer review and social support. According to the theory, integration of the youth into the mainstream society helps improve social connectedness and self-esteem, which are brought about through social validation by friends and the entire community. To the youth in any community, a sense of purpose is important for mental health. Placing the youth in the community and attaching them some value especially after they have unleashed terror on the same community helps reduce the risk of mental disorder through reduced isolation.

Therefore, this theory helps in the placement of the youth in the communities they would have created conflicts as it places some value of them. Value is created through active engagement in activities that give the youth a reason to relate with other peers. This is expected to work well especially for risk youth who may not have social skills to make friends by themselves and effectively fit back into the society. It also helps them appreciate their social worth in the eyes of their victims.

The theory is applied within the scope of the Youth Development and Empowerment (YDE) model which seeks to establish substance abuse and violence prevention programs (Kim, Crutchfield, Williams et al. 1998, p. 1). The model prevents perilous behaviours and is founded on significant involvement of the youth in community programmes (Peltonen and Punamaki 2010, p. 95). The fundamental principle of YDE is the acknowledgement that youth are assets and resources that should take part in community and social matters thus giving them some social value as argued in the Social Integration theory.

Literature Review

Conflicts and the Youth

Between 1990 and 2016 there have been over 200 reported armed conflicts in Africa; ten involving fighting between States, and the rest were civil wars (Betancourt 2013, p.70; Shokri 2017, p. 269). Most of them were defined by the use of small weapons and dispersed combat groups. Most of the conflicts repeated within a short space of time owing to the presence of the previously involved combatants. This is because after a violence era, there are no efforts at addressing the cause and effects of the previous conflict (Betancourt 2013,

p. 70). In Africa, some of the states that have experienced violence and wars include; Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Sudan, South Sudan, Mali, Gabon, Burundi, Cote d'Ivoire, Rwanda, Senegal, Togo, Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea, Kenya, Uganda (Amone 2005, p. 33), Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, South Africa, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe among others (Autesserre 2010; Hickman 2011, p. 29).

Studies around the main causes of most of the conflicts have been unending as the causes are multi-pronged and ever-dynamic. They range from social, political, religious, economic, and environmental to cultural (Cummings, Goeke-Morey, Schermerhorn et al. 2009, p. 16; Betancourt, Meyers-Ohki, Charrow et al. 2013, p. 70). However, in most of these conflicts, though they impact on the youth, it is the resourced adults who craft the grievances before they assign the youth to go on the front perpetuating violence for a pittance. In Zimbabwe, studies by Hickman (2011, p. 29); RAU (2012), Dodo, Nsenduluka and Kasanda (2016, p. 208) have shown that most violence is a result of political issues. Notably, the 1982-87 *Gukurahundi* genocide in Matebeleland, the 1985 Operation Perm in Harare, the 2000 farm invasions (Dodo 2010), 2001 national Parliamentary and 2002 Presidential elections (RAU 2012), 2001 Bindura, 2001 Bikita, 2001, Rusape and 2002 Chikomba Parliamentary by-elections, 2005 Operation *Murambatsvina* and 2008 Harmonised election violence were all politically motivated.

Political Violence and its Effects

Zimbabwe has been characterised by waves of political violence, which have been instigated by different causes and resulting in different situations. The world has recorded various forms of political violence ranging from terrorism, genocide, class conflict, riots, rebellions, coup d'état, civil wars to revolutions (Cummings, Goeke-Morey, Schermerhorn et al. 2009, p. 16). In Zimbabwe, since its political independence in 1980, there has been a 'genocide' which targeted the extermination of the Ndebele people, riots by people expressing some grievances and terrorism by some political youth on the defenceless citizens (Bhebhe 1999; Dodo 2010).

The effects on youth of political violence are problems of global worry. There are growing concerns about the effects on youth of exposure to domestic, community and political violence (Cummings, Goeke-Morey, Schermerhorn et al. 2009, p. 16). However, few systematic studies have been conducted on the consequences of the nexus between these elements for the good and growth of the youth. The systems by which community violence

and political conflict link with the family, and, in turn, the good of the youth are even less well-understood. According to studies, a lot has to be understood about bidirectional links between political violence and the functionality of the youth. There is also need to understand the nexus between youth attitudes and behaviours in these circumstances and community, family and violence and political conflict (Prinz and Feerick 2003, p. 221; Sagi-Schwartz 2008, p. 257; Barber 2008, p. 298).

Socially, there is substantial evidence that political violence has numerous deleterious effects on the youth, which include revenge-seeking, withdrawal, post-traumatic stress, uncertain attachment, heightened aggression and violence, anxiety, depression, and somatic complaints, engagement in political violence, fear, panic, poor school performance, and sleep disorders (Sagi-Schwartz, Seginer, Abdeen et al. 2008, p. 257). Some of the similar effects include the Chokuda/Machaya case in Gokwe district, Midlands in 2009, Chada family versus ZANU PF youth in Buhera in 2008 and the Sibanda family versus ZANU PF youth in Masvingo in 2008 (Dodo 2016a) where avenging spirits persecuted perpetrators of violence and their immediate families. All these have potential cyclical effects on the youth and their developments unless they are addressed.

Possible Interventions

In an endeavor to find sustainable interventions to the challenges facing the youth especially with regards to post-election violence effects, it is prudent that governments look at the problem from a national perspective. This analysis of the problem must be localized; socially, politically and culturally so that the possible intervening measures also become endogenous and locally acceptable and sustainable.

Studies and historical experiences have shown that conflicts are inevitable; they are necessary for development and change (Cummings et al 2009, p. 16). However, what matters is the manner in which the conflicts are handled and the subsequent outcome. Studies have shown that in previous conflicts like in Sierra Leone, Uganda, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, there is need for a systematic approach to sustainable solutions (Autesserre 2010; Hickman 2011, p. 29). It has been argued that any intervention has to start with short-term before graduating to long-term solutions. According to some scholars, long-term and sustainable interventions need to take into consideration aspects like rehabilitation of the concerned parties; the violence perpetrating youth and the respective victims (Barber 2008, p. 298;

Cummings et al. 2009, p. 16). It also has to look at reconciliation, confessions by perpetrators and integration of the outcasts back into the society.

Localization and endogenisation of the adopted interventions is also critical. It is argued that any measure that is adopted has to fit into the local systems and practices so that it is appreciated by the consumers. It is after its appreciation by the local parties that the intervention is assimilated into the cultures and traditions of a people. This is what is then called endogenisation (Dodo 2015). It gives the local people some element of ownership.

There is also the need to adopt a rights based approach in the implementation of any of the interventions. There are some instances when former perpetrators of violence are stigmatized and discriminated for their roles in conflicts (Scarpa, Haden, Hurley et al. 2006, p. 446). During the process, they lose some of their rights like right to life, survival and development, and participation among others. In the long run, such infringements to their rights scare them away from coming back to the society and seek reformation. Some scholars argue that it is discrimination and stigmatisation which often trigger cycles of violence.

It has to be appreciated that there are various interventions at international and regional levels. There is the Rome Statute, which deals with the prosecution of persons accused of war crimes and genocide. There is also the Convention on the Rights of the Child's Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict (World Health Organization 2016). It prohibits the participation of persons below the age of 18 in wars or any political conflicts. Basically these instruments protect minors and the youth from abuse by political adults (Schwartz 2010). Elsewhere, in 2005 the Security Council adopted resolution 1612, which established a monitoring and reporting mechanism in various conflict-affected countries to record abuses of children. In 1989, there was the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (Schwartz 2010; World Health Organization 2016).

At local level, there are laws that also see to protect the welfare of children. Section 70 of the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act [Chapter 9:23] of the Constitution of Zimbabwe punishes persons who sexually engage with persons below 16 years of age. There is also a Bill of Rights that promotes the well-being of children complimenting Section 19 which urges for the respect and prioritization of the welfare of the children. Other laws seeking to protect children and the youth include; the Maintenance Act, The Children's Protection and Adoption Act, The Sexual Offences Act, Administration of Estates Act and Guardianship of Minors Act

among others (Government of Zimbabwe 2016).

Results

The study interviewed 30 participants over a 90-day period with each interview taking an average time of 45 minutes to 60 minutes. All the participants had some experience in youth violence in the district under study. The results of the study are presented according to the themes that were created during the analysis of the data. All the quoted youth were given false codes for identification. Below are the demographic characteristics of the participants.

Nature of Violence

Twenty-five participants indicated that participation of the youth in political violence was a result of a mix of the breakdown of community, the disruption of family, and the psychological characteristics of individual youth. They all concurred that there was a serious loss of morality and cultural values in the communities mainly due to the coming together of different ethnic, religious and cultural systems, poverty and marked migration.

The participants indicated that violence varied with the maturity of the youth and victims involved and the nature of weapons used. 12 youth revealed that during political violence, there is no defined form of persecution or assault that is expected of the youth. Rather, according to the youth, the form of violence is dependent on the resistance, the mood of the youth and attitude of the watching audience. However, the most common form of violence fell within physical and psychological categories. One youth (Y1) said this;

TABLE 1
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Youth		Adults					Total		
18-3-yrs	Health	Community Leaders	Government	Departments	Justice				
Male	Female	5	5	Youth	Educ	Sec	Justice	Loc. Gvt	30
10	5			1	1	1	1	1	

Hatironge marangiro evanhu vatinenge tabata. Tinongoronga kwekuenda. Zvinozoitika zvinoenderana nekuti vanhu vacho vanenge vachirwisa zvakadii. Vazhinji vedu tinenge tisina pfungwa dzekuuraya asi kuti tinomanikidzwa nehunhu hwevanhu kana kuti tinobatwa nekuonererwa nekuda kutyisidzira vamwe

(We don't plan on how we persecute our victims; rather, we only plan on the day's programme of action. Whatever happens on the ground is dependent on the nature of resistance that we get. Most of the youth don't plan on killing the victims. Normally, the resistance forces us to kill or in other instances, we do it to instill fear on the on-lookers).

It was revealed that if a potential victim resisted, the form of violence got heightened and if the perpetrators were in jovial mood having just accomplished their previous mission well, the potential victims could receive less torture. Similarly, if there was a cheering audience, the victim was bound to suffer more. Participants from the health sector indicated that the main forms of injuries that they treated ranged from lacerations, broken bones, deep cut wounds implying the use of sharp objects and swollen head injuries suggesting the use of blunt weapons.

Effects

Community leaders indicated that violence had enormous adverse effects on all the parties involved; the youth and their self-development, and community and its respective families. 22 participants revealed that youth violence led to the loss of loved ones and bread-winners. Because of such attachments, it was difficult to erase the memories from the hearts and minds, thus keeping the hostilities in the people for a long time. It also posed a potential threat to community security owing to lack of trust and confidence in the neighborhood.

All the health practitioners indicated that supportive and pleasant family atmosphere, parents' demonstration of concern for the youth, and parents' serving as a safe base for youth's self-direction in daily affairs could serve as a fundamental intervening process. They added that the most common types of effects were psychological and physiological. It was added by 18 participants that there were some youth who continually displayed violent and aggressive behavior even after some rehabilitation efforts seemingly contradicting the Social Integration theory dictates. Participant from the Security ministry indicated that excessive punishment and social stigma,

often force the youth to continue participating in political violence. According to the participants, there were visible signs of psychological effects on the youth. Three community leaders pointed out that such cases were probably associated with either witch-craft or avenging spirits following some bloody violence.

Thirteen youth indicated that they were hearing strange voices, seeing unusual images and feeling afraid of imaginary things, feeling depressed for long periods, feeling apprehensive and agitated and abusing alcohol and drugs. This is what Cummings et al (2009, p. 16) describes as psychological amnesia which requires appropriate medical attention. They indicated that because of non-availability of rehabilitation and health care services, resorting to excess beer and drugs was helping them at least in the short-term.

Five of the 13 youth indicated that they were experiencing physiological reactivity whenever they got exposed to activities that bear a resemblance to the traumatic incidents and some degree of hyper-vigilance while the other four had difficulty concentrating and yet at the same time showing exaggerated startle reactions. The other two youth revealed that they were periodically experiencing disturbing distressing memories of some of the violent events and having intermittent distressing dreams of the events especially when they killed their victims. They indicated that they were experiencing psychological amnesia. One of them (Y2) said;

Handirare. Kazhinji ndinorota vanhu vese vatairova. Vamwe vanotouya mumaziso ndakasvinura. Kazhinji ndinotozomwa doro kana kuputa mbanje kuti zvipere asi ndinombofunga kuti zven'anga kana mapostori, zvinogona kubatsira.

(Most of the time I do not sleep. Some of the people that we persecuted come in my dreams while others appear in visions while I am awake. I then have to get drunk to suppress the traumatic experiences. I however feel that traditional or apostolic religious practices may reduce the effects)

Rescuing Measures

Technocrats from the government departments noted the urgent need to rescue the affected parties from a cycle of violence and hatred. The participants also noted that there could be various means through which rescuing measures could be applied. It was pointed out that the media played an important role in helping the affected parties out of the dilemma. Since

the media was one of the most effective disseminator of information, there was need for media freedoms so that the people could look up to it for assistance.

Community leaders pointed out the need to recreate social norms and build confidence among the people especially involved in conflicts. It was noted that there had been a serious erosion of the social norms that traditionally regulated societies on various fronts including conflicts and violence. It was also pointed out that the relevant institutions had to work on reviving cultural and social practices that had since time immemorial helped regulate and sustain humanity. According to the participants, these social practices and systems included taboos as defined in Dodo (2015) and other socialisation elements like patriarchal family structures, and traditional schools' forms of discipline through moderate canning. It was unfortunately observed that given the fact that these youths were in an urban setting, traditional practices had no place as there was a serious fusion of cultures, religions and social practices.

Closely akin to the above suggestions by the participants, there was a need to reinforce preventive measures in all societies (Barber 2008, p. 298; Cummings et al. 2009, p. 16). This could mean availing educational opportunities, together with the teaching of peace and tolerance to all the school pupils so that a culture of peace becomes part and parcel of the masses. According to a participant from the Ministry of Education, this however demanded expensive resources.

Participants from the Security, Education and Health Ministries indicated that the affected youth could be helped out of their problem of political violence by ensuring an effective prosecution system. According to the participants, prosecution of the convicted parties to conflicts and violence meant sustainable transitional justice which naturally restored broken relationships and allowed people to move on happily. Prosecution also helps rehabilitate perpetrators of violence so that they do not go back to violence again.

Eight participants indicated that most societies were controlled by the most resourced and politically connected members of the society. They pointed out that while there have been some positive changes in laws and policies supportive of the youth, perfections in their access to resources and involvement is an important step to take. The same participants noted that laws and policies do not by themselves change relations of power as their enforcement is usually blocked by deep-rooted values, structures and unwanted discourses. Culture and religion continue as observed by the

participants to be used by a few fortunate to legalise and formalise imbalanced power configurations.

It was reported that there is need for development especially around employment generation sectors so that some of the idle youth find jobs and stay away from the streets. 15 participants emphasized on the need to take local realities into account in any developmental initiatives arguing that the responsible authorities needed to acknowledge the existence of joblessness and poverty among the youth in Zimbabwe.

Rehabilitation and Integration

Technocrats from the government departments indicated that there was need for a deliberate drive towards rehabilitation of the affected parties in the study communities. It was pointed out that the involved youth, their families, and the victims and their families all needed to go through some effective rehabilitation processes so that they could admit the existence of the evil events while extending forgiveness to the other parties.

Participants from the Health, Education and Security Ministries revealed that while it was noble to focus on rehabilitation of the youth, there were several challenges that needed to be addressed first. It was indicated that history had shown that while the process was costly, it did not guarantee maximum and positive results. Often times, the rehabilitated youth relapsed into violence if the peripheral conditions were not sustainably looked at. These involved ensuring that the youth were no longer susceptible to manipulation owing to hunger, poverty, joblessness and the need for company.

Adopting a comprehensive approach which looks at rehabilitation, reintegration and reconciliation was noted as a critical component. All the non-youth participants and the other nine youth concurred on the need for a well-planned rehabilitation programme which accommodated reconciliation so that the previously hostile parties could be able to live well thereafter. According to the participants, the approach needed to be crafted along the Youth Development and Empowerment (YDE) model so that the youth could realise their worth in the society while contributing towards community development.

Discussion

The study established that youth violence and the abuse of youth by some politicians to commit crime are a routine in most developing societies where the former will be expecting to earn a living as argued in the Social Integration theory while the latter seek political office. While it may be a challenge addressing youth violence, there are some measures that could be implemented as a way of helping the affected youth. The most basic requirement to achieve effective rehabilitation and containment of the youth lies in a sincere acknowledgement on all the parties of the existence of conflicts leading to violence and the subsequent desire to end it permanently.

It was found out that there is need for serious and effective interventions in order to help the affected youth. Interventions in this regard come in various forms as noted in the previous studies by Sagi-Schwartz (2008, p. 322) and Cummings et al (2009, p. 16). Some may be preventive others seeking to ameliorate the damage while others may be directed toward transforming personalities. There are however other interventions that seek to transform the systems and situations that influence behaviour.

The study found out that societies could recreate social norms and build confidence in the people. These social norms and systems include taboos and elements like traditional family structures and schools' forms of disciplinary action; all meant to reintegrate the youth back into the mainstream society as posited in the theory of Social Integration. According to the findings of the study, there could be teaching of peace and tolerance as a foundational school lesson so that the spirit of peace and tolerance becomes part of the society.

It was also established that prosecution is another effective means of applying sustainable transitional justice whenever youth were involved in conflicts and violence. Prosecution also helps rehabilitate perpetrators of violence if they are taken through proper incarceration systems. Closely akin to the above argument is that, in-order to reduce cases of violence in the youth, there is need for appropriate economic empowerment. The most basic form of this empowerment lies in employment generation.

The study established that there are some youth and adults who are suffering psychologically possibly as a result of stress and trauma developed during the youth era as highlighted in Cummings et al (2009, p. 16); RAU (2012); Betancourt et al (2013, p. 70) and Dodo et al (2016a, p. 208). In that regard, the study noted that multimodal treatment was the best intervention from a healing point of view. According to the study, the applicable

psychological treatment needs to involve parents, school, peers, teachers, and community members, and often organized around family intervention. It may also include traditional African, Christian religious approaches and modern medical practices. It has been proven in other cases that multi-pronged approaches to treatment work effectively as seen in the remarks by participant Y2 over traumatic experiences. Similar experiences were also recorded in the Chokuda/Machaya case in Gokwe district, Chada family versus ZANU PF youth in Buhera in 2008 and the Sibanda family versus ZANU PF youth in Masvingo in 2008 as reported in Dodo (2016a, p. 208). Such approaches could be supported by media awareness programmes.

Rehabilitation of the youth post-violence in Zimbabwe poses a challenge. The intervention has proven from other countries' experiences (Sierra Leone, Uganda and DRC) that in-order to achieve a sustainable rehabilitation process, first and foremost, there has to be a properly driven infrastructural rehabilitation. It has been shown from other studies that rehabilitation of the youth helps break cycles of violence as the youth will be living new lives. This is explained in the Social Integration theory and the Youth Development (YDM) model.

Effective integration of the rehabilitated and rescued youth from the violence abuse has to follow a systematic process from a short-term to a long but sustainable one. Sustainable, long-term interventions are required for effective contribution to the youth rehabilitation and reintegration into society.

Recommendations

With regards to cases of some youth who displayed psychological stress, it may be prudent that there be some deliberate multi-pronged healing programme taking on board African traditional, Christian religion and modern medication approaches. This is important considering that most of the people in Zimbabwe now strongly believe in the fusion of the three interventions for an effective solution.

The study recommends a revision of the school curricula regarding violence and gradually develops a systematic, synchronized and developmentally and culturally suitable programme for violence deterrence. This approach has to be long term and gradual so that it sinks in the traditions and behaviours of the people from a tender age.

It is also recommended that teachers under-going training be exposed to

some traditional measures of discipline so that they are able to mete out appropriate disciplinary measures to pupils from a cultural perspective. This measure must be considered taking into account cultural diversity; and the fact that there are some conservative groups that still believe in corporal punishment in schools as an effective disciplinary measure. While this may be contrary to some of the modern approaches to children's rights, conservatives see it otherwise.

There is also need for social integration which can only be effectively attained through social inclusion. Social inclusion specifically focuses on the creation of circumstances for equal access and opportunities for all. Societies need to appreciate the value and roles played by the youth in development and growth of any community. Realizing the value of the youth, they have to be included in almost all activities so that they are socially, politically and economically empowered. For as long as the youth are economically empowered, they do not normally involve themselves in violence and other crimes.

It however has to be noted that when adopting and implementing integration of the youth back into the society, caution has to be taken in the interest of political, cultural and religious diversity in society. Technically, integration tends to assimilate other members of the society into what may not be palatable to their interests. However, it remains relevant for development and cooperation.

Conclusion

History has shown that it is not easy to identify youth challenges for possible resolution. History has also proven that it is also challenging to implement a rehabilitation and containment programme for the youth who would have participated in political violence. However, following this study, it has been concluded that often times, the youth partake in violence for survival; in need of subsistence food, in need of identity and to remain relevant in a particular setting. The study also concludes that there are different ways of rehabilitating and containing the youth from political violence problems. Some of the means are preventive, others seeking to ameliorate the damage while others may be directed toward transforming personalities.

Despite the effects of urbanism, it is concluded that there is need for societies to revisit social practices that have traditionally helped regulate and sustain order, peace and development. The study also concludes that youth

rehabilitation and containment could be achieved through various means. However, the most effective and prominent include prosecution, economic empowerment and acknowledgement of the evil and horrifying past. It is the conclusion of the study that any applied containment approaches be restorative in nature so that opportunities for victims and youth violence perpetrators to meet, talk about the violence and forge a plan for compensation are created. Restorative approaches create room for future relationships.

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