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**PERCEPTIONS OF MARGINALIZATION BY THE NDEBELE PEOPLE AND
ITS IMPACTS ON THE SOCIO-POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ZIMBABWE. A
CASE STUDY OF BULAWAYO**

BY

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of a Master of Social Science Degree in Political Science.**

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DECLARATION

I, **BEKITHEMBA NDLOVU**, declare that this dissertation entitled '**The Perceptions of Marginalization by the Ndebele people and its Impact on the Socio-Political Economy of Zimbabwe. A Case of Bulawayo**' is my own independent original work.

It has not been submitted for any other academic examination at any institution of learning.

Signature.....

Date.....



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DEDICATION

My heartfelt praises to the lord. My dedications go to my mother and relatives for their unwavering love and support in propelling me to believe in myself. I also dedicate this work to my supervisor Dr. V. Ferim for his support and his tireless efforts in helping me in the completion of this report.



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I would like to thank God for the abundant blessings

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BPRA	BULAWAYO PROGRESSIVE RESIDENT ASSOCIATION
FDGS	FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS
MRP	MTHWAKAZI REPUBLIC PARTY
MLF	MTHWAKAZI LIBERATION FRONT
MDC	MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE
NGOS	NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS
PF	PATRIOTIC FRONT
TRC	TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION
ZANLA	ZIMBABWE NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY
ZANU	ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION
ZAPU	ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION
ZBC	ZIMBABWE BROADCASTING CORPORATION
ZNA	ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY
ZIPRA	ZIMBABWE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

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ABSTRACT

The study set out to investigate the perceptions of marginalisation by the Ndebele people and its impact on the socio-political economy of Bulawayo. The study is based on both primary and secondary sources of data. In-depth interviews, focus group discussions and questionnaires formed the main sources of primary data. A review of journal articles and books were the main sources of secondary data. The study found out that perceptions of marginalisation among the study group were attributed to lack of employment, poor services, and history of violence, among others. The findings also reveal that the impact of perceived marginalisation of the Ndebele people include rise in levels of crime, abandonment of language, emigration and radicalism. The study recommends the decentralization of the Zimbabwean government and a national dialogue on the Gukurahundi.



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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

One of the challenges facing the African continent is ethnicity. Laitin (1998) states that ethnicity is a type of social association dependent on common belief, common culture and language. Sana (1978) gives an alternate view, she contends that it is an attribute of social construction that is united by common economic and political objectives and serves as an apparatus of obtaining resources. From the above definitions, we can safely say ethnic identity is a characteristic indicating the historical, biological, cultural and geographical mental similarities shared by a certain group and it distinguishes them from other groups.

Ethnic identity has been the source of numerous conflicts worldwide, prompting some authors such as Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2010) to argue that for nations to succeed, tribalism must die. It has been viewed as a formula for upheaval, summoning issues of slaughter, marginalization, contempt, and retaliation between or among ethnic groups. Tarimo (2011) affirms that when an individual in a particular group is prohibited from national projects based on ethnicity, disdain and retribution are usually the results. Kelman (2001) braces this point attesting that issues in conflict can be a direct result of power struggles, ideological struggles, racial and religious differences as well as issues of survival. Ethnic conflicts usually degenerate into two intermissions that are either latent or violent. However, in many cases, ethnic clashes have tended to be violent in nature. Sindaka (2016) refers to the violent war in Rwanda and Burundi erupting from two main ethnic groups, which were the Hutus and the Tutsis as some of the case studies of ethno politics. In both these countries, it witnessed a genocide that saw millions of lives

perishing. The causes of conflict have largely been historical with these two dominant groups struggling for power.

Bostock (1997) sees ethnic conflict as a result of “breakdown of accommodation of ethnic minorities or majority within a state”. The failure to accommodate ethnic majorities within the state is illustrated by the case in South Africa under apartheid. Aluko (2003) asserts that events such as those unfolding in Rwanda, Burundi and the Balkans, have brought the issue of ethnicity in to a position of prominence. Polarisation between ethnic groups results in conflict between groups as they compete for resources, political and economic power and other goals. This has spawned negative consequences of tremendous proportions of genocide, ethnic cleansing and civil war. In Africa in particular, the problem of ethnic conflict has been compounded by the colonial legacy of national states whose artificial boundaries cut across many ethnic divides. Power struggles have led elites to rally the masses along ethnic lines to perpetuate their interests. Sindaka (2016) makes refers to Kosovo, where there was an attempt to wipe out a completely ethnic group. The Serbian forces engaged themselves in the sinister project of decimating the Bosnians and the Croats in a wake to form the Serb regime after gaining independence from Yugoslavia.

Furthermore, there has been a debate over the effectiveness of conflict resolution processes brought forward in these nations that have been faced with an ethnic crisis. Chipoka (2003) is of the view that Burundi is still unstable even in the aftermath of conflict resolution initiatives as hostilities still prevail between the Hutus and the Tutsis. The country is still characterized by bad governance, corruption, and abuse of human rights. This indicative how ethnic conflicts can put the country in bad shape.

However, in Rwanda, the conflict resolution processes were successful in building peace between the two main groups the Tutsi/Hutu. According to Sindaka (2016), the Arusha Accords in Rwanda have been regarded as a very successful process, which goes a milestone in peace building mechanisms. The bottom-up approach which included all stakeholders in local rural communities and the international community through the national government helped in the peace building process.

Lechambard (2000) argues that in South Africa the conflict resolution processes were effective. The Truth and Reconciliation commission enabled the perpetrators and the victims to come to a resolution of ideological differences. The effectiveness of the conflict resolution processes were attributed to social, structural and economic factors. Sindaka (2016) makes comparisons between South Africa and Burundi on the effectiveness of conflict resolution processes and discovered that in South Africa, it was successful due to a number of factors, which are namely the quality of leadership, the state of the economy and the character of the opposition. This demonstrates that conflict resolution processes are not a one size fits all but require fully furnished economic and political benchmarks to prevent future conflicts.

Furthermore, numerous scholars have written about the ethnic conflicts, emphasizing its bloody violence, paying less attention to latent ethnic conflicts. These conflicts arise from unequal sharing of resources among divided ethnic groups leading to one group feeling marginalized. In South Africa, much of the hostilities have been between white and blacks since the post Apartheid. The blacks complain of economic marginalization owing to the whites whom they believe have monopolised the means of production

and this has created hostilities between the two groups although it has not yet taken a violent struggle (Lechambard, 2000).

In Zimbabwe, although many steps have been taken by the successive government in the direction of addressing ethnic conflicts it is clear that much more still has to be done especially in the light of the perceived marginalisation of the Ndebele. The study notes that in Zimbabwe even though ethnic differences have not yet taken a violent struggle. There are still brewing issues held by the Ndebele people who complain of marginalization and unresolved issues of the past. They blame the government and the Shona nation for the Gukurahundi and their misfortunes in the region. Vambe (2012) is of the view that there is a quiet war in Zimbabwe arising from Ndebele who hold feelings of avoidance, marginalization, and imprisonment in Zimbabwe. The study sought to investigate the validity of these perceptions as a contribution to peacebuilding and conflict resolution in Zimbabwe.

1.2. Problem Statement

Even though ethnicity and regional marginalisation have been a major contributory factor to conflicts in Africa, many governments on the continent have not sustainably resolved the problem. In the case of Zimbabwe, rampant elite collusion, elite preservation and regional marginalisation have reached unimaginable proportions. The allocation of state resources has had many casualties and justifications. The Ndebele people hold feelings of regional marginalization. Their past grievances have not been properly documented and the successive governments have not addressed these issues appropriately, as such, it calls for concern as it impedes the nation-building process. Ndlovu-Gatshen and Benyera (2015) attests this argument, posing that Zimbabwe lacks

interventions that seek genuinely to bring about social cohesion in an ethnically polarised nation. The researcher therefore endeavoured on the subject to understand why the Ndebele people felt regionally marginalised.

1.3. Research Questions

- Why are there perceptions of marginalisation among the Ndebele people of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe?
- How have these perceptions impacted on the socio-political economy of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe?

1.4. Research Aims and Objectives

- To examine the reasons why there are perceptions of marginalization among the Ndebele people of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe.
- To assess how these perceptions have impacted on the socio-political economy of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe.

1.5. Rational of the Study

Ethnic conflicts have left many economies in bad shape as they affect negatively on economic growth through weakening and destroying institutions resulting in stagnant and declining economic activity. This study sought to provide mechanisms and address latent conflicts before they escalate into violent conflict. It is, therefore, aimed at providing valuable information that may prove vital to the following stakeholders' researchers, policymakers and international organizations such as the African Union in their peacekeeping mechanisms. A number of scholars such as Uvin, (2000), Mamdan (2005) and Sindaka (2016) have looked at ethnic conflicts in Rwanda, Burundi, Germany and Kosovo and yet given the differences in context none has looked at the

latent ethnic conflicts in Zimbabwe. The study sought to fill that gap by using the lived experiences of the Ndebele people of Bulawayo in ward 11. The use of Bulawayo as a case study was attributed to its fertility to pre-empt the study.

1.6. Study Area

The study was conducted in ward 11 of Bulawayo.

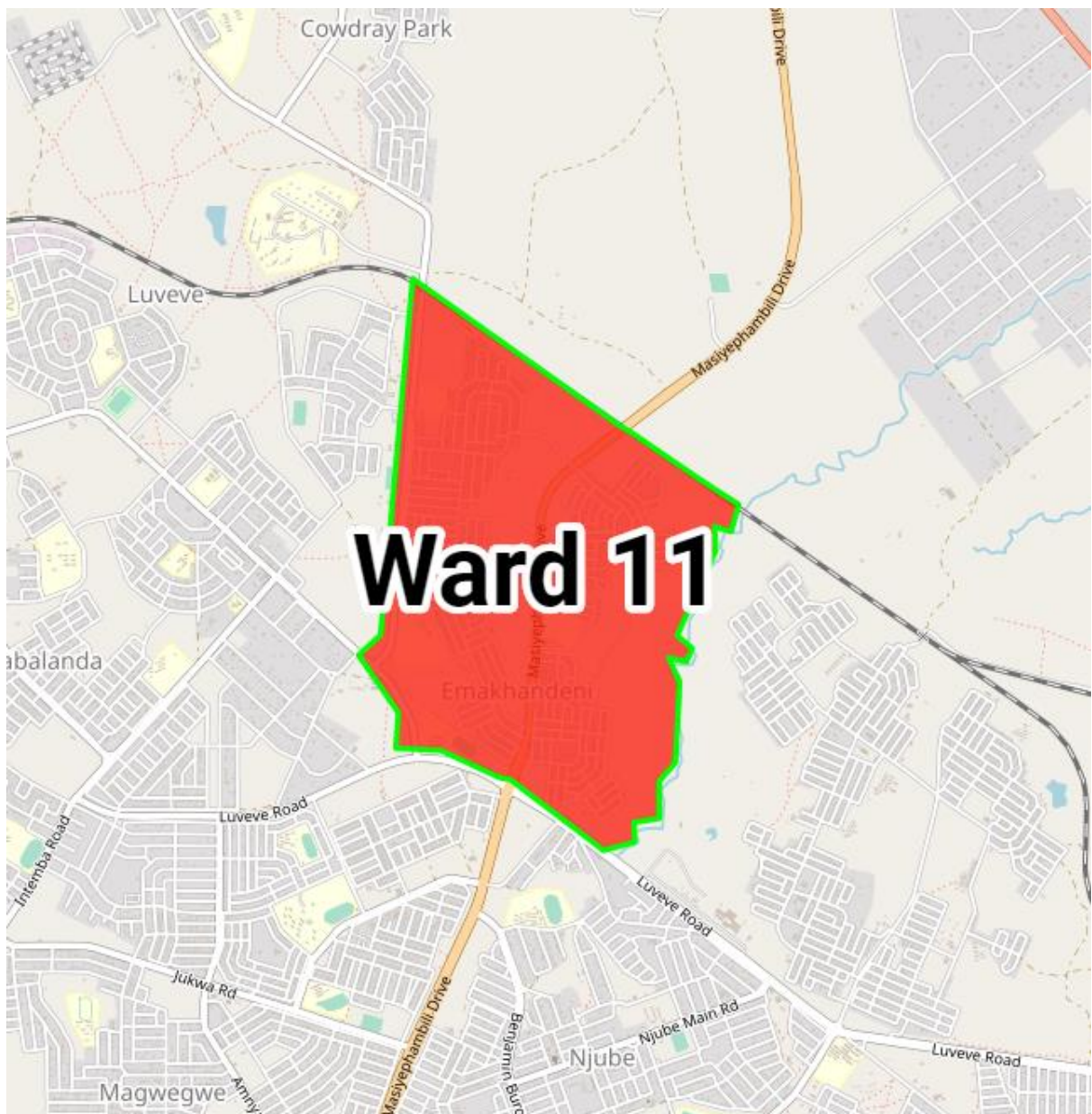


Figure.1. Study area map. Source Zimbabwe National statistics Agency (2012)

1.7. Scope of the Study

The study was limited in scope to perceptions of marginalization by the Ndebele people of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe and its impacts on the socio-political economy of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe

1.8 Chapter Summary.

The chapter discussed the background of the study by providing a pictorial view on the issues of ethnicity. It captured the empirical evidence by borrowing a historical collection on how ethnic crisis have put many countries around the globe into a bad shape. The research problem was also tabled out as the cornerstone of our study. Research questions were propounded that guided the study, whilst in the same hand tabling out the research objectives. The chapter provided the rationale behind the study paying particular attention to normative dispositions that are not voiced openly by the Ndebele people of Bulawayo. The study used ward 11 of Bulawayo to interrogate the gist of the matter. It is hoped that the study will be useful to policy makers and international organisations such as the African Union. The next chapter will review the existing literature on the issues of marginalisation.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses existing literature on the issues of marginalization. It aims to identify the construction of identity, players in conflict, marginalization and discrimination of ethnic groups based on ethnic identity, language and race. It will discuss the approaches to marginalization, which may help in the understanding of the conflict resolution processes. The literature review aims to understand what scholars and existing literature say about the issues of marginalization and identify gaps in the literature that can further attest to the need.

2.2 Conceptualization of Ethnic Identity

Three schools of thought have arisen to try and explore the issue of identity construction and its impact on societies. These schools of thought are the primordial, instrumentalist and constructivist school of thought. Firstly, for primordials, ethnic identity is natural, biological and inherent, passed from generation to generation (Weir 2012). Ethnic identities are fixed and exogenous to political and economic processes. Geertz (1963) is of the view that ethnic ties are inbuilt every individual has traits that connect to other individuals by biology and form biological divisions with others based on race, religion, language, and geography. Chandra (2006) observes that the association of ethnic groups is natural and transmitted intact across generations. Geertz (1963) and Chandra (2006) both concur that ethnic conflicts are inevitable and irreconcilable since they are ancient and ancestral caused by fear and domination.

From this school of thought, ethnic conflicts are natural and arise from the fright of being dominated, exclusion or extermination. Connor (1973) observed that the Rwandan conflict is often portrayed as an unavoidable ethnic conflict that degenerated from tribal differences emanating from ancient hatreds. The genocide of Bengalis by the Assamese and the Punjabis or Sikhs in 1971 is alleged to have occurred due to ancestral hatreds and fear of domination and expulsion. However, primordial views have been found inconsistent as they ignore the economic and political process. Horowitz (1985) argues that the power of ethnicity is pictured in the parts of the economic and political organizational structures of ethnically divided societies.

Secondly, Instrumentalism perceives ethnic identity emanating from the basis of manipulation for economic or political gains. Individuals form coalitions as a tool to gain economic and political power. (Collier, 2002) and Chandra (2006) concur that identity is a strategic basis for coalitions seeking a larger share of economic or political power. It is a mechanism for restricting resources to few people. Scholars have attributed this to “greed and grievance” that have become the causes of conflicts globally. In this theory, Walter (1994) asserts that conflict arises when ethnic groups are excluded in the distribution of national resources. They tend to rely on grievances and perceptions that end up degenerating into violence. Chandra (2006) sees ethnic conflicts arising from the aggrieved people over limited resources driven by the intentions of their political leaders. Anastase (2012) refers to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo as having emanated from the elite manipulation for illegal exploitation of mineral resources.

Thirdly, constructivism upholds the notion that ethnic identity is a social ascription and a product of concrete historical processes that result in divergent identities forming hostilities among them. According to Weir (2012), Individuals often redefine ethnic identity categories that describe them and these changes are a result of the product of political and economic processes, the human identity is not fixed but can change and that change is a result of human processes. Fearon (2003) argues that people perceive this ethnic identity as biological, however they are a product of socialization, culturally moulded and grounded in place in the form of language and shared historic experience. Ethnic conflicts degenerate due to influences of history that eventually affect relations within ethnic groups. Muzondidya and Gatsheni (2003) posit that the roots of ethnic tensions can be understood in the context of history and nationalism as they both helped in setting motion African conflicts. Weir (2012) observed that in Rwanda conflict rose from historical processes that incited the atrocities of 1994.

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2.2.1 Colonialism, Ethnic Identity And Marginalization

The rise of ethnic conflicts especially in Africa has become a cause for concern. Extant literature has shown that there is a profound relationship between ethnic identity, colonialism, and marginalization. Berman (1997) argues that ethnic cleavages in Africa are a product of social factors which took place during the colonial period. Ethnic identity and marginalization emanated from pre-colonial societies reacting to the cultural and socio-political-economic forces of colonialism. Weir (2012) observes that ethnic identities were firmly put in place by the colonialists to divide and rule Africans and the acrimony created during the colonial time still persists to date. Wilson (1994) buttresses this point stating that in Rwanda, the British often chose one of the minor minority groups that had been placed to subordinate status by the larger ethnic groups in the territory and gave such groups the British education. This enabled most of the

Tutsi people to dominate the colonial civil service and police-military forces of the British. Tutsi were placed in many British institutions where they received more advanced education which enabled them to gain influential positions in the government and to access economic resources whereas the Hutu majority suffered from poverty and discrimination.

This system of divide and rule enabled the colonialists to be able to avert anti-colonial alliances among social groupings. Weir (2012) explains that in Rwanda, the Belgian rulers were able to exploit ethnic identity at their advantage as it prevented various ethnic groups from forming coalitions and alliances against the colonial power. Henderson (1993) puts forward that in the early stages of political development in Africa, the colonialists imposed the divide and rule system within African states by taking sides on ethnically-based political parties. This helped the colonizers to buy time as it brought nationalists apart thereby making it difficult for the natives to form anti-colonial alliances against the colonizers. In Rhodesia, to Ndlovu-Gatshen and Muzondidya (2003), the colonizers created a system of inequality between groups making one group superior over the other to maintain their system of divide and rule. This shaped the extent of ethnic politic issues, its association with other social cleavages. The Rhodesian state politicized African ethnic personalities by concurring differential rights and benefits to its subjects. In the workplace, for example, the colonial state held explicit employments for explicit subject groups prominently was the Shona. This to a great extent carried hatred to other ethnic groups particularly the Ndebele people which remain a contentious issue till today.

The divide and rule system made it difficult for the indigenous people to combine and break the chains of colonialism instead it created ethnic cleavages. This draconian

system is alleged to have led to the widening of differences impeding communication, common understanding and causing the outbreak of conflict among such ethnic groups. Weir (2012) notes that in Rwanda the colonizers in 1933 introduced identity cards to distinguish these two groups, as such this brought discrimination leading to one group being favored against the other and this caused pervasive resentment among the Hutu people who felt marginalized. This denotes what emanated in the Rwandan genocide and mirrors how far colonialism and its social ills have led Afro-centric scholars to conclude,

“Almost every pandemonium in Africa is the product of colonialism and imperialism”.

Moreover, the chiefs also played a crucial role in the formation of ethnic identity and crisis. The chiefs during the colonial era acted as middlemen in the colonial administration. Bowen (1996) observed, “The colonial state given their small numbers observed that they could effectively implement their system and exploit only by seeking alliances from among local people”. Uvin (2000) observed that the colonial states were characterized by alliances with the local 'Big Men. This included incorporating culturally defined organizational units linked to the local population by incorporation of pre-colonial patron-client relations, which were armored by the Europeans, and this was apparent in many African countries that usually failed to deal with multicultural societies after independence. According to Uvin (2000), Rwanda and Burundi have been portrayed as countries where the local chiefs played an influential role for the colonizers in shaping identity by reinforcing the divide and rule system through exclusion and bias against the other group.

In Rwanda and Burundi, the colonial administration acted with kings as a system of indirect rule. It consisted of incorporating the local authorities into a state obligatory customary order to the benefit of the colonial power. Young (1998) posits that this method was especially effective in Uganda and northern Nigeria, where the British found solid structures of social control already in position and willing coalitions among those in charge of those structures. Mahmood (2005) strongly agrees that the colonial administrators separated the populace into two categories based on races and ethnicities.

This categorization meant that colonizers and the natives were governed by different legal systems and were reduced to subjects and citizens. White race assumed the civil law, which meant the partial application of the law on the white race, as they were regarded as the civilizing influence whereas the traditional (customary) law-governed native ethnicities that included the local people were regarded as subjects. The influence of colonialism on the ethnic divisions in Rwanda has been largely agreed upon by many scholars. Horowitz (1985) posits that building colonial administration on a foundation of ethnic government ensured that inequalities would be interpreted through the lens of ethnicity 'According to Lake and Rothschild, (1996) ethnic crisis is a symptom of ancient loyalties. In this case, the colonial administrators acted with bias or favoured an ethnic group or region.

Hechter (1975, 1978), is of the view that 'positioned' frameworks of inter-ethnic relations as frameworks of internal colonialism' set apart by a 'social division of labour'. The cultural division of labour alludes to structural segregation such that 'people are assigned to explicit sorts of occupation and other jobs. The social stratification is synonymous with the ethnic division, which leads to one social group being

subordinate to the other. In South Africa, Bradshaw (2007) insists that majority rule government in South Africa is under risk generally because of the inability to meet fundamental human needs and it is not surprising that terrible relationships portray an inconsistent and partitioned society.

From this perspective it proves that the Zimbabwean independence was a fallacy as it failed to deal with identity crisis instead it resembled the continuity of colonialism. Benyera (2014) attest this assertion stating that without cutting the umbilical cords of colonialism, the formerly disadvantaged and oppressed will remain exactly in that position of underprivileged, oppression and marginalization, while their former oppressor will carry in to the new dispensation all the privileges and all the forms of power they used to enjoy. Gatsheni and Muzondidya note that in Zimbabwe, there is serious ethnic polarization and ethnic crisis remains a challenge in nation-building. This has been caused by the Ndebele who have decried of sidelining of western regions in favor of the Shona regions and this has brought perceptions of marginalization, impeding the nation-building process.

2.2.2. Ethnic Identity and Marginalization

World Fair trade Organisation (2010) defines marginalization as a condition and a process that prevents individuals or groups from full participation in social, political and economic space. There are various types of marginalization which include lack of necessities, limited economic opportunities and lack of social safety. Psychological explanations reveal that if individuals or groups' needs are not met, a relative deprivation generates feelings of marginalization and frustration which manifest the desire to express their grievance in violence. Bangura (1994) refers to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) which is led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi who used violence as a

medium or a tool to fight the Bantu policy which undermined the indigenous people (Zulu) in the Kwazulu Natal in South Africa. This explains the reason behind the propensity of ethnic groups to resort to violence.

There have been systems and legal frameworks regulate ethnic differences to balance the distribution of national resources but however, sources of grievance always manifested negatively. Bangura (1994) argues that the rise of one-party and military dictatorships systems that emerged sought to regulate ethnic difference but still lack of such fundamental aspects led to certain groups to perceive or identify themselves as marginalized. Silver (1994) is of the view that marginalization arises from the interplay of class, status and of political power and serves the interests of the included”. The creation of a group with a monopoly serves the purpose of a bond of common interest among “unequal insiders”, who exclude and thus dominate the outsiders. In Zimbabwe, the Ndebele people in urban areas have complained about developmental issues whom they feel they are sidelined evidenced through limited jobs that they blame their Shona counterparts of taking their jobs, shortage of education facilities and poor services. These issues have aroused perceptions of marginalization among the Ndebele people. This has severely impacted negatively on the nation building processes.

Bangura (1994) is of the view that conflicts are inevitable when more than one ethnic group inhabits a country. In natural human behaviour, issues of nepotism are activated when groups are conscious of their identity and feel a need to protect it. For instance, Yoruba Muslims in Nigeria emphasize their Yoruba ethnic identity rather than their Islamic identity in their political relations with the predominantly Islamic Hausa-Fulani (Bangura, 1994). The fear of marginalization has made ethnic groups to form coalitions in order to advance their interests. Under these conditions of multi-polarity, ethnic

groups do not have permanent enemies, only “permanent” interests, as they may be forced to make alliances in order to achieve their objectives. Bangura (1994) observed that ethnic coalition governments have characterized the Nigerian government since independence, although such coalitions have not included every group or have included some groups unequally.

The issues of ethnic identity have led one group to dominate other groups even in the territorial spheres. Bangura (1994) refers to the In Hyderabad and Karachi, Sindhis have been locked in conflict with Urdu, or Mohajirs as they are accused of controlling the regional government and economic opportunities in the two Pakistani cities. The Sindhis claim these cities as their own, but they have been dominated by the Urdu since they left India in 1947 to settle in Pakistan.

The marginalization of other ethnic groups has led to acts of terrorism in many parts of the world. The bombing of the trains in the United Kingdom and the 9/11 bombings of the two towers have been viewed as retaliation by the Muslims who believe they are treated unfairly and excluded in the western nations (WFTO, 2010). Marginalization has been heightened by the War on terror and the Afghanistan war which created stereotypes and distrust towards the Muslims as such Muslims have decried of marginalization as they are discriminated in the western nations on the bases of religion. In addition, the black minorities in both countries have also complained about racism. Crenshaw (1989) points out that black people experience discrimination in the public sector on the basis of their skin colour. This explains the issues of ethnic crisis, as violence is used as a means by the aggrieved to address the grievances.

Moreover, ethnic marginalization is accompanied by stereotypes between or among ethnic groups. Bangura (1994) notes that many conflicts are caused by stereotypes,

myths or prejudice that could have been fed to them. These myths could base on superiority or on the belief that some ethnic groups are different, lazy and parasitic and hatred. These stereotypes generate feelings of hatred among ethnic groups. Sindaka (2016) states that in Rwanda stereotypical names were echoed between the Tutsi and the Hutu during genocide where the Tutsi were ridiculed as cockroaches and outsiders that had to be chased out of the country. Seemingly in Zimbabwe, the Ndebele and the Shona have called each other with derogatory names, the Ndebele have called the Shona as (Amaswina) which it implies the dirt whereas the Shona allude to the Ndebele as (Madzviti), which means outsider. Muchewa (2015) argues that these names can be traced back to the nineteenth century and they have been handed over as community narrative from one age to the next. Against this backdrop, it is apparent that discrimination of individuals based on ethnicity, religious beliefs, race, and language has caused ethnic crisis in many parts of the world.



2.2.3. Discrimination and Attitudes towards Marginalization

Sanson.et. al. (1998) notes that discrimination is a process of deprivation of individual or groups on the basis of gender, race or ethnicity, he posits that these are false accusations on members perceived to be inferior, limiting them access to resources and dismissing their contributions. Sanson.et.al. (1998) is of the view that discrimination is accompanied by the marginalized ethnic group receiving negative attitudes, judgment and treatment. In many instances, discrimination has led to issues of aggression among the aggrieved. Bush and Huesmann (2010) agree that discrimination leads to a cluster of behaviours which are physical, verbal and hostile with the intention of harming those who evade such treatments.

Many scholars who examined the issues of discrimination of people on the basis of colour or creed lamented to have encountered issues of anger when experienced discrimination. Gurr (2000) confirms that discrimination escalates the risks of violence. Boukhars (2016), Jourde (2011) and Rao (2014) refer to the two bombings in Mauritania where it was reported to be done by the Haratine, the most discriminated group. They also cite the Arab spring of 2011 which they state were fuelled by non-Arab speaking individuals who faced poverty, unemployment, and marginalization which fuelled acts of terrorism.

Economic discrimination is also another factor that has led to ethnic conflicts. Konnings (1997) argues that economic discrimination relates to relative deprivation and underdevelopment in the region. Many African countries suffer from economic marginalization. Ilorah (2009) notes that In Sudan, the dominance of the country's national resources by a government led by Arab Muslim North has culminated armed struggles in the region of Darfur. This stems from the exclusion and marginalization of other ethnic groups in the political and economic processes. Konnings (1997) refers to the Anglophone Cameroon who complains of economic marginalization due to resource allocation. The local oil-derived revenue and taxes are paid directly to the Francophone region. The Anglophone Cameroon is said to have felt treated as a second class in their own country. Ilorah (2009) buttresses this point stating that the people of Ogoniland of Nigeria complain bitterly of economic marginalization by the Nigerian government of not benefiting from the government where oil is extracted from their region. This mirrors that economic deprivation has led to political and economic instability in many African states.

Moreover, educational discrimination has also been another factor that many ethnic groups have complained about. Educational discrimination implies the discrimination of people or groups in education on the basis of race or ethnicity. Nikuze (2014) argues that colonial education discriminated Hutu. He states the Hutu were not admitted to schools that prepared government leaders instead they were reserved for the Tutsi people. This brought resentment and bitterness between these two groups up to the run-up of the 1994 genocide. The issue of educational discrimination is not a new disease in Africa, as it can be traced to Cameroon. Bouddih (1991) posits that the Anglophone Cameroon faces discrimination into professional schools such as the Higher Teachers Training. This has seen many Anglophone youths forced to travel abroad to seek higher tertiary education which costs great financial cost.

Religious discrimination has been another aspect that has led to ethnic conflict around the globe. Religious discrimination refers to constraints in religious practice such as worshipping, dress codes education, and conversion. The rise of the Boko Haram in Nigeria has been viewed as retaliation to the western teachings, witnessed by the killing of the Christians. Its name has been translated into meaning the western language is sinful. Bombings, gun battles, and stabbing have been the promotion of ideology in advocating for Sharia government (Warner, 2012). Religious discrimination has also led to the socio-marginalization of religious groups which have caused conflicts between the government and other religious groups. Warner (2012) observed that another factor that led to the manifestation of the Boko-Haram was because of the socio- marginalization of the Northern people of Nigeria. Against this backdrop, it is apparent that religious discrimination has led to conflicts in Nigeria and in the world in general. Of note, religious groups have been used to voice the concerns of the

marginalized populace, like in the case of Boko Haram. However, the way the issue has been addressed violently rallies in conformity with the relative deprivation theory of Gurr (1970) who posit that discrimination breeds aggression and violence.

2.2.4. Language and Marginalization

Extant literature suggests that Language marginalization has a profound bearing on ethnic conflicts. Language discrimination is defined as deprivation based on language dialect. In many African states, there has been waging war on language practice and dominance. Kembo-sure (2000) prefers to call it to conflict linguistics a situation where two or more languages are in a state of rivalry which results in tensions with one language domination and threatening the existence of the other. Mustapha (2013) posits that the effect of language competition among speakers has led to non-dominant to feel marginalized. Mansour (1993) notes that in Cameroon, the country is divided by language, presenting the two groups namely the Anglophone (English) and the Francophone (French). The Francophone (French) has become the dominant language evident in education, national symbols, and government institutions. This has made the Anglophone Cameroon feel marginalized because of bilingualism.

The disenfranchisement of language undermines other ethnic groups as such individuals have turned to language shift. Skutnabb-Kanga (2014) has referred to language shift as a situation occurring in the context of forced assimilation on the basis of language. Mpofu (2012) buttress this point examining linguistic hegemony, he notes that linguistic hegemony is achieved by convincing others to accept their language and is done by individuals who want to benefit through linguistics. As a result, the marginalized languages assume inferior positions.

Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2003) refers to Zimbabwe during the 1980s atrocities where the Ndebele people were forced to sing Shona songs. This argument is substantiated by Ncube and Siziba (2017) who cited a report about a peaceful demonstration by the Women Of Zimbabwe Arise (WOSA) of Bulawayo who were beaten by the state agents and all of them forced to speak in Shona. In Zimbabwe, language has been another factor that has caused simmering tensions between the government, Shona people and the Ndebele people. Siziba (2014) observed that ethnic polarisation in has been heightened by the perception of the linguistic imperialism of Shona. Fairclough (2014) on the other hand suggests that to understand linguistic hegemony, there is a need to focus on how power is structured. This is indicative of the importance of language in enticing ethnic conflicts as evidenced in Cameroon where language has divided the country leading to one group feeling marginalized. The next section reviews on cases where ethnic conflicts arising from marginalization have been dealt with in many African countries

2.3 Addressing Identity Crisis in Africa

Thram (2006), Nzongola (2006) and Ndlovu-Gatshen (2008) have unequivocally concurred that contentions in Africa are for the most part between ethnic groups, not between states. Gurr (2000) is of the view that If not checked, ethnic clashes are infectious and can spread rapidly crosswise over the outskirts like malignant growth cells. African governments have reacted to these challenges in varying ways. Most nations in Africa face noteworthy ethnic pluralism which in any case, containable through a powerful arrangement of circulation that maintains the trustworthiness and authenticity of the state.

Godwin (2005) notes in South Africa, the conflict resolution processes were successful because of a sound constitution which guaranteed peace and security. He states that the constitution was crafted in a way that healed the wounds of the past. This was evident with the affirmative action packages for the disadvantaged groups and a democratic constitution that permitted power-sharing mechanisms to prevent one group's domination. In addition, Dube (2005) observed that the South African government introduced the Reconstruction Development Programme which meant to empower the previously disadvantaged groups (black people). In this way, it demonstrates that sound policies in conformity with the constitution helped to mitigate conflicts.

In other countries, political will and stakeholder commitment helped to bring peace and stability. According to Sindaka (2016), in Rwanda, the Arusha accords and the Gacaca were successful in bringing down the hostility between the Hutu/ Tutsi. This was made possible by political will and the people who wanted to do away with ethnic differences through dialogues. Chipoka (2003) notes what made the conflict resolution process successful in Rwanda was the domestic ownership of the process. Anastase (2012) buttress this point stating that it was a consultative process that incorporated every stakeholder in the process. In South Africa, the Truth and reconciliation commission helped to heal the past wounds that were inflicted by the apartheid system. Against this backdrop, it is apparent that political will and stakeholder commitment enabled the success of the conflict resolution process

However African leaders in their stranglehold to power have dealt with the ethnic crisis in varying ways that leaves a lot to be desired. Konnings (1997) observes that in Cameroon, due to increasing complaints of marginalization by the Anglophone people, the president Biya appointed some of the elites from the Anglophone people into key

positions. This in a way was a public stance meant to silence the outcry of the Anglophone people. This situation led to patron-client relations as it was based on loyalties and the appointee cannot disappoint the appointer. This system of patron-client has led to the continuity of the marginalization of the Anglophone people and it has contributed to his longevity in power.

A similar case can be traced in Zimbabwe where the unity government was established to regulate ethnic conflicts that saw the accommodation of the elites of the opposition. Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2003) posits that this has been regarded as a conflict resolution process meant to accommodate ZANU and ZAPU in the political space. The Ndebele people of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe have remained bitter towards the process as it was not implemented effectively. The next section will discuss the theoretical frameworks that will be used in the examination of the study.



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2.4. Theoretical Framework

The issues of marginalization have attracted a lot of scholarly attention. Consequently, several theoretical perspectives have been developed in an attempt to conceptualize marginalization; among the most perceptible theories of conflict is the grievance theory and the human needs theory. For this study, these theories were used as benchmarks or springboards in the examination of our study.

2.4.1 Grievance Theory

Grievance theory holds that marginalisation in communities' precipitate divergent views and ideas, which may lead to ethnic clashes as a way to resolve these grievances. Rugumamu and Gbla (2003) declare that the divergence in perspectives and interests among various groups of individuals is normal, yet how divergences are expressed and

managed will be decided whether they will be political (peaceful) or violent. Collier and hoeffler (2002) observed that there are many types of grievances but they only identified three whom they deem have an impact on marginalisation and consequently sparked so many conflicts in Africa.

These are hatred involving groups, political segregation, and settling of ancient scores. Marginalisation based on ethnicity is thought to be one of the most common causes of ethnic conflicts. There are two types of grievance, which is underlying grievance and proximate grievance. Underlying grievance refers to the long-term conditions that produce a fertile situation for violent conflict whereas proximate grievance denotes a rapid change that is characterized by events that trigger conflicts (Collier and hoeffler, 2002). For this study, underlying grievance was used to trace the long-term events that triggered the perceptions of marginalisation. According to this theory, violent rebellion is a means to redress grievance by the aggrieved.

The grievance theory laments that marginalization is a result of some communities supporting certain leaders who are not in power or considered a threat and because of this; they are marginalized by those in power through political exclusion and basic needs. Gurr (2000) defined grievance as relative deprivation, which is an inconsistency between what individuals think they deserve and what they get. Grievance theory focuses on the comparison of differences in the distribution of resources among different social groups. Bellows and Miguel (2009) refer to the civil war that ravaged in Sierra Leone 23rd of March 1991, as a result of the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone which looked to assemble a socially prohibited youth underclass to form a people's military' to topple the All-party Congress system of President Joseph Momoh. According to the Human Rights Watch an approximate of 50,000 Sierra Leoneans were

slaughtered, over a section of the populace were dislodged from their homes, and thousands were victims of rape, assaults, and attacks.

Tadjoeddin, et al. (2003) another scenario is in the eastern Indonesian territory of Maluku, the Christians group felt moderately deprived against the rising Muslim people group economically and politically, this brought about the bloodiest Muslim-Christian clash in the nation's history to address issues of deprivation. Murshed and Gates, (2005) are of the view that in Nepal, the absence of improvement in remote rural areas fuelled the Maoist insurrection. Gellner (1983) has reasoned that ethnic clash emerges when ethnic groups rejected from social and political power start to encounter economic modernization. Collier and Hoeffler (2002) focus on the underlying driver of ethnic clashes, expressing that uprisings happen when grievances from ethnic or religious segregation inside society, hardship from political rights and high imbalance are serious, individuals are persuaded to revolt. For this study, grievance theory was employed as a springboard in the examination of the study.

2.4.2. Human Needs Theory

Another theory that was employed as a benchmark for this research in the examination of the perceptions of marginalization is the human needs theory. This perspective regards ethnic clash among groups emanating from deprivation of natural and psychological needs, these incorporate individuals' identity, security, participation, interest, and self-rule. According to Burton (1979) observes that in those institutions which cannot fulfil the essential human needs of their citizens, conflict is inevitable. Maslow (1979) proposed that human needs be they natural or physical. He identified the following as crucial natural human needs water, food, and shelter, psychological he

identified security and safety, which he viewed as biological and psychological social needs if these essential needs are not fulfilled conflict, is inevitable in society.

The theory holds that if groups perceive their human needs are not fulfilled through the distribution of national resources by the government in favour of the other groups, this creates tensions, which degenerate into violence if unchecked. Human needs theorists are by large of the view that human conflicts develop when individuals' endeavours to meet to their central needs are frustrated. Box (2005) attests that if individuals see that there is a gap between what they are getting and than what they deserve, it makes dissatisfaction. There is a general inclination that society owes them. The theory expresses that if the gap is too huge for a sensible group of individuals inside a particular populace, there is a probability that the individuals will revolt.

Douma (2006) further clarifies the hypothesis attesting that unrealized human needs advance from a group's discernment in regard to their condition and status in the community. What pursue at that point are the issues of discontent, outrage and disdain and a large group of the other emotional elements. Zartman (2000) is of the view that there is a relative association between grievance and deprivation of basic needs based on identity and discrimination, which leads to levels of discontentment. This theory also highlights attitudes and behaviours as having a bearing in causing conflict between or among groups in the way, they perceive each other. According to Galtung (2000), the attitudes imply the emotive, cognitive positive or negative acuity and misperceptions that the parties have of each other. However, Stone (2011) observes that parties in a conflictual relationship often develop demeaning or degrading attitudes against each other; hence, attitudes, behaviour, and violence form an integral part of conflict.

Kelman (2001) contented that identity, security, and collective needs, fears are essential for survival and in the inter-group conflicts. A number of scholars also argue that once deprived of human needs it is easy for communities to view themselves as marginalised. Human needs theorists strongly agree that identity recognition and security are essential in intractable conflicts. They draw reference to the Palestinian conflict where the conflict was ignited due to issues of unsatisfied needs of identity and security.

It is alleged that numerous Palestinians felt that their legitimate identity was being deprived, both personally and nationally whereas on the other hand various Israelis feel they have no security exclusively as a result of suicide bombings, broadly in light of the fact that a large number of neighbouring states do not recognize their state, and socially on the grounds that enemy of Semitism is becoming around the world. Israeli and Palestinian have been largely been affected by the issues of security and identity which has led to contention and civil arrest in those nations. Apparently, In Burundi, the most common thought that ignited violence was fear and security. Individuals were profoundly frightened of being assaulted and assaulted first, in a "defensive attack," to maintain a strategic distance from the fate they believe is anticipating them. Brachet (2005) concludes by stating that

“The perceived absence of justice and accountability for acts of violence has given rise both to pre-emptive murders where people are driven to strike before they themselves are targeted and to revenge killings in the belief that there is no other way justice will be done.”

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However, even though much has been emphasized on safety and security. Unmet human needs were also crucial in the perceptions of marginalization and hence the development of turmoil. In Burundi, it is purported that the conflict was due to political and economic exclusion that saw the exuberating of the violent civil war. It is rumoured that the most destabilizing component was the rejection of Hutus from for all intents and purposes the majority of Burundi's key political, economic and social institutions a process that began in 1965. 1994 saw an estimation of millions of people being massacred as retaliation for past ethnic crisis. This theory was employed in the study as it addresses the sources of conflict among ethnic groups; hence, it was pivotal in unravelling and explaining the phenomenon.

2.5. Knowledge Gap

The previous researches have largely emphasized the violent conflicts and paid little attention to latent wars. Previous studies were materialistic, focused on land and other dispositions. However, this study one is different as it dwells on normative dispositions especially those that are not openly voiced. The study sought to investigate and interrogate whether hostility among ethnic groups can be mitigated before they exuberate into violence. It also sought to provide mechanisms and amicable ways to mitigate conflicts before they spread out through borders like cancer

2.6. Chapter Summary

Chapter Two has provided the literature review. It has examined the different perspectives given by different scholars concerning ethnic identity, conflicts and conflict resolution processes. The chapter also discussed the theoretical frameworks that were used as benchmarks for the study which was human needs theory and the

aggression theory. These theoretical frameworks provided empirical evidence that when ethnic groups are faced with unmet needs, issues of aggression and discontent, retribution are the results. The chapter has also identified the gaps in existing literature and approaches to the issues of ethnic identity. Previous studies focused on land and other materialistic dispositions. This study therefore sought to cover this gap by venturing on normative dispositions especially those that are not openly voiced.



CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

Chapter three of the study discusses the research methodology and techniques that the researcher utilized in the course of the study. It describes the research design, target population, population sample, instruments, and presentation of information. It additionally depicts data accumulation strategies and data examination techniques. The study adopted both qualitative and quantitative assessment to explore the perceptions of marginalization and impacts on the socio-political economy of Bulawayo. This involved assessing and observing the views of the residents of ward 11 of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe, their perceptions, narratives and interpretations.

The essential processes in this study included questionnaires, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. The qualitative approach was better placed to account for the complexity of group behaviours and reveal relationships among individuals in the city of Bulawayo. This approach allowed for “thick narrative descriptions” of the dynamics within phenomena under study and gave the researcher the opportunity to take into account the views of the participants and the complex group interactions and multiple interpretations in the group's natural environment.

MacDonald and Headlam (1986) allude to qualitative research as an examination is concerned with data that is of high calibre since in its inclination is offered to catch, find the variables, features, reasons, and inspirations for decision making and safely locate how societies or individuals relate, decipher and translate their surroundings around them. Accordingly, qualitative methodologies provide in-depth on the individual's perceptions. However, it has to be noted that the resulting outcomes do not

support extensive generalizations. The resulting outcomes present contextual findings that help develop knowledge and understanding of the perceptions in the natural context, hence the researcher had to employ a quantitative approach. Quantitative research is concerned with the accumulation and examination of data in numeric form. MacDonald and Headlam (1986) claim that quantitative research seeks to evaluate data by some type of applying statistical analysis. This study borrowed a quantitative approach in which data from the questionnaires was analyzed using bar graphs and percentages to measure the views and the opinions of the chosen sample in order to generalize the perceptions of the whole population of the Ndebele people of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe.

3.2. Methods of Data Collection

Several research instruments were used to collect data during the research. Focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, and questionnaires were used to collect data. A total of 20 in-depth interviews were held. The participants were drawn from diverse sectors social movements and humanitarian organizations. Bernard (2002) argues that “in-depth interviews are drawn from people to whom one can easily talk to, who understand the study information needs and who are glad to give information to the researcher”. As such in selecting the participants, the researcher looked at the professional, academic and work experience of key informants.

The researcher anticipated that selected participants identify themselves as the Ndebele people and possess a rich experience about the nature of the marginalization of the Ndebele people of Bulawayo and its impact on the social and economic spectrum under study. It was envisaged that the participants were ready and keen to share their

experience and understanding of the topic under study. In-depth interviews were guided by an interview guide with open-ended questions to allow for probing by the researcher. These interviews were based on interview guides because the objective was to collect personal accounts from their experiences. All interviewees were provided with information materials about the study and an informed consent form stating the purpose of the interview and guaranteeing confidentiality to research participants. The in-depth interviews allowed the researcher to probe further and extract as much information as possible from the respondents.

Furthermore, focus group discussions (FGDs) were also applied in cognizance of the saturation concept. The method offered flexibility to the researcher who was able to add, rephrase or modify questions in order to get a deeper understanding of the issues. A total of 2 Focus Group Discussions (FGD 1) and (FDG 2) in ward 11 of Bulawayo was conducted to gather data. Each focus group meeting had an average of 15 people and it maximized interaction. Participants were drawn from community-based organizations in the community, gender-based organizations, arts groups and representatives from burial societies. The study included several groups and a cross-section of the wards because as advised by (Piper, 2015) any individual group is subject to internal or external factors of which the investigator may be unaware.

These FGDs were used to assess the knowledge, perceptions, and attitudes of the Ndebele people of Bulawayo and how these influence the socio-economic and political space in Zimbabwe. FGDs, according to Fischer (1999) yield detailed qualitative data in a relatively short period of time. Participants were able to express themselves and the way they perceive issues under discussion. The researcher used a tape recorder to

capture the focus group data in line with advice from Patton (1990) who says that a tape recorder is “indispensable”. Recordings had the advantage of capturing data more faithfully than hurriedly written notes which made it easier for the researcher to focus on the discussion

Moreover, the questionnaires were also useful in the accumulation of data. Kirkless (2003) is of the view that questionnaires are tools of gathering and recording data about a specific issue of interest. It is comprised of a list of questions; however, it ought to incorporate clear guidelines and space for answers or administrative details. Structured questionnaires were utilized to accumulate a tremendous and heap catch of data. 150 questionnaires were distributed through a purposive sampling technique. This allowed the researcher to generate a lot of information that was easy compared with the information from the focus group and the in-depth interviews



3.3. Methods of Data analysis

The collected data from the questionnaires were analysed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software. The results from the questionnaires were displayed through descriptive statistics in the form of bar graphs and percentages. Furthermore, to validate the information obtained from the questionnaires, interviews of individual and focus groups discussions were recorded, transcribed and compared with those of questionnaires and this was done through thematic analysis. In this manner, the method triangulated and deciphered to reach conclusions.

3.4. Sampling

Kenton (2019) defines a population sample as a total perception of subjects assembled by a typical element. The sample must have adequate size to warrant statistical investigation. The study utilized purposive sampling in the selection of 150 respondents for the survey it was also employed in the selection of the in-depth interviews of as well as participants for the Focus Group Discussions. In convenience sampling, the researcher engaged the structures of local government such as the Bulawayo Progressive Residents Association.

These subjects provided useful data as they interact with different structures on a daily basis. While scholars like Keyton (2001) argue that this method has a weakness in that it does not guarantee that all elements within the relevant population have an equal chance of being included in the sample, this research is not about representation but the quality of the responses. The sampling technique provided a practical tool towards reaching all targeted members of a population (Keyton, 2001)

Moreover, the sample size was determined by three factors in order to have a representative population. That is the total number of the population of people living in the area of ward 11 of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe which is 19042, <https://www.citypopulation.de/>, accessed 1/07/19, confidence interval that was 5% and the confidence level, which was between 90-95%. For this study, the online sample size calculator revealed that 150 participants could be selected for the study.

3.5. Ethical Consideration

The research process is an intricate and sensitive undertaking, which has the potential to impact differently on different stakeholders (Cooper & Schindler, 2003). The researcher took special care to ensure that the research process and results do not affect any of the various stakeholders in a negative manner. Blanche.et.al.(2002) explains that both the researcher and the research stakeholders must be protected from possible negative consequences of the research. For perceptible reasons, the researcher took special steps to ensure that the ethical standards of research were adhered to during the study. The researcher took the confidentiality and anonymity of the following measures to protect the research stakeholders and ensure professionalism from the in-depth interviews. The tape recorder used for recording the focus group discussions was later locked safely in the custody of my supervisor for three years in case it is needed for reference. After which it can be destroyed



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In addition, the researcher ensured that all assertions from previous scholars were properly acknowledged to prevent plagiarism. Cooper and Schindler (2003), emphasize that research should be authentic and original. The two authors identify fraud and plagiarism as key issues central to ethical standards of research. Blanche.et.al. (2002) and Kothari (2005) explain that plagiarism occurs when the researcher adopts the ideas and statements of previous scholars as their own without properly acknowledging them or when they improperly acknowledge the source of the ideas or statements they use. In this study, the researcher took great caution not to adopt or copy-paste, the ideas and statements of other scholars. When ideas were borrowed, the researcher took special attention to ensure that the sources were correctly cited or acknowledged.

Furthermore, validity and reliability are key viewpoints in research; they look to guarantee that the steps are taken in the research, the produced information, and data are worthy. Validity is about the precision of the procedure and its results (Davies, 2007). To add on to this, Creswell (2013) contends that means embraced in the research process will validate the findings. For reliability and validity reasons, the researcher maintained a consistency that rose up out of the research process due to utilizing solid instruments and techniques to produce information. For validity and reliability, the researcher utilized these following techniques:

- **Peer debriefing.** The researcher used another person to audit the information for the purposes of checking errors and bias.
- **Checking transcripts.** The researcher Double-checked the transcripts for the purposes of checking potential mistakes that may have happened during the research.



3.6 Chapter Conclusion

The chapter discussed the techniques that the researcher employed in obtaining data and its presentation. It discussed the research design which included the use of in-depth interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions. This formed the primary data. Results from the questionnaires were analysed through the (SPSS) which formed the quantitative approach. A purposive sampling was used in the selection of the representative sample. The number of the sample was determined by the online sample size calculator which revealed that a total of 150 participants could be selected for the study. Ethical issues were also adhered to by the researcher, anonymity, confidentiality of the participants and the tape recorder was locked safely in the custody of my supervisor for three years in case it is needed for reference. After which it can be

destroyed. For validity and reliability the researcher maintained consistency through peer briefing and double checking of transcripts for potential errors.



CHAPTER FOUR: WHY ARE THERE PERCEPTIONS OF MARGINALISATION AMONG THE NDEBELE PEOPLE OF BULAWAYO IN ZIMBABWE?

4.1. Introduction

This chapter sets out to explore the sources of perceived marginalization. In the findings, there were links between perceived marginalization, latent conflicts and insecurity, both in terms of causes and consequences. There are now convincing arguments that some forms of perceived marginalization may generate the conditions in which conflict can arise. This can range from civil unrest to violent armed conflict and terrorist activity. Severely disadvantaged groups with shared characteristics (such as ethnicity or religion) may resort to violent conflict in order to claim their rights and redress inequalities. The findings discovered that group differences are not enough in themselves to cause conflict, but perceived marginalization provides fertile ground for violent mobilization.


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According to Steward (2007), perceived marginalization in political, economic, and social resources have a serious negative impact on the welfare of the marginalized groups. Gurr (2000) refers to conflicts in Indonesia and the Sub-Saharan as arising from minority rebellion because of relative deprivation in employment, education and social exclusion. However, in Zimbabwe, the findings revealed that there is a quiet war emanating from the Ndebele people who complain of marginalization in Bulawayo. Muzondiwa and Gatsheni (2008) concur that inside Zimbabwe, Ndebele ethnicity has continued to decry about developmental issues. These include complaints about the side-lining of the western regions in development projects and the perceived marginalization of Ndebele people in both the economy and politics by the dominant

Shona groups and this has made it difficult in the nation-building process. This chapter brought out the main conclusions on the sources of perceived marginalization of the Ndebele people and made a cross-examination on the validity of the findings.

4.2. Sources of the Perceived Marginalization

The Ndebele are Bantu people belonging to the Nguni sub-ethnic groups tracing their origins in KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape areas of South Africa. They constitute twenty percent of the population in Zimbabwe mostly based in Bulawayo (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003). Their history is alleged to have been overshadowed by the triumphant Shona people who enjoy state support and constitute about (70%) of the Zimbabwean population. The study's findings reveal that the Ndebele people complain of exclusion and marginalization on the socio-political economy of Zimbabwe. The findings revealed that the sources of marginalization had their roots. The violence of the 1980s, which left an estimation of about twenty thousand Ndebele people dead, low levels of employment, poor services, limited government appointments, lack of empowerment and emancipation programs and manipulation of history in nation-building. These complaints have remarkably brought about perceptions of marginalization among the Ndebele people. This chapter will discuss the findings on the sources of the perceived marginalization that have confronted the Ndebele people and assess their validity

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4.2.1. Low Levels of Employment.

The Ndebele people of Bulawayo complain of limited job opportunities. They argue that high unemployment is a national problem; however, they accuse their Shona counterparts of taking their jobs in Bulawayo. The study's findings reveal a devastating state in Bulawayo with the majority of people who had participated in the study (41%)

were unemployed. According to the Labour, force Survey of Zimbabwe (2017) revealed that Zimbabwe’s unemployment rate was (95%). The statistics prompted the researcher to make comparisons between Bulawayo and Harare. The Labour force Survey of Zimbabwe (2017) revealed that (59%) of the people living in Bulawayo were unemployed compared to Harare which had (39%). From the findings, the Ndebele people of Bulawayo lamented that out of that (95%), the majority who were unemployed were the Ndebele people. This is indicative of a situation of hardship on the Ndebele people.

Figure 1.1 shows employment status of the respondents

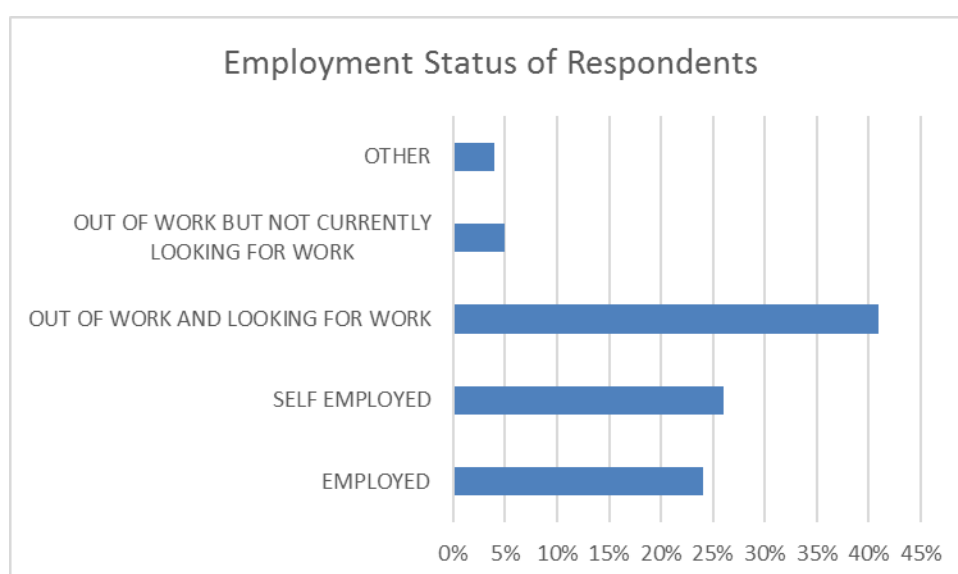


Figure.1.1. Employment Status of the respondents

The findings reveal that the Ndebele people hold the perception that the low levels of job opportunities are attributed to the presence and the dominance of Shona people in prominent occupations at the national level and even in Bulawayo. They regard this as an indication of greediness by the Shona people whom the Ndebele people accuse them of “wanting everything for themselves”. The participants from (FDG1) narrated one incident on a tender that was meant to fix a stadium at Bulawayo in Luveve. They

argued that the tender bid was won by an organization from Harare and the organization brought along its staff people including general workers. This turned out poorly with the local Ndebele people from Bulawayo who had expected to profit from the venture too through getting employment. Residents mobilized themselves and hindered the area, denying the Harare company access to the stadium. This compelled the company to hire a few local people for some general work. These findings were in line with the responses from the focus Group discussions (FDG 1, 2), who had this to say:

“Many Shona people are getting work in Bulawayo. These incorporate general hand employments, for example, cutting of grass but they barely express a solitary Ndebele word. This frustrates local Ndebele people given the high joblessness levels confronting the Bulawayo.”

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This assertion from the focus group discussion was in line with Vambe's (2012) assertion that the issues of joblessness are resulting from an ugly past, which saw Ndebele people regions areas lingering behind during the violence, which removed over five years of development. In light of this, Muzondiwa and Gatsheni (2008) concur that inside Zimbabwe, Ndebele ethnicity has continued to decry about developmental issues. These include complaints about the side-lining of the western regions in development projects, and perceived marginalization of Ndebele people in both the economy and politics by the dominant Shona groups. The findings reveal that the Ndebele people of Bulawayo hold the notion that though unemployment is a national issue but the Shona people take the very few available jobs.

From the findings, the researcher observed that though the Ndebele people decry of marginalization due to low levels of employment in Bulawayo. The researcher argues that the constitution of Zimbabwe states that Zimbabweans are free to work anywhere in Zimbabwe and jobs in Bulawayo must not be reserved for the Ndebele and work in Harare must not be reserved for the Shonas. In addition, using the constructivism theory many Ndebeles redefined their identities in order to benefit from the national resources and moved to the Harare city due to China centric notion of smart cities which has been a panacea to Bulawayo. Weir (2012) postulates that individuals often redefine ethnic identity categories that describe them and these changes are a result of the product of political and economic processes. The research argues that in Zimbabwe joblessness knows no ethnicity.



The high rate of unemployment in Zimbabwe is a national problem that has confronted Zimbabwe since the turn of the millennium. According to the statistics of the Labour force Survey of Zimbabwe (2017) revealed that unemployment is a national issue evidenced with (95%) of unemployed people in Zimbabwe. Moyo and Yeros (2007) are of the view that the Zimbabwean economy has been on the brink of collapse with formal employment estimated to be between 5% and 10%. Unemployment has been getting worse since the early 2000s. The informal employment is a reflection of a failed and corrupt government that has failed to cater for the welfare of its servants and people.

The researcher also noted that from the findings many participants had resorted to informal employment evidenced with (27%) of self-employed in the bar graph. They narrated that informal employment enabled them to avoid low wages and poor

conditions that are notable in government sectors. The researcher argues that the findings are a reflection of Zimbabwe's economic landscape that is characterized by a crippling economy. Rusvingo (2014) posits that most Zimbabweans have been corrupted to an extent that forms of organizations are meaningless and hence the complete informalisation of the economy. From the researcher's point of view, the findings from the questionnaires and from the FDGs were subjective and reflect a blame game because they ignore Zimbabwe's poverty-stricken economy.

4.2.2. High Levels of Education with No Work Available

The study revealed that most of the respondents in the study were degree holders of honours and masters. What came as a shocking issue is that the majority of degree holders were unemployed. Figure 1.2 shows level of education

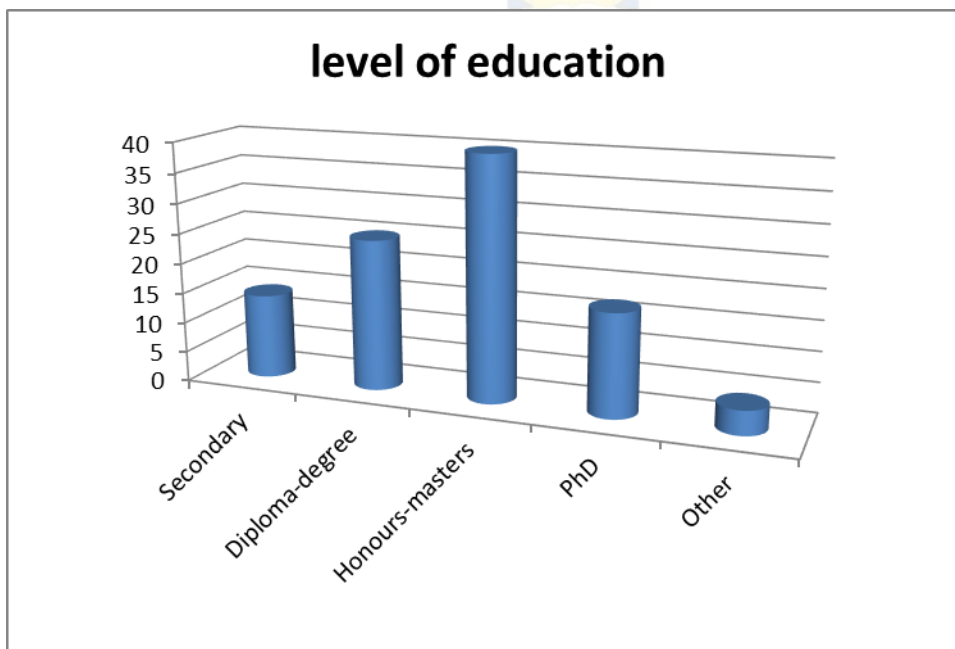


Figure.1.2. Showing level of education of the respondents

The findings revealed that (39%) of the respondents are holders of masters-honours, followed by diploma- degree holders who constituted (24%), whereas a few were holders of Ph.D. and secondary constituted a small frequency. Despite being holders of

highest qualifications, the respondents complained of shortage job opportunities. The respondents from the focus group discussions (FDG 1, 2) attributed to the closure of industries in Bulawayo. The national foods company shut its operations in Bulawayo and relocated to Harare. This tremendously led to the increment of unemployment rate in Bulawayo. The findings also revealed nepotism was another factor that was in play in government institutions. The respondents argued that nepotism has seen Shona people being deployed in Bulawayo whilst the local Ndebele people remain unemployed. One participant from in-depth interviews, had this to say,

“Marginalization has driven Shona speaking teachers being deployed to teach in primary schools of Bulawayo”.

The findings reveal that the high unemployment rate of the Ndebele people of Bulawayo can be explained in terms of bias, nepotism and discrimination based on ethnic lines. These findings fall in line with Aremu, Mazrui, and Henderson’s (1993) assertions that one of the reasons for ethnic conflicts in Africa is poor or terrible administration portrayed by corruption, nepotism, and ill experience. From the findings, unavailability of job opportunities in Bulawayo is attributed to issues of nepotism and discrimination against the Ndebele people. The researcher observed that the findings might reflect true predicament of the Bulawayo’s landscape.

However, the researcher observed that the unavailability of employment was a crucial factor that has confronted Zimbabwe’s economy. High levels of literacy rate in Zimbabwe have contributed to the scarcity of job opportunities. According to reality, check on British Broadcasting Corporation (2015) revealed that Zimbabwe holds (96%)

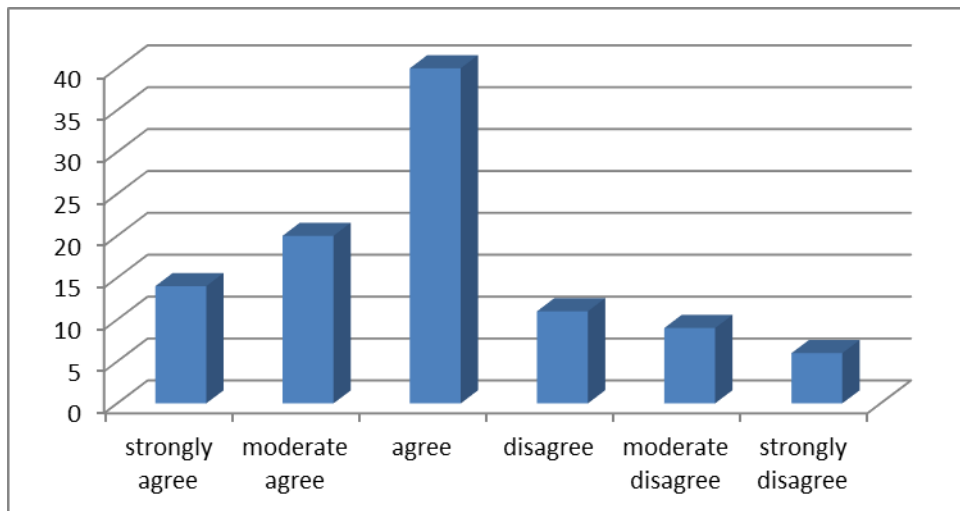
highest in Africa for literacy. The researcher argues that this situation has created a ground for competition of available jobs. This assertion is in line with Mutambara's (2020) argument cited on Newsday 30/01/2020 saying: "Zimbabwe faces educational inflation how can one school have 79 students with (15points), How do you get them scholarships or secure places for them in top universities such as Oxford, Harvard and Cambridge, when there are a 1000 students with 15 points from Zimbabwe ". Against this backdrop, the researcher argues that even though Zimbabwe carries a fallacy of having the highest literacy rate it has however dropped due to the shift from Cambridge Examinations to Zimbabwe School Examination Council (ZIMSEC), this is evident with lots of graduates who have failed to create employment and solve the ever mounting problems in Zimbabwe. This is indicative that Zimbabwe's education and graduates are not of good standards.



4.2.3. Manipulation of History

The study's findings reveal that the government of Zimbabwe manipulated history and created memorial and celebratory amnesties of history in order justify its actions in the massacre of the Ndebele people in the 1980s. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003) calls it the celebratory history, which serves the advancement of political ideologies. Figure.1.3. show respondents responses on the manipulation of history

Do you feel history has been manipulated to downplay the Ndebele nation?



1.3. Showing responses on manipulation of history

The findings revealed that the majority of the respondents argued that history has been manipulated. (38%) of the respondents agreed that history has been manipulated to downplay the Ndebele people and favour the Shona tribe. The majority of the people in both focus group discussions narrated that history has been re-written to favour the government's actions in the course of Gukurahundi and it has been manipulated to praise the Shona tribe as the dominant ethnic tribe that fought and conquered the British encroachment whilst downplaying the contributions of the Ndebele nationalists.

These assertions fall in line with Kriger's (2005) argument that the "ZANU-PF government also inaugurated a narrow official narrative of liberation history which downplayed and denigrated ZAPU and other nationalist parties' role. This historical moment of ZANU-PF triumphalism was also characterized by the use of Shona pre-colonial heroes and historical monuments to imagine the nation, while Ndebele heroes were marginalized". Tarusarira's (2016) buttress this argument stating that nationalist programs such as National Ethos and Nhaka Yedu (Our Heritage) were introduced in the state media to praise the Shona tribe

The findings reveal that the manipulation of history has crossed over to the education system. The Ndebele people are concerned that the new generation will never know the truth unless history has been re-written again. This assertion was also buttressed by participants from the (FDG I, 2) who had this to say

“Tribalism, particularly against the Ndebele, is a continuous thing and that is the reason I feel that we Ndebele people we have been written in books as dissidents simply take a book of form 1 of people making history and you will see how the Ndebele people have been downgraded”.

The findings reveal that the Ndebele people complain of the manipulation of history, which downgraded the contributions of the Ndebele people during the liberation struggle. The findings truly reflect the political landscape of Zimbabwe. The Ndebele blame the government of allowing the Shona intellectuals to write and label them as dissidents and traitors. Muchewa (2015) argues that the Shona who dominated the ruling elite in Zimbabwe felt that for purposes of nation-building, the Ndebele history had to be silenced because of the Ndebele raids on Shona polities in the pre-colonial era. Tendi (2010) buttresses this view stating that Zimbabwe’s new history ignores many important events in the country’s recent past. There is silence on the arbitrary violence of Gukurahundi, a program of political repression in the 1980s in which an estimated 20,000 civilians perished through the state-sponsored fifth brigade, and contributions to the liberation struggle by critics of ZANU-PF were minimized or denied. This assertion is corroborated by Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2003) who connotes that

“Today the Ndebele suffer from both the perception and the reality of the marginalisation of their past. They face the daily reality of playing second fiddle to the majority Shona ethnic group in the economy and in politics. They endure the daily reality of their history, their heroes, and their participation in the liberation struggle being consigned to a secondary role behind that of the triumphant Shona. The imagination, construction and making of Zimbabwe in 1980 excluded the insights from Ndebele past”.

The researcher argues that the findings may reflect the reality of feelings of the Ndebele people vis-a-vis with observations from the researcher. The researcher observed that the naming of the streets of Bulawayo, the majority are Shona names of the nationalists who fought in the struggle for independence. Mafu (2017) is of the view that the form of street names and other landmarks reflect the submission of the Ndebele who are living in a colonized restrictive occupied space. The naming of streets in Shona in Bulawayo has heightened notions of disrespect from the government. The Ndebele people have viewed it with suspicion as an ideology to downgrade the contributions of the Ndebele people during the struggle for independence.

4.2.4. Poor Services and Limited Governmental Appointments

The research unpacked the facet of governance as the focal point on government services and appointments. From such aspects, the findings revealed that the majority of the Ndebele people in Bulawayo decry of limited spaces in the government appointments and receive poor services from the government notable through a water crisis, potholes, sewer blockages, administrative and executive functions done in

Harare. They gave an estimate of just (3%) of governmental appointments wherefrom the Ndebele tribe and the rest of (97%) the majority were coming from the Shona tribe. Figure.1.5. below demonstrate the opinions of people on issues of services and appointments.

Do you feel the Ndebele people from this area get their fair share of government services and appointments?

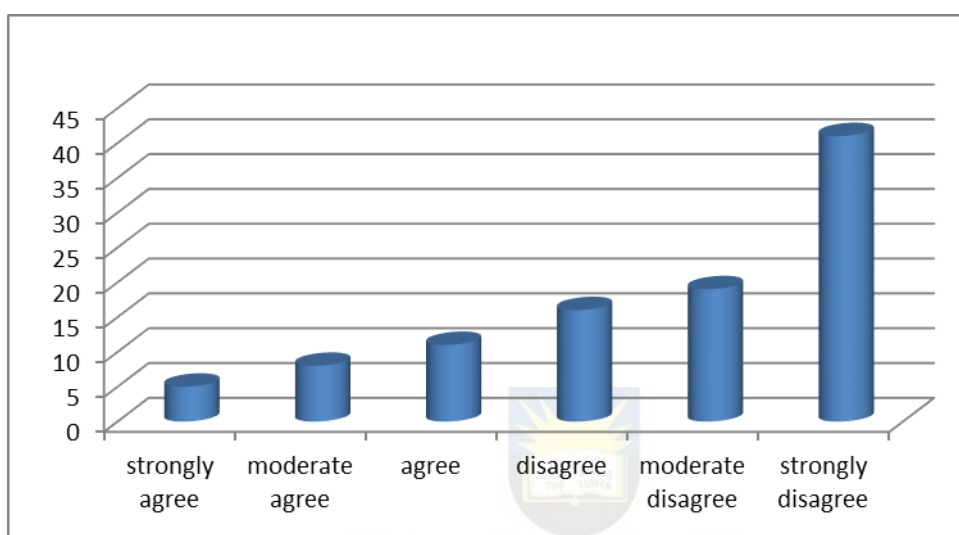


Figure.1.4. showing responses on provision of government appointments and services

The findings reveal that (40%) which constitutes the majority of the participants strongly disagreed on receiving quality services and fair appointments. This deeply held perception is said to be caused by the failure by the government to appoint the Ndebele people of Bulawayo to govern themselves instead they appoint people from the Shona tribe to govern the Ndebele in Bulawayo. These assertions are in line with Priscilla Misihairambwi-Mushonga cited on New Zimbabwe (19/07/15), making a comment in parliament remarking on the appointment of Shona person at Lupane State University in Matabeleland in 2015, she was quoted saying:

“They have selected someone from Mashonaland to become Vice-Chancellor of Matabeleland... The issue of politics of ethnicity is a reality in this nation and if we do not manage it, we will keep on having issues”. (NewZimbabwe.com 19/07/15).

The findings reveal that the Ndebele people are of the view that they are purposely marginalized through a state sanctioned attack. They believe it is an intentional Shona conspiracy attack against the Ndebele people. The failure by the government to decentralize and strike a balance in the appointment of the Ndebele people has brought about disappointment among the Ndebele people of Bulawayo. This assertion is in tandem with Ndhlovu (2016) who is of the view that the political landscape of Zimbabwe is so tribally defined that in all political formations all that the Ndebele are rewarded with a Deputy position, if a Ndebele seeks leadership or beyond they are ostracized. Ncube and Siziba (2017) posit that the genocide of the Ndebele people in the 1980s was a clear message that the Ndebele should never challenge a Shona in the corridors of power. The government’s failure to strike a balance in government’s appointments and its inability to provide quality services to the Ndebele people have made the Ndebele people to feel not to be part an ideal Zimbabwe. This is found on the accounts of in-depth interviews where one participant had this to say:

“I used to consider myself a Zimbabwean first; however, I then later understood that as Ndebele we are in every case a second class and after that, I inferred that perhaps I was not Zimbabwean”.

The findings indicate that the government of Zimbabwe is characterized by preference of Shona people over the Ndebele people. This was noted in a recent crisis at the Municipality of Bulawayo where a Shona person was appointed to mayor ship to replace a Ndebele mayor. This prompted unrest at the city council and among the Ndebele residents. However, the researcher observed though the Ndebele people complain of marginalization, one has to look at the numbers population. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003) states that the Shona people constitute (70%) of the population against their counterparts the Ndebele who constitute (20%). Using these population numbers one notes that in Zimbabwe, Shona people always have an upper hand against their counterparts in the election process, notable in parliament and in the executive arm of government where the majority of members of parliament come from the Shona people.



The study also noted that poor services is not only notable in Bulawayo, but throughout the country due to economic meltdown. The people from Harare have also complained about unclean water, dirt, lack of housing and sewer blockages. Ncube (2019) the minister of finance cited on business report international online saying: “the city of Harare is facing several challenges which have failed to resolve the water and sanitation under-provision within the city. This has contributed to the decline in the health status of residents”. The researcher argues that, poor services are a national problem and they result from lack of technocrats due to brain drain and financial constraints faced by the government.

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4.2.5. Lack of Economic Empowerment Initiatives.

The economic marginalization among the Ndebele people is attributed to the failure of the government to emancipate and initiative sound policies that empower the Ndebele people of Bulawayo. The economic marginalization of the Ndebele people has been translated as a state sanctioned attack, which they continue to pay with lack of development and denial of access to the national resources. Fukuyama (2014) terms it the prebendal politics, a situation whereby loyal members are rewarded and those ones who are believed to be stubborn or deviant are punished. According to Hon Misihairanbwi-Mushonga (2017) cited on parliament (09/08/17) stated that “Ndebele people and companies led by the Ndebele people are marginalized in accessing government tenders and this is observed in various sectors that include health, local government, government parastatals.” Figure 1.5 shows responses on economic empowerment.

Do you feel you are denied economic empowerment because of your ethnicity?

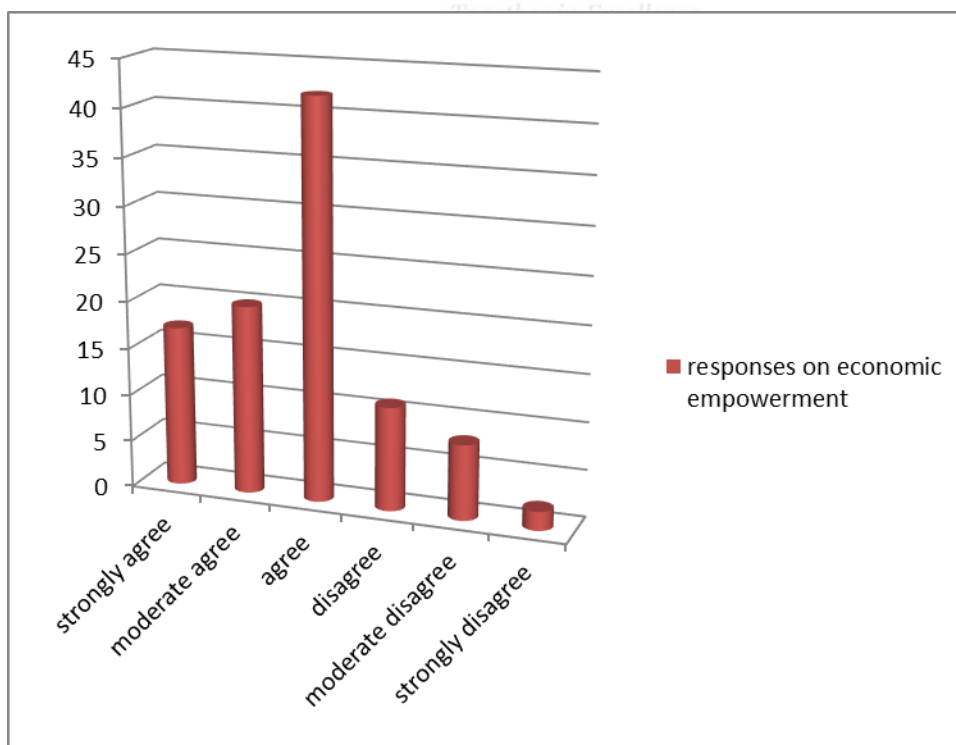


Figure .1.5.Showing responses on economic empowerment

The findings reveal that (43%) of the respondents agreed of lack of economic empowerment initiatives from the government. They complain that their government has neglected them in favour of the Shona tribe. The shutting down of companies in Bulawayo and re-opening in Harare is seen as a state sanctioned attack on the developmental processes of Bulawayo. This assertion falls in line with findings from (FDG 1, 2) who argue that

“Most industries have shut their Bulawayo operations and moved to Harare. This has made genuine joblessness to the local people and it is unjustifiable because it makes us feel undesirable and less significant than people in Harare.”



The findings are in line with Muchewa's (2015) assertion that the inability to address the water issues through the development of the Matabeleland Zambezi water task is translated as being a purposeful arrangement to deny Bulawayo and its people because of its past reported history of dismissing ZANU PF and its government. The lack of developmental issues in Bulawayo is evident in the accounts of Retired Colonel Tshinga Dube on Sunday Mail of 09/09/12 saying:

“Everyone in the nation realizes that Bulawayo is a withering city, most industries have shut down, and joblessness is at its most noteworthy. The Bulawayo we used to know as the industrial hub of Zimbabwe now resembles a scrap yard”

The findings reveal that the Ndebele people of Bulawayo are confronted by lack of economic empowerment initiatives from the government, which has aroused notions of marginalisation. The (FDG,2) cited the longevity to kick start of the Egodini project in Bulawayo as resulting from lack of government's will to empower the Ndebele people. From the findings, the researcher observed that lack of economic empowerment has not only affected Bulawayo but has affected Zimbabwe as a nation. Lack of finance, corruption and lack of technocrats due to brain drain has deeply affected the economy negatively.

Mlambo (2014) refers to the construction of the Gwayi-Shangani dam which began in 2004, has been hampered by lack of \$90 million dollars required for its completion. Corruption has affected the Zimbabwe's economic landscape which has seen many influential people fattening their pockets through the government funds. Mlambo (2014) notes that there is a general lack of accountability in the government and this has made it easy for the privileged to siphon the donations coming from the Public-Private Partnerships (PPS) for the projects. He cited an example of the Harare City Council which is facing allegations of delaying in the rehabilitation of the Morton Jaffrey works. It was later reported that the funds were used to purchase luxury cars for the officials.

From these observations, the researcher argues that economic empowerment is national problem in Zimbabwe and the government tends to initiate such projects without the capacity to complete and manage them. ZIMSTAT (2012) concludes "Government's expenditure has remained high, with the lion's share of revenue (90%) channelled towards government wages and salaries. Consequently, meaningful investment in

infrastructure, social services and other key social development areas, such housing, health and education, is less likely to happen in the near future”.

4.2.6 History of Violence (Gukurahundi)

“We cannot reunite until the past has been recognized”. This was raised by one participant from the (FDG, 1) whom when asked of reconciliation pointed to the past to be rectified. Gukurahundi phrase means the first rains of the year that, wash away rubbish. The Gukurahundi was a full-blown conflict, which resulted in the massacre of thousands of Ndebele people. These atrocities have remained a wound that has not healed yet. The findings reveal that the Ndebele people of Bulawayo demand justice from the government in the form of compensating the victims, putting into books the perpetrators and acknowledging its errors in the Gukurahundi operation.

The government failed to address this issue properly and the Ndebele people of Bulawayo have taken the Gukurahundi and their marginalization as having purposively orchestrated to starve the Ndebele people of Bulawayo. Ranger and Ndlovu- Gatsheni (2003) concur that the atrocities of this period have remained a bitter source of resentment among the country’s Ndebele population, who feel the government has failed to acknowledge its errors and continues to marginalize the Ndebele people of Bulawayo. Figure.1.6 shows responses on past ethnic crisis

Do you feel past ethnic crisis had a more vulnerable casual factor in the future crisis in your society today?

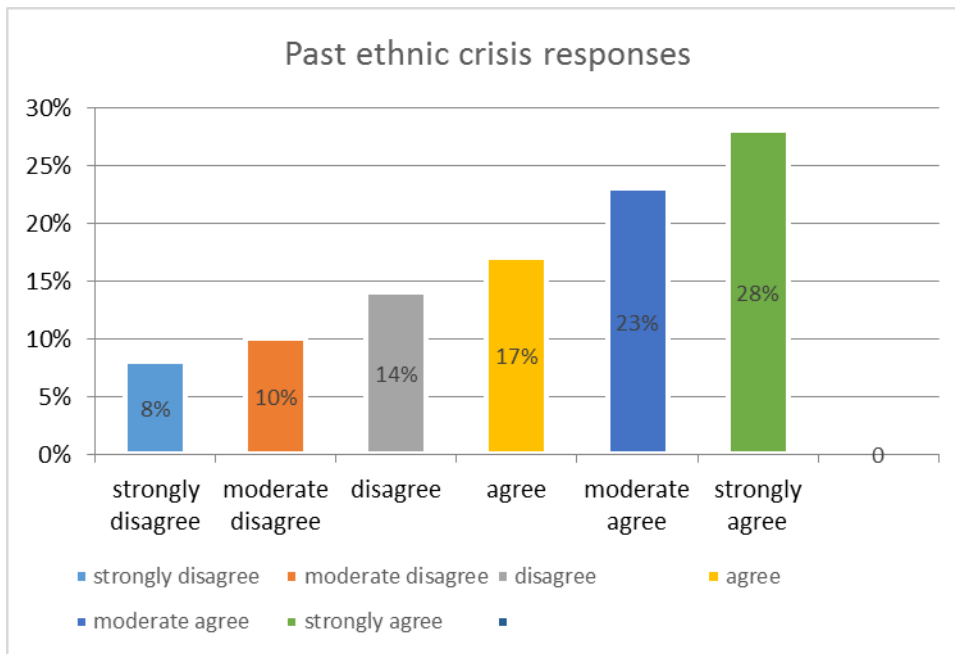


Figure.1.6. Showing past ethnic crisis responses

The findings reveal that the majority of the respondents strongly agreed (28%) that the Gukurahundi has a casual effect in the future crisis. Such assertions were noted from (FDG 1, 2) who purported that the government must properly address the issue of Gukurahundi and apologize to the Ndebele people of Bulawayo. The Ndebele people of Bulawayo have not found closure as such there has been uneasy relationship between the two main tribes and the government. Vambe (2012) accounts for this assertion stating that there is a solid recognition that the government must assume liability and apologize openly. Such a move is significant in starting genuine compromise on national recuperating.

From the findings, the researcher observed that the issue of Gukurahundi is a burning issue amongst the Ndebele people. They complain that the government has not shown remorse on its errors by apologizing to the Ndebele people and this has left many people despair and bitter. Matshazi (2017) cited on Newsday 18/05/17 noted that “The government has no appetite to address the Gukurahundi issue and this only creates hate

and anger, which find expression in most unlikely places and perpetuates the cycle of violence, which has been an earmark of this country from independence to date. This assertion is in line with findings from in-depth interview which accounts for this assertion, one participant had this to say:

“The ethnic cleansing of the Ndebele people during Gukurahundi is a sore that refuses to go away for many people of the Ndebele lineage. I feel in many ways it demonstrates the fact that we are viewed as outsiders in the land we have inhabited for 150 years ago”.

In light of the above assertion, it demonstrates that the Gukurahundi has become a Shona obligation in general, the Ndebele people show outrage and harshness towards the Shona in general whom they accuse of the past ethnic crisis. To the Ndebele people it has become a community narrative that the Shona tribe and the government killed their relatives. This was found in the accounts of (FDG 2) where the majority of the participants clearly stated that, "The Shona executed our siblings, fathers, and mothers and the Shona did not apologize for Gukurahundi. Along a similar line, one participant (FDG 1) who chose to remain anonymous accused the Shona people of placing the Matabeleland area into untold disarray, "To him, Shona people are to be accused for every one of the disasters, marginalization, agony and enduring that they encountered since the beginning of independence.

The findings reveal that the failure by the government to apologize, have a public dialogue and to release the findings to the public from the Chihabakwe commission of

enquiry labelling it as a moment of madness has aroused bitterness among the Ndebele people. These assertions have been met with disdain; the Ndebele view it as clear signs of dehumanization of the Ndebele people. From the findings, many people narrated that they wanted closure, to have a dialogue with government and to have compensation for the victims they lost during the Gukurahundi. The government's silence and hesitant has been regarded as a sign of disrespect among the Ndebele. Gukurahundi has brought down the social union between the Shona and the Ndebele notable through derogatory labels and hate. The researcher argues that the findings reveal the true nature of the Ndebele people's feelings that need to be addressed through a dialogue. The researcher also noted that the Ndebele people have put it as a Shona obligation blaming every one of them of Gukurahundi atrocities. From the majority of the participants many revealed that this aspect of Gukurahundi and its aftermath were the most contributing factors in their notions of marginalization.



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4.2.7. Unfair treatment of the Ndebele in the Unity Accord of 1987

The Gukurahundi violence of the 1980s claimed the lives of an estimation of about twenty thousand Ndebele people the violence were uttered to be the violence against the dissidents. This can be found in the accounts of the former minister of state and security in 1983 through a public statement:

“The campaign against the dissidents can only succeed
if the infrastructure that natures them is destroyed.
Chronicle 05/03/1983”.

In the above statement, the infrastructure referred to was the Ndebele people who had to be massacred in cold blood. However, the violence came into a halt in a peace agreement in the form of the Unity Accord in 1987. The Ndebele people had a lot of expectations from the Unity Accord. They expected compensation of the victims of Gukurahundi, dialogue with the government and equal power-sharing in the government. However, to their disappointment, the Unity Accord proved to be a document to empower the ZANU-PF party and to form a one-party state. Mafu (2017) states that the 1987 Unity Accord between ZAPU and ZANU-PF confirmed the final capture of the state by the nationalist political elites that ensured Zimbabwe's descent to dictatorship.

The Unity Accord reflected the Shona-led ZANU PF party's whims notable with one of the points contained in the document which stated that ZANU PF would seek to establish the one-party state and would abide by the leadership code. No compensations of victims of Gukurahundi or a public dialogue held for closure. Mashingaidze (2005) confirms this assertion stating that the Unity Accord ended the war but did not bring peace. The majority of the respondents from (FDG 1, 2) revealed that the Ndebele people of Bulawayo hold the notion that they did not benefit from the Unity Accord. The Ndebele people believe they were unfairly treated because the unity accord gave birth to the (ZANU PF) which meant the opposition party of the Ndebele people (PF-ZAPU) was consumed to form a one-party state. One Ndebele participant from the in-depth interviews had this to say:

“The Unity Accord was unfair to Nkomo and his people, for example, look at the name of the party, it remained ZANU-

PF and the name PF-ZAPU disappeared altogether because it was absorbed by ZANU-PF.”

This agrees with Mashingaidze (2005) and Eppel (2004) who argue that the eleven points made up in the document (Unity Accord) no concessions were made to PF ZAPU except that violence taking place in Matabeleland will stop. They also concur that the unity accord only meant that “you cease to exist and we. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003) concludes that the signing of the Unity Accord tensions was suspended rather removed. Matshazi (2017) observed that the only effort at addressing the anger that was bubbling beneath the surface was the 1987 Unity Accord, which increasingly looked farcical. Only brought ZAPU and ZANU PF together but failed to deal with the ethnic tensions that continue to this day.



The findings also revealed that what heightens the notions of marginalization of the Ndebele people is the social injustice that accompanied the Unity Accord. It did not recognize the individuals suffering, victims of violence were never compensated and the perpetrators of violence were never brought into books nor seek forgiveness from their victims. The Ndebele people blame the unity accord for reducing them to the second class citizen and perceive the Unity Accord as a tool for political and social injustice. From the findings, the researcher observed that the Ndebele people expected long terms solutions. For instance, the narratives from FDG 1 revealed that the Ndebele people had expected the implementation of the Zambezi water project to ease the water crisis in Bulawayo, instead, the government embarked on other big water projects in Shona speaking people areas notable was the Tokwe Mukosi dam.

The researcher noted that the lack of prioritization of projects in Bulawayo has made the Ndebele people feel that the unequal development and marginalization is deliberate and purposeful orchestrated. However, from the findings, the researcher observed that the Zambezi water project's failure was not due to the marginalization of the Ndebele people. What needs to be noted is that the failure of the projects in Zimbabwe is a national problem due to financial constraints. To cite a few is the Shavi dam in Zvishavane was to be constructed in the year (2000) to supply water in the irrigation scheme of the Runde District council. The project is alleged to be still at preliminary stages due to financial constraints. The researcher argues that the government and Zimbabwe face economic turmoil as such the failure of the projects should not be taken as a state-sanctioned attack but financial constraints have been the cause of the failure of the projects.



4.2.8. Disfranchisement of Language

Fairclough (2014) suggests that in understanding language as a practice, there is a need to focus on how power is structured. In Zimbabwe, power lies in the majority of Shona people who hold (80%) of the population against their counterparts, the Ndebele who hold (20%) of the population (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003). Ndhlovu (2007) notes that Shona language and cultural references have indeed dominated all facets of life in independent Zimbabwe, marginalizing other languages and cultures in the process. The findings reveal that the government instead of breaking a balance in the Language use has however reinforced the Shona language in many government departments operating in Bulawayo, characterized by Shona speaking people who can barely speak Ndebele. These individuals are deployed to serve the Ndebele speaking people whom they speak to them in Shona.

The findings reveal that the Ndebele people have interpreted this as an insult and disrespect to the Ndebele people as they regard this as an arrangement to sustain predominance through "well-organized nepotistic appointments and deployment" (Mhlanga 2010). This tragically gives some degree of validity and footing to charges that the Shona have been actualizing "their" "Shona Grand Plan" of diminishing Ndebele people into what is termed, second class citizens.

Figure.1.13. shows the responses on language use.

Are you satisfied with the way the Ndebele Language is disseminated in Bulawayo?

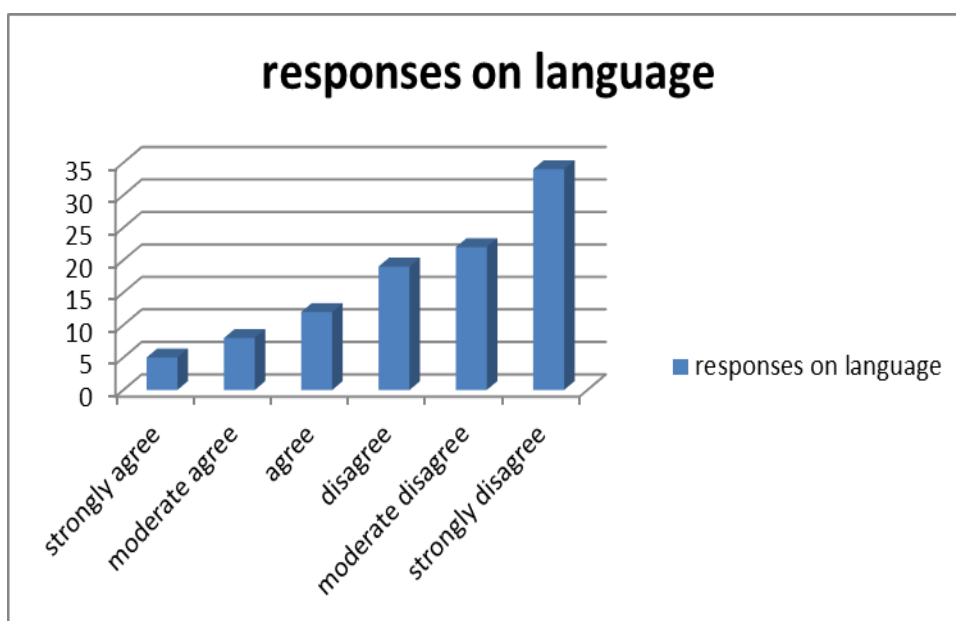


Figure.1.7. Showing the respondents responses on language.

These findings reveal that the Ndebele people are not satisfied with the way language is disseminated. They are of the notion that the Ndebele language is approaching language decadence due to Shona language domination. Ndhlovu (2007) prefers to call it "Language imperialism". The study's findings from the questionnaires reveal that (32%) of the respondents strongly disagreed with language dissemination citing

disenfranchisement in favour of the Shona language. This assertion was also evident in the narratives of focus group discussions (FDG 1,2) where they posit that in the end, the Ndebele language will decay, as now students are taught in Shona. The Ndebele people have assumed that this might be a Shona conspiracy of a grand plan which is working their way in the annihilation of the Ndebele language.

The findings are in line with the observations of Mhlanga (2006) who notes that the side-lining of the Ndebele people in the institutions of higher learning institutions of students in training colleges like the United College of Education, Hillside Teachers College, and Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo College, most students originate from Mashonaland. This implies that the vast majority of the teachers in different professionals produced from these institutions are Shona speakers. This is a blow to the Ndebele language since teachers who hardly speak the local language are teaching youngsters in the grade schools in Bulawayo. While it is extremely normal to find that most of Ndebele can communicate in Shona or at least have some fundamental comprehension of Shona, the Ndebele people argue that the reverse does not generally apply. One Ndebele participant from in-depth interview pointed out in disappointment that

“The Shona utilize their language when addressing us, however when you answer in isiNdebele they will say they don't understand isiNdebele language, so they anticipate that we should communicate in their language but then they don't put any genuine effort to learn isiNdebele?”

Another Ndebele participant from the FDG 1 stated that “The electronic media in Zimbabwe prioritizes the Shona on radio and television programming whereas the Ndebele comes last”.

The findings reveal a language rivalry between the two main ethnic groups. They reflect a quiet war in the social and political landscape of Zimbabwe. The Shona political leaders have often used the Shona language when addressing the Ndebele speaking people. President Robert Mugabe and his wife, Grace, evince this Shona imperial position when they go to Bulawayo and address people in Shona without any interpreters. The Ndebele people have viewed this as an indication of impoliteness, and purposeful action of looking downward on the Ndebele people and their language. To some Gukurahundi survivors, it might fill in as a rough token of the brutality of the Fifth Brigade and the vicious way in which they had to talk and sing in Shona. From the findings, the issue of language has even uncovered even in parliament where at one time the then minister of transport Mr. Obert Mpofu who is a Ndebele was forced to speak in Shona (NewZimbabwe.Com 24/07/14).

From the findings, it is evident that the Ndebele people suffer language marginalization. They decry of the predominance of Shona language in the nation-building process and this has been received with suspicion by the Ndebele people who see the dominance of the Shona language as leading to the erosion of the Ndebele language. From the findings, the researcher observed that the findings hold water because most politicians from Harare including the president of Zimbabwe address the Ndebele people in Shona. Muchewa (2015) confirms this alluding to an incident in 2014 where the first lady of Zimbabwe, Grace Mugabe during her nation-wide meet people tour, used the Shona language to address the Ndebele speaking people without

the interpreter. This drew a lot of angry comments from many of the Ndebele people. Ndlovu-Gatshen (2007) cites an example of the former Vice President Joyce Mujuru who held a series of political rallies in Bulawayo, speaking in Shona without any Ndebele interpreter. From the findings, the researcher observed that the Ndebele have taken the use of Shona language on Ndebele territories as suggesting that Zimbabwe is a Shona empire, its either you identify with Shona norms by speaking Shona or you remain on the peripheries of the national agenda. The researcher argues that although Ndebele is not officially considered to be a minority language, to Shona, it is a minority. Nationally and in terms of function, Ndebele is indeed a minority language.

However, the researcher observed that though the Ndebele people complain of language disenfranchisement, the Shona and the Ndebele Languages have been both languages that have been prioritized by the government since independence which has resulted in the marginalization of other languages. Maseko and Moyo, (2013) argue that stronger indigenous languages such as Shona and Ndebele in Zimbabwe contribute to the killing of other smaller indigenous languages. They claim that, because Shona and Ndebele are recognized as national languages, other languages considered minor have not received any recognition nationally. Furthermore, the researcher argues that the government has made legislative inroads in granting people radio licenses. In Bulawayo, a community radio station has been established called Sky Fm which caters to the Ndebele speaking people and even newspapers such as uMthunywa, written in the Ndebele language is a reflection of media freedoms in Zimbabwe.

4.3. Chapter Summary

Tribalism and failure to embark on a genuine peace building and nation building created a security dilemma, which resulted in the Gukurahundi violence and massacres.

The Ndebele perceptions are those of victims of violence in need of redress. This chapter discussed the perceived sources of marginalisation among the Ndebele people. The Ndebele people complain of lack of employment, lack of economic empowerment, language disenfranchisement and unresolved past ethnic crisis. The findings revealed that the government is of the belief that the Unity Accord of 1987 “sorted out things”. This discord has resulted in uneasy peace and pretensions, which are covering unhealed festering wounds and deep-seated hostilities. However, the study also revealed that the perceived marginalisation when confronted by observations some of the complaints are a national problem not only amongst the Ndebele people of Bulawayo but the rest of the nation. The next chapter discusses the impact of the perceived marginalisation on the socio-political economy of Bulawayo.



CHAPTER FIVE: HOW HAVE THESE PERCEPTIONS IMPACTED ON THE SOCIO-POLITICAL ECONOMY OF BULAWAYO IN ZIMBABWE.

5.1 Introduction

Ethnic conflicts are some of the major challenges facing the world, and Africa in particular, today. These conflicts have a compounding influence on other issues such as political, economic and social stability. The case of ethnic conflicts in Nigeria, Burundi and Rwanda are illustrative of this point, and indeed were multi-faceted and extremely complex. Although many steps have been taken by the successive governments in the direction of addressing ethnic conflicts it is clear that much more still has to be done especially in the light of the recent heightening impacts of ethnic tensions in Zimbabwe. This chapter sought an assessment on the impacts of the perceived marginalisation on the socio-political economy of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe.

5.2. The Impact of Perceptions of Marginalisation on the Socio-Political Economy of Bulawayo.

This section focuses on how the perceptions of marginalization have impacted on the socio-political economy of Bulawayo among the Ndebele people. What is recognizable from the findings is that the Ndebele people are confronted by perceptions of marginalisation which are both real and imagined. The findings reveal that the perceptions of marginalization have impacted negatively in Bulawayo notable in the Emigration of the Ndebele people to neighbouring countries, radicalism, resisting integration, moral decadence and abandonment of language. This chapter will discuss on how the Ndebele people have responded to these perceptions of marginalization.

5.2.1. Radicalism

The perception held by the Ndebele people on the issues of marginalization has led to what Gatsheni (2003) prefers to call it radical Ndebele nationalism. This implies to the responses that have been taken by the Ndebele people to address their grievances. According to the grievance theory the perceived economic inequality amounts to presumed grievance. In other words those who experience economic inequality in fact have a grievance against their society. The findings reveal that there is a rising number of radical pressure groups in Bulawayo. Narratives from (FDG1) cited pressure groups such as Vukani Mahlabezulu and Imbovane Yamahlabezulu which they stated that mainly focuses on the revival of Ndebele features which include culture and history. Figure 1.8 shows the respondents responses on forming a separate group from the government and the Shona tribe

Do you feel that due to feelings of marginalization, it enhances you to make your own group separate from Shona people and the government?

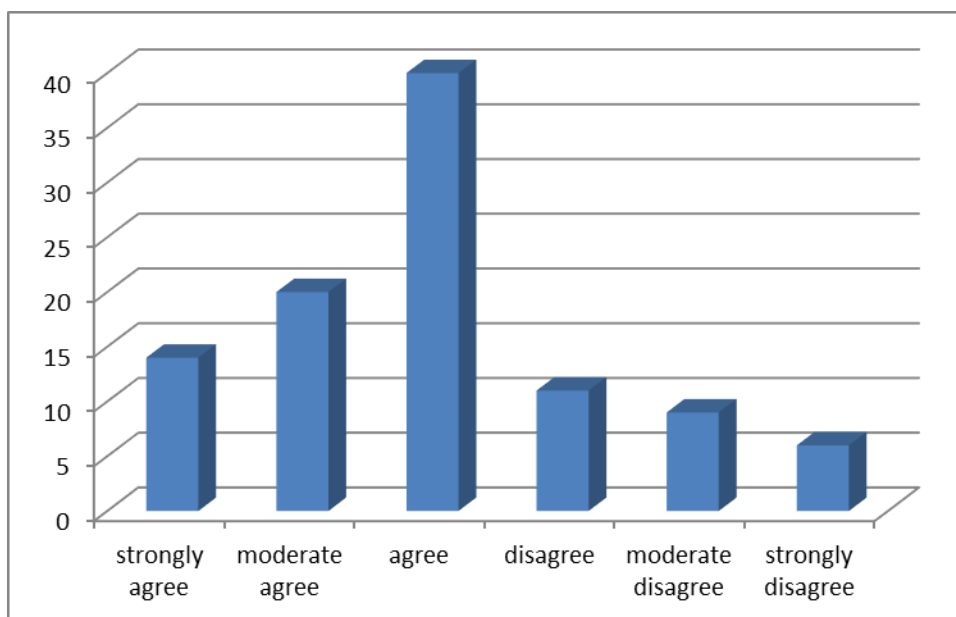


Figure.1.8. Showing responses on the establishment of a separate group from the government and the Shona tribe

The findings reveal that (38%) of the respondents agreed that due to feelings of marginalization they have resorted to joining and establishing radical pressure groups that they use as avenues to voice their concerns and air their views to get attention from the government and address issues that are affecting the Ndebele people. According to the human needs theorists Collier and Hoeffler (2002) state that the underlying drivers of ethnic clashes happen when grievances from ethnic or religious segregation inside society, hardship from political rights and high imbalance are serious, people are persuaded to rebel. This assertion is substantiated by the Ndebele people's radicalism which is evident with the rise of pressure groups to which question the Gukurahundi atrocities.

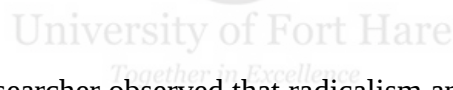


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The majority of people from the (FDG 1,2) confirmed that these pressure groups have helped effectively on the victims of Gukurahundi as they have provided the platform for the Ndebele people to air or narrate events of the atrocities for future documentation. One participant from the in-depth interviews lamented that the *Mthwakazi Action Group* (MAG) and *Mthwakazi People's Congress* (MPC) have taken head-on with the government on issues of Gukurahundi violence and government accountability for it.

The majority of the respondents from (FDG 1, 2) called for total separation of the region. This assertion falls in line with assertion of Gibson Sibanda, the vice president of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) cited on Daily mirror newspaper

(19/07/15) stating that the “Ndebele can only exercise their sovereignty through establishing their state like Lesotho which is independent in South Africa, so it is not wrong to have a state in Matabeleland”. The Radicalism of the Ndebele people is also notable in the Voter turnout and participation in politics where the ruling ZANU PF party has failed to amass support in the parts of Matabeleland, accusing Robert Mugabe and his party for killing the Ndebele people during the 1980s. In light of this, the findings indicate that due to perceptions of marginalization the Ndebele people have taken a radical stance to address their concerns. The Ndebele people have also adopted a radical retaliatory discrimination policy, which serves for the Ndebele people. The narratives from (FDG 1,2) revealed that some companies such as Ingwebu Breweries and the Bulawayo city council hire Ndebele people only as a countermeasure against the Shona to empower the Ndebele people. From these findings, it is indicative that the perceived impacts of marginalization have led to the radicalism of the Ndebele people.



From the findings, the researcher observed that radicalism amongst the Ndebele people is reflected in the Mthwakazi People’s Congress constitution where it advocates for the devolution of power and the formation of the Ndebele state. Radicalism is also notable in the recent incident where the Bulawayo City council resolved to rename the streets of the Bulawayo (Central Business District) in Ndebele names to honour the liberation heroes defying the government’s directive of naming one of the streets after President Mnangagwa. Mabuza (2020) cited on Zimlive (06/02/2020) stated that “It is desirable to preserve the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history and heritage of the Ndebele people of Bulawayo and promote national cohesion in devolved unitary state”. The researcher argues that indeed the Ndebele people have resorted to radicalism to

regain their identity but however this has been a stumbling block in the nation building process.

5.2.2. *Emigration*

The Ndebele people have immigrated to the neighbouring countries to cushion their suffering which they attribute to being a state-sanctioned attack. Crush (2012) observed that the exact number of individuals who have left Bulawayo is not known. A few guesstimates put the figure at between 75%. What is certain is that the number of Ndebele people in the Diaspora has developed quickly and has turned out to be worldwide in its dissemination. He further observes that the most widely recognized destination in Africa is South Africa. Figure1.9. Showing responses on emigration being caused by marginalisation

Is emigration caused by Marginalization?

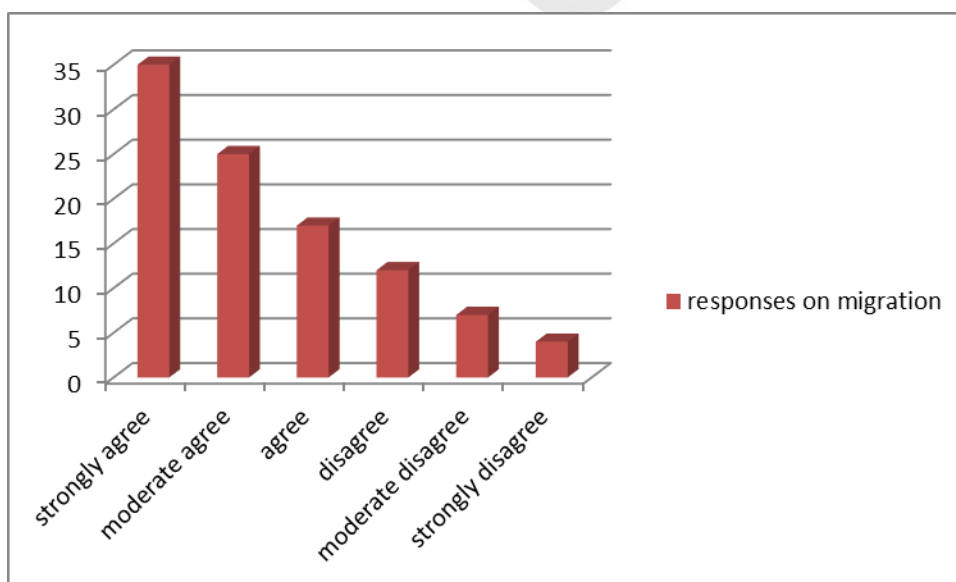


Figure.1.9. Showing responses on reasons for migration by the Ndebele people

The findings reveal that (34%) of the respondent strongly agreed that the rapid emigration to neighbouring countries is a response to the economic crisis in the region. The Ndebele people hold the perception that the government of Zimbabwe has

neglected them and placed them in the second fiddle in politics and in the economy. The findings fall in line with the assertion from the in-depth interviews where one participant had this to say,

“I used to consider myself a Zimbabwean first; however, I then later understood that as Ndebele we are in every case a second class and after that, I inferred that perhaps I wasn't really Zimbabwean”.

The findings reveal feelings of frustration and despair on the Ndebele people who believe that they are unfairly treated in Zimbabwe. From the findings, it is clear that the Ndebele people have lost their sense of belonging in Zimbabwe as such immigration has been the solution to cushion their suffering. From the findings, the researcher observed that emigration is a nation-wide problem and emigration is a reaction to the economic crisis that has beclouded Zimbabwe. Zanamwe and Devillard (2009) cite the lack of career opportunities in the formal sector as one of the main factors driving skilled migration.

Masunungure (2008) posits that the country continues to face some of the greatest challenges in development due to this socio-economic meltdown. Many people have left the country as economic refugees. They have gone to neighbouring countries such as Botswana and South Africa. Others have gone overseas, to the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States among the popular destinations. The study revealed that in Zimbabwe there is forced emigration. Involuntary Zimbabwean emigrants are part of the country's migrant stock and are difficult to track. The two main destinations for

Zimbabwean asylum seekers are South Africa and the United Kingdom. ZIMSTAT in 2013 estimated that there were 12,155 refugees abroad. This figure excludes Zimbabweans seeking asylum and those with asylum seeker permits. Forced emigration due to political activities has also led to influx of the Zimbabweans people in to neighbouring countries. Nyathi (2019) cited on Guardian and Mail 15/03/19 narrated his escape to South Africa when he was accused of an attempt to establish a nurses union

“I ran away without making any proper arrangements and we have seen a number of activists that have come through, that were rounded up in Zimbabwe or threatened to be rounded up in Zimbabwe,”



Crush (2012) confirms this assertion stating that Zimbabwe has turned into a significant global vagrant sending country in the course of recent decades because of persistent emergencies confronting the country; he contends that without change Zimbabwe's greatest export will remain its people. The researcher argues that emigration of the Zimbabwean people is due to political and economic conditions that have confronted Zimbabwe prompting people to emigrate in search of greener pastures.

5.2.3. Crime and Violence

The perceptions of the marginalization of the Ndebele have led to the rise of the crime rate both internal and external. The findings reveal that the Ndebele people, due to little job opportunities and a dysfunctional economy in Bulawayo, there have resorted to crime to fend for their families. In Zimbabwe, it is estimated that (60%) of the crimes

are executed by the Ndebele people. The researcher was prompted to compare the national statistics of crimes in Harare and Bulawayo. According to the Zimbabwe Crime stats (2017), it revealed that in Bulawayo crime rate is at (64%) compared to Harare which was (58%). This was also buttressed by the majority of people from the (FDG 1, 2) who had this to say,

“The government must intervene in Bulawayo and create jobs because our children have become criminals due to frustration, we might blame them and not blame them at the same time”.

The findings reveal that the rise of crimes caused by the Ndebele people is not only in Zimbabwe but also outside the country especially in South Africa. The majority of the Ndebele people have been accused of killings, robbery, car hijackings. This falls in line with the recent incident where four Ndebele people from Bulawayo shot South African police in Diepsloot. The South African Police Service of Gauteng (SAPS) claimed that (60%) of crimes are done by foreigners. However, these statistics are misleading as every foreigner is painted with the same brush. This has prompted conflicts between the locals and the outsiders inciting xenophobia, accusing foreigners of doing crimes in South Africa. The findings fall in line with responses from an in-depth interview where one participant had this to say,

“It’s sad for Bulawayo and the country because her people are languishing in South African prisons instead of pursuing careers and developmental goals”.

The findings reveal that these crimes are executed by people coming from an unequal and divided society which is characterized by anger and frustration. This assertion falls in line with Neocosmos's (2010) argument that such behaviour is symptomatic to an angry individual coming from an unequal and divided society. The findings are indicative that the impacts of marginalization have driven the Ndebele people to resort to crimes as a source of leaving. The researcher prompted further on the perception of the level of rising crime and came to the conclusion that high levels of crime are a national issue that has confronted Zimbabwe as a nation. It is not only Bulawayo that faces high levels of crime. This was confirmed by Dengu the commanding officer of Mashonaland cited on the Herald 02/07/10 saying:

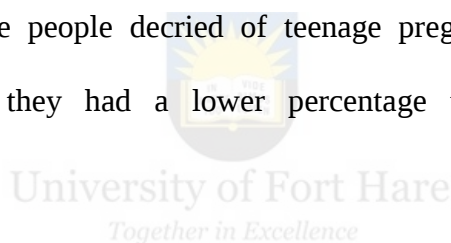
“There is a high rate of crimes in Mashonaland west. These crimes are notable through the rise of murder, rape, and stock theft. These have been the crimes of concern”.

From these findings, the researcher observed that high levels of crimes are a national problem which is a response to the economic crisis that has confronted Zimbabwe since the turn of the millennium. The researcher argues that high crime rates in Bulawayo are a reflection of Zimbabwe's economic landscape which is characterized by economic crisis which has resulted in people resorting to crime.

5.2.4. Moral Decadence.

Moral decadence rises from social and economic hardships that are faced by the Ndebele people. The majority of respondents from (FDG 1, 2) attributed to emigration as the source of rise in moral decay. The findings revealed that most men from

Bulawayo had relocated to neighbouring countries leaving their spouses behind. This is in line with the statistics obtained from the Bulawayo Progressive Residents Association which revealed that spouse emigrants were estimated to be at 87.5% males and 12.5% being females and the dominant part (87.5%) of them were aged somewhere in the range of 18 and 47 years. The respondents from focus group discussion (FDG 1) decried of high levels of prostitution, teenage pregnancy and high levels of sexually transmitted disease and HIV. This was in line with the assertions from the key informant (councilor of ward 11) who narrated to the researcher that most women who were left behind as their husbands relocated and it exposed life partners to HIV and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and HIV related diseases. This has led to increased numbers of HIV patients through infidelities. The researcher observed that even though the Ndebele people decried of teenage pregnancies according to the statistics on the field, they had a lower percentage than other provinces of Mashonaland.



According to Katsande from the Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council (ZNFPC) (2018) quoted on Newsday 05/07/18 revealed that Bulawayo had (12%) of teenage pregnancies compared to the Mashonaland central which had (31%). The findings from the (ZNFPC) revealed that Zimbabwe is confronted by teenage pregnancy which stands at (22%). These percentages are high compared to other neighbouring countries. The reason is being shortage of contraceptives pills and lack of access to family planning services. From the findings, the researcher argues that though the participants decried of teenage pregnancies due to marginalisation, the researcher observed that it was a national problem that has confronted the Zimbabwe due to economic and political turmoil. According to the ZIMSTAT (2012) revealed that

“Many young girls are married before the legal age of 18 years, while the rate of teenage pregnancy remains high. A larger proportion of young people drop out of school at the secondary level. In urban areas, there are few employment opportunities for young persons”.

In addition, the participants complained on the rise of sexual transmitted diseases due to economic crisis. The people have resorted to prostitution as a means to avert poverty. According to the Zimbabwe Population Based HIV Impact Assessment (ZIMPHIA) (2015-2016) revealed that Bulawayo stands at (19%) of people living with HIV/AIDS. Bulawayo had the highest number compared to the regions of Mashonaland. According to ZIMPHIA (2015-2016), announced that Zimbabwe stands at (22%) with people living HIV/AIDS. These small percentages have been attributed to the education of life sciences in schools and the maximum distribution of safety precautions. From the findings, the researcher observed that Bulawayo had the highest rate of HIV/AIDS (19%) compared to other regions. This is attributed to the collapse of the economy of Bulawayo which has largely impacted negatively on the livelihoods of the Ndebele people of Bulawayo.

Moreover, the study's findings revealed that many Ndebele youths of Bulawayo have resorted to alcohol and drug abuse to cushion their frustrations. The most used drug mentioned was (Nyaope and Ngoma) which many lamented it helped people to escape from reality. Ndlovu (2019) cited on Sunday news 03/10/19, narrated that “Mental issues emanate from substance abuse of drugs like marijuana, codeine and mood

stabilisers usually put in muffins sold at school which when eaten confuse the individual and thus we end up labelling users as mentally unstable. These said drugs are said to be harmful to health and it was reported that many mental illness death rises were attributed to these drugs. Dube (2019) cited on Sunday news 05/10/19 stated that at least (65%) of patients that are attended to in Bulawayo suffer from some form of mental disorder with drugs, among other issues, cited as a major cause of the problem. This assertion is in line with assertion from the in-depth interviews where one participant had this to say,

“We as the Ndebele are the victims of marginalization, our children are dying because of this evil drug that they take every day because they have nothing to do. We call the government to do something about it”.



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The findings are indicative that the perceived marginalization of the Ndebele people has detrimentally affected their livelihood. These findings prompted the researcher compare with the national statistics to validate the narratives of the FDGs. From the statistics it revealed that due to economic turmoil, many people have resorted to drug abuse to cushion their suffering. Moyo (2018) cited on development and co-operation is of the view “that people, who abuse alcohol and drugs, tend to be driven by poverty and hopelessness and Millions of Zimbabweans are jobless and therefore stressed. They struggle to cope with life’s daily challenges.” In his findings, he discovered that drugs and alcohol abuse are getting worse in Zimbabwe. The health ministry has reported that currently (57%) of all admissions to psychiatric institutions are attributed to substance abuse. “Of these admissions, over (80%) are in the age group 16 to 40”. The findings

are indicative that the economic crises in Zimbabwe have impacted negatively on the livelihoods of people.

5.2.5. Derogatory labels

The marginalization of the Ndebele people has led to the use of derogatory labels, ridiculing utilizing disparaging names of one another. This is in line with Bangura (1994) who asserts that conflicts are caused by derogatory labels, myths, and prejudice that have been fed into them at the household or in the neighbourhood. The findings reveal that the impact of marginalization of the Ndebele people has broken down the social union between the two tribes. The Ndebele and the Shona have called each other with derogatory names, the Ndebele have called the Shona as (Amaswina) which it implies the dirt whereas the Shona allude to the Ndebele as (Madzviti), which means outsider. This assertion falls in line with Muchewa's (2015) argument that these names can be traced back to the nineteenth century and they have been handed over as community narrative from one age to the next

From the findings of the focus group discussion (FDG 2), it revealed that the Shona people regard the Ndebele people as lazy people and sluggish who complain of marginalization and want to be spoon-fed by the government. This was cited in the accounts one Ndebele participant from the (FDG 2), who had this to say,

“I want the Shona to realize that we the Ndebele people can likewise do whatever the Shona can do, we are not as sluggish as we have been depicted; all we need are the opportunities”.

The findings reveal the impact of the perceived marginalization of the Ndebele people has broken down the social union between the Ndebele people and the Shona people. The researcher argues that the use of derogatory labels is indicative of simmering tensions between the two tribes which come into open during football matches between the Highlanders football club of Bulawayo and Dynamos of Harare. When these two teams meet the two main tribes in the form of fans fail to tolerate each other, violence exuberates in to open. Matshazi (2017) cited on Newsday 18/05/17, observed that “the build-up to the matches is often couched in tribal terms and is seen as a battle between the Shona and the Ndebele on one hand and while on the other, Dynamos is seen as the establishment team and Highlanders the opposite”. The findings reveal the reality of the Ndebele Shona relations; though they tolerate each other their relations are characterized by resentment and bitterness towards each other.

5.2.6. Resistance to Integration

This section sought to explore on intermarriages between the Ndebele people and the Shona people. The findings revealed that there is resistance to intermarriages between the two main ethnic groups though not explicit. The findings were in line with Msindo’s (2006) observations that the Ndebele people have remained resistant to integration notable during the 1929 vicious group battles between the Shona and Ndebele which saw some Ndebele men expressing disgust and restricting sexual relations or relationships between their daughters to Shona men. Figure .1.11. Show responses on intermarriages between the two tribes.

Do you feel that the Ndebele and Shona ethnic groups existing in your society is good for intermarriages?

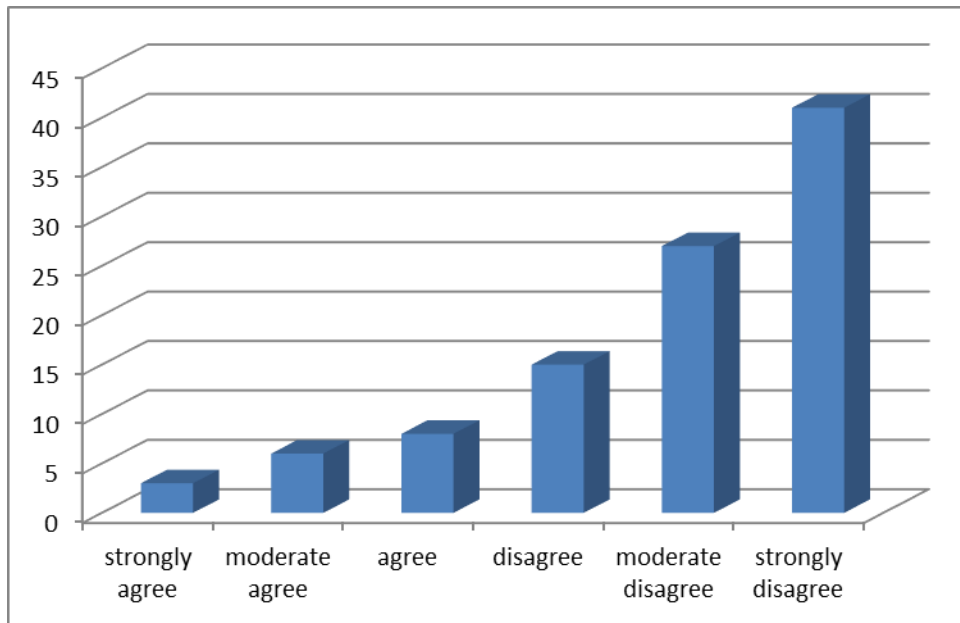


Figure.1.11. Showing responses on intermarriages

The findings reveal that (40%) of the respondents strongly disagreed on intermarriages. The resistance to intermarriages is attributed to the long history of violence where the Ndebele people accuse the Shona of killing their relatives during the Gukurahundi whereas the Shona accuse the Ndebele of raiding their women and livestock during the pre-colonial era. The impact of the perceived marginalization of the Ndebele people has brought anger, hate, and bitterness towards the Shona tribe, hence their resistance to integration. The findings fall in line with the accounts of one Ndebele participant from the (FDG 1) who had this to say,

“I won't get hitched or engage with a Shona man on the grounds that my aunt prompted me not to date Shona man since we are simply different individuals”.

Another male Ndebele from (FDG 2) participant communicated comparative assessments:

“In the event that you are Ndebele, you should adhere to your Ndebele; if you are Shona adhere to your Shonas since we resemble oil and water. Where I originate from if I bring a Shona young lady as my wife I risk turning into a family outsider in light of that marriage and this really transpired to one of my relatives.”

The findings reveal that the perceived marginalization of the Ndebele people has impacted negatively on the social union of the two main ethnic groups. The Ndebele people hold feelings of anger, resentment, and bitterness towards the Shona tribe. The issue of marriages prompted the researcher to interrogate these issues. The participants from (FDG 1, 2) finally came to agree that intermarriages exist though they do not approve of it but they have learned to accept it since it is good for cultural exchange. One of the participants had this to say:

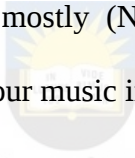
“The mentality of painting every Shona person with the same brush is not only wrong but unfair as well. What is happening now is the same as during the Gukurahundi where all the Ndebele people were being accused of being dissidents”.

The researcher argues that though there is resistance to integration among the Ndebele people intermarriages have been realised though they do not approve of it.

5.2.7. Abandonment of Language

The impacts of the marginalization of the Ndebele people of Bulawayo have led them to abandon their language in the quest to assimilate themselves into the mainstream culture of the Shona tribe. This is attributed to the Shona led government whom they accuse of the centralization of administrative and executive functions in Harare. This is said to have led the Ndebele people and some music artists to abandon their language and relocate to Harare to obtain recognition politically and in the music industry. One artist from Bulawayo whose music purely sang on Ndebele but later turned to Shona as he was not making profits, had this to say,

“Artists from Bulawayo mostly (Ndebele) do not get much airplay even if we submit our music in Harare they do not play it on air.


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The findings are in conformity with Mhlanga’s (2006) argument that “predominance by Shona trainees in training colleges has led Shona teachers being sent to teach in Bulawayo and that has really been occurring over the ongoing years. This move has seen some Primary Schools in Matabeleland deserting Ndebele language accepting Shona as an option”. This assertion is in line with Discover Africa (2019)’s findings where they observed that in Zimbabwe (70%) of the language spoken is the Shona language, (20%) being Ndebele language whereas the remaining (10%) was the minority languages. The researcher observed that the issue of language has caused conflicts in many regions of Matabeleland. This has been caused by the deployment of

Shona speaking teachers to teach in Bulawayo and Matebeleland areas bringing about tensions amongst the Ndebele communities as they interpret it as the last move to destroy the Ndebele language. At one school named Makuzeze Primary School in Matobo district of Matabeleland, local community members took it upon themselves to force the school Headmistress to leave the school. During the interview with the Chronicle 31/05/14 she had this to say:

“When these rowdy people came to the school they insulted me and they told me to leave the school as they were tired of being led by Shona speaking people. They said it was enough that the nation was being led by a Shona speaking person and would not accept this at community level”

From the findings, the researcher argues that in Zimbabwe, some Ndebele individuals have done the language shift (language abandonment) in pursuit to benefit from the governmental economic and political processes; this is notable in arts and politics where many people have resorted to the Shona language to obtain recognition and to amass support during electioneering. On the other hand, some have resisted the Shona language and this has caused conflicts notable in Makuzeze Primary School. The findings revealed a silent war brewing in Zimbabwe, which needs to be mitigated before escalating in to violence.

5.3. Chapter Summary

The chapter discussed the impacts of the perceptions of marginalization by the Ndebele on the socio-political economy of Bulawayo. The findings revealed that what exists in Bulawayo is a restorative harmony that is portrayed by a no war-no harmony situation. Relevant issues observed indicated that there is radicalism among the Ndebele people,

resistance to integration, emigration, and abandonment of the Ndebele language, and moral decay which is to a great extent associated with the Gukurahundi atrocities, a well recognizable history of hostilities. A simple surface standpoint may drive one into accepting that the Ndebele people are the only ones that are confronted by economic and political crises, yet a more profound investigation uncovers that the perceived impacts of marginalization of the Ndebele people are the reflection of the whole Zimbabwean landscape that is confronted by political and economic instability. The next chapter discusses the summarises the chapter providing recommendations of the research.



CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Summary of the findings

The study sought to interrogate the perceptions of marginalisation by the Ndebele people and its impact on the socio-political economy of Bulawayo. The study's findings were based on research questions and responses that were derived from primary and secondary sources.

The study revealed that the Ndebele people decry of marginalisation due to scarce opportunities of employment. The study's findings revealed that lack of job opportunities is attributed to the dominance of the Shona people whom they accuse of nepotism and discrimination in the hiring of people for employment. From the findings, low levels of employment were due to companies shutting down their operations in Bulawayo and relocating to Harare. The Ndebele people have regarded this as well orchestrated marginalisation to starve the Ndebele people. From the findings, the researcher observed that these perceptions cannot be used as bench marks of examining the marginalisation of the Ndebele people. This is so in light of the fact that Zimbabwe faces the highest unemployment rate in the region.

According to the Labour force Survey of Zimbabwe (2017) revealed that Zimbabwe has (95%) of unemployed people. Moyo and Yeros (2007) are of the view that the Zimbabwean economy has been on the brink of collapse with formal employment estimated to be between 5% and 10%. Unemployment has been getting worse since the early 2000s. This is due to economic crisis that have confronted Zimbabwe since the turn of the millennium. The economic crisis led to the closure of many companies in the country notable Bata of Gweru and some of the companies in Harare. This led the

researcher to conclude that the perceived marginalisation of the Ndebele is a myth that has become a community narrative amongst the Ndebele people

In addition, the study's findings revealed that the perceptions of marginalisation arise from the lack of economic emancipation initiatives which have left the Ndebele people feeling side-lined in the nation building process both politically and economic. The majority of the participants who took part in the study were of the belief that they are purposively marginalized. They cited the failure of the implementation of the Zambezi project to reduce the burden of water crisis as a clear sign of starving the Ndebele people. From the findings, the study argues that lack of political will and reluctance of the government to implement sound policies in Bulawayo has aroused notions of marginalisation.



From the above findings, the researcher observed that lack of economic emancipation is not only a Bulawayo problem but a national problem that has confronted the country. One of the observations noted by the researcher is that lack of economic empowerment in Bulawayo was due to lack of finance. The government of Zimbabwe suffers from financial crisis and brain drain (lack of technocrats) resulting from emigration this has led to failure in the implementation of government projects and policies. ZIMSTAT (2012) concludes "Government's expenditure has remained high, with the lion's share of revenue (90%) channelled towards government wages and salaries. Consequently, meaningful investment in infrastructure, social services and other key social development areas, such housing, health and education, is less likely to happen in the near future".

Furthermore, the findings revealed that unresolved past ethnic crisis have aroused the perceptions of marginalisation. From the findings, the Ndebele people complain about the unresolved past ethnic crisis emanating from Gukurahundi and the 1987 Unity Accord. The Gukurahundi was a state sponsored operation which saw the killing of thousands of the Ndebele people. The aftermath of the Gukurahundi saw the peace agreement in the form of the 1987 Unity Accord. The findings revealed that the Ndebele people hold feelings of resentment and bitterness towards the government. These feelings have been caused by the government's reluctance to have a dialogue with the Ndebele people about the Gukurahundi issue and the unfair treatment of the Ndebele people in the Unity Accord. The Ndebele people are of the view that they were unfairly treated in the Unity Accord as no compensations were made to the victims of Gukurahundi.



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Ranger and Ndlovu- Gatsheni (2003) concur that the atrocities of this period have remained a bitter source of resentment among the country's Ndebele population, who feel the government has failed to acknowledge its errors and continues to marginalize the Ndebele people of Bulawayo. From the findings, the government's failure to show remorse to the Ndebele people has been regarded as indicative of a purposively orchestrated plan to suppress and dominate the Ndebele people. The study argues that this has become an Ndebele community narrative which has aroused feelings of bitterness and resentment towards the government and the Shona tribe. The researcher observed that the findings reflect the notions held by the majority of the Ndebele people. From observations it was noted that the Ndebele people seek closure of trauma of atrocities, and this was possible through a dialogue with the government. The

findings accounts for Vambe's (2012) assertion that there is a solid recognition that the government must assume liability and apologize. The researcher concludes that the findings are a true reflection of the notions held by the Ndebele people.

Moreover, the findings revealed that the perceived marginalisation amongst the Ndebele people has impacts on the socio-political economy of Bulawayo. The findings revealed that the Ndebele people have resorted to radicalism, notable through numerous radical pressure groups that appeal to the Ndebele people which are *Mthwakazi Action Group* (MAG) and *Mthwakazi People's Congress* (MPC). Radicalism in these groups is noted with their constitutions which call for the devolution and the establishment of a Ndebele state. Gibson Sibanda, the vice president of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) cited on Daily mirror newspaper (19/07/15) stated that the "Ndebele can only exercise their sovereignty through establishing their state like Lesotho which is independent in South Africa, so it is not wrong to have a state in Matabeleland". The Ndebele radicalism can be noted in the recent naming of streets to honour their liberation heroes defying the directive of the government to name one of the streets after Mnangagwa. This assertion can also be found in the accounts of Mabuza (2020) cited on Zimlive (06/02/2020) who stated that "It is desirable to preserve the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history and heritage of the Ndebele people of Bulawayo and promote national cohesion in devolved unitary state". The researcher argues that the findings represent the reality of the perceptions held by the majority of the Ndebele people who have resorted to radicalism to regain their identity.

The study's findings also revealed that the perceived marginalisation has driven the Ndebele people to immigrate to the neighbouring countries. The findings revealed that

due to scarcity of job opportunities and lack of economic emancipation, the Ndebele people have resorted to emigration. Crush (2012) observed that the exact number of individuals who have left Bulawayo is not known. A few guesstimates put the figure at between 75%. The findings revealed that the Ndebele people have resorted to migration to cushion their suffering of being excluded in both politics and economic processes. This assertion was also noted in the accounts of one participant from in-depth interview who had this to say: “I used to consider myself a Zimbabwean first; however, I then later understood that as Ndebele we are in every case a second class and after that, I inferred that perhaps I wasn't really Zimbabwean”. From the findings it reflects a situation of people who have lost the sense of belonging; hence emigration has been the solution to cushion such feelings.



The researcher observed that though emigration has been a problem that has confronted Bulawayo, it is however a national problem in Zimbabwe nationwide. Zanamwe and Devillard (2009) cite the lack of career opportunities in the formal sector as one of the main factors driving skilled migration. The issue of migration has led to brain drain in the country characterised by poor implementation of policies and failure of projects. Emigration has been attributed to economic crisis that have confronted the country since the turn of the millennium. Masunungure (2008) posits that the country continues to face some of the greatest challenges in development due to this socio-economic meltdown. The researcher argues that the impacts perceived marginalization on emigration has not affected the Ndebele people only but the whole nation due to economic and political crises and forced emigration due to political activities has also seen the rise of emigration in Zimbabwe.

The researcher observed that the perceived marginalisation of the Ndebele people has also produced negative impacts on the socio-political economy of Bulawayo. From the findings, it was noted that the perceived marginalisation has resulted in high rate of crimes. In Bulawayo alone, the Zimbabwe Crime stats (2017), revealed that crime rate stood at (64%) compared to Harare which had (58%). From the findings the researcher argues that the high rate of crime in Bulawayo is due to economic hardships in Bulawayo. However, from the findings the researcher observed that we cannot rely only on the statistics of Bulawayo and Harare, so an attempt was made to interrogate crime rates in Zimbabwe and it was observed that in Mashonaland there was high crime rate more than the big cities. This was found in the accounts of Dengu the commanding officer of Mashonaland cited on the Herald 02/07/10 saying: “There is a high rate of crimes in Mashonaland west. These crimes are notable through the rise of murder, rape, and stock theft. These have been the crimes of concern”. This reflects that crime rates are also a national problem affecting the Zimbabwean social landscape.

Moreover, the findings revealed that moral decadence and use derogatory labels have been the impacts of the perceived marginalisation. The majority of participants from FDGs and questionnaires were of the view that there is rise of teenage pregnancy, substance abuse and rise of HIV/AIDS in Bulawayo due to unemployment and lack of job opportunities. From the findings the researcher observed that though the Ndebele people decry of rise of moral decadence evidenced on the rise of teenage pregnancy it was realised that Bulawayo had low rate on teenage pregnancies. According to Katsande from the Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council (ZNFPC) (2018) quoted on Newsday 05/07/18 cited that Bulawayo had (12%) compared to Mashonaland central which had (31%). From these findings, the researcher argues that

the economic crises that have beclouded Zimbabwe since the turn of the millennium have impacted negatively on the livelihoods of people of Zimbabwe evidenced with the rise of teenage pregnancy, substance abuse and high school dropouts.

The researcher unpacked on the fact of social union between the Ndebele people and the Shona tribe. From the findings, it revealed that the Ndebele people are bitter towards the government and the Shona tribe due to past ethnic crisis. These come into play in the use derogatory labels and resistance to marriages between the two tribes. The issues of bitterness and resentment come into open during football matches where the use of derogatory language such as (Amasvina) and (Madzviti) are used during matches between Highlanders and Dynamos and violence becomes the order of the day. These issues signify unresolved past issues that need to be addressed before escalating into violence. Matshazi (2017) cited on *Newsday* 18/05/17, observed that “the build-up to the matches is often couched in tribal terms and is seen as a battle between the Shona and the Ndebele on one hand and while on the other, Dynamos is seen as the establishment team and Highlanders the opposite”.

The study revealed that due to Shona dominance, some Ndebele people have abandoned their language in preference to Shona. This evidenced in the music artists from Bulawayo who decried of music marginalisation in radios and this has made them to do language shift in order to obtain recognition. On the other hand, some have resisted the waves of change, notable in Makuzeze Primary School where the residents took upon themselves to confront the Shona headmistress to evacuate the area. The researcher argues that in Zimbabwe there is a quiet war, though these findings might be looked at face value, it calls for concern for the government to find ways to address

these perceived marginalisation whether they are a myth or reality, before they degenerate into violent conflict.

6.2. Conclusion

This study set out to assess the perceptions of marginalisation by the Ndebele people and its impact on the socio-political economy of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe. The study argued that numerous conflicts in post-colonial Zimbabwe were due to past ethnic crisis and the effort to resolve past ethnic conflicts have not been very successful (Zartman, 2000). The study claims that the perceived marginalisation of the Ndebele people is the drawback on the nation-building process in Zimbabwe. The assessment is profoundly important for practitioners who intervene in search of solutions. Attempts to resolve any of the ethnic conflicts must not ignore these underlying recommendations.

6.3. Recommendations

In light of the above, the study recommends the following measures to mitigate latent conflicts before they degenerate into a full blow conflict:

- Zimbabwe needs key development policies that are sensitive to marginalisation, Bangura (1994) states that policies of economic development need to be sensitive to problems of marginalization, social inequalities and political equilibrium for development are key to sustainability. Most European countries escaped political violence and racist conflicts in the decade through welfare programs and a sound economy focusing development on the disadvantaged.

- The government of Zimbabwe should implement redistribution policies (through proportionality and affirmative action. This ensures that jobs, political appointments, educational opportunities and public investment programs are distributed in a way that reflects the population ratios. They help bring in about reconciliation
- Redress imbalances created in discriminatory practices often of historical nature. In this case special funds or compensations can be used to the Ndebele people with the aim of ethnic balance.
- The government of Zimbabwe should allow for decentralization and devolvement of power in relation to the control of state institutions such as the the media in order to enhance equitable dissemination of information, services such as protection of members of parties and trade unions and their presses as this has an impact in the formation and moulding of political opinion. In a situation where all institutions are state controlled, there is loss of confidence by both the citizens and other groups in such institutions as they perceive them flawed hence they migrate.
- The government of Zimbabwe should pay special attention economic situation in poorer regions, Bulawayo in particular, by focusing on issues such as development of trade and industry, and the development of infrastructure. Sound policies on public education on sustained stereotypes and culture will help in inculcating in the nation-building processes. There should be tangible benefits to persuade the people to actively participate in the process, including

concrete signs that the government is doing its best to root out corruption and to deliver maximum benefits to its citizens.

- The government of Zimbabwe should hold a dialogue with the Ndebele people of Bulawayo to bring closure amongst them. Vambe (2012) states that there is a solid recognition that the government must assume liability and apologize. It is believed that the dialogue will bring closure among the Ndebele people.
- There should be a consultative platform for citizens in essence with the idea of “negotiated democracy” which leads to stalled democratic transitions. Most respondents revealed that the Unity Accord (1987) was a negation of democracy that undermined their participative roles in shaping Zimbabwean democracy.



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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Consent Form



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The perceptions of marginalization by the Ndebele speaking people and its impact on the socio-political economy of Zimbabwe. A case of Bulawayo

Dear Sir / Madam

I am currently conducting a research project that seeks to assess the perceptions of marginalization by the Ndebele people of Zimbabwe. The purpose of this study is to propose and develop mechanisms that will provide amicable forms in dealing with ethnic conflicts.

This research guide includes varying questions that relate to citizens involvement in governance procedures with a focus on infusing the perceived perceptions regarding the livelihoods of the Ndebele speaking people. This interview will take approximately 20 minutes of your time. Your response will make a great contribution to this study.

The participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. Confidentiality is well considered in the research process. All the participants will be consulted anonymous.

No personal name or identity number will appear in the questionnaire. You have the rights to terminate your participation in the process at any time.

In the process of this study, you will gain more knowledge and better understanding on the key concepts that relate to ethnic conflict resolution.

We thank you in advance for your great support and contribution in this imperative project.

Sincerely,

Bekithemba Ndlovu

Questionnaire Number



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Appendix B: Questionnaire

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Please tick (✓) your choice in the shaded block

1.1 Gender		
1	Male	1
2	Female	2

1.3 Highest level of Education		
1	Secondary	
2	Diploma –Bachelor's Degree	
3	Honours- Master's Degree	
4	PhD	
5	Other (please specify)	

1.2 Age		
1	< 25 years old	
2	25-35 years old	
3	36-45 years old	
4	46-55 years old	
5	> 55 years old	

1.4 Employment status		
1	Employed	
2	Self-employed	
3	Out of work and looking for work	
4	Out of work but not currently looking for work	
5	Other	

1.5 Province		
	Bulawayo	
	Other (please indicate)	

1.6 Ward Number		



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SECTION B: PERCEPTIONS

On a scale of 0 – 5 (with 5 indicating the highest rating), to what extent do you agree with the following statements based on your experience. Please make a “√” on your honest opinion

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree						
						S D	M D	D	A	M A	S A
0 = Lowest rating; 5 = Highest rating						0	1	2	3	4	5
PERCEPTIONS											
Code											
P1	Do you feel marginalized as a Ndebele speaking person?										
P2	Do you feel the Ndebele speaking people from this area get their fair share of government services?										
P3	Do you, the Ndebele speaking people from this area get their fair share of government appointments?										
P4	Do you feel you have good relations with the Shona speaking people?										
P5	Do you feel the Ndebele history has been overshadowed by the Shona tribe?										
P6	Do you feel that the Shona tribe believe they are the best ethnic group against the Ndebele tribe?										
P7	Do you feel that this issue of tribalism has brought social problems to your society?										
P8	Do you feel that past ethnic crisis between the Shona and the Ndebele has a more vulnerable causal factor in the future crisis in your society today?										
P9											
ATTITUDES											
A1	Do you feel you have a negative attitude towards the Shona tribe?										
A2	Do you feel that due to negative feeling from the Shona tribe it enhances you to make your own group separate from them and the government?										
A3	In your opinion, are these forums effective in dealing with the Ndebele grievances?										
A4	Do you think the Ndebele speaking people of this country have a say on the decisions made by the										

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree						
	government?										
A5	In your opinion, do you feel that the migration of the Ndebele speaking people to other neighbouring countries is a result of marginalisation										
A6	Is there impact of migration on the livelihoods of the Ndebele speaking people?										
A7	Have you felt any trauma of ethnic group crisis between the Shona and the Ndebele speaking in your society?										
A8	Was the conflict about tribalism?										
TOLERANCE/PREJUDICE											
TP1	In your view, do you think effects of resentment, aggression and anxiety are among the Ndebele ethnic group?										
TP2	In your view, do you feel that the Ndebele speaking people have been discriminated from the government national projects?										
TP3	Do you feel that prejudgment between the two tribes, the Shona and the Ndebele ethnic groups is a problem in your society?										
TP4	Do you feel that the Ndebele and Shona ethnic groups existing in your society is good for integration?										
TP5	Do you feel there is a solution to this ethnic crisis in your society?										
						S	M	D	A	M	S
0 = Lowest rating; 5 = Highest rating						0	1	2	3	4	5
PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION											
0=lowest rating, 3= average,5=highest rating											

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree						
PD1	How do you rate the overall manner in which the government addresses social-economic issues such as HIV/Aids, the aged, unemployment on the Ndebele speaking people?										
PD2	Do you feel you have been denied economic development because of being a Ndebele speaking tribe?										
PD3	Do you feel the presence of the Shona people has led to increase to unemployment in your community?										
PD4	How do you rate the government structure in the representative of the Ndebele speaking people?										
PD5	Do you feel that when Ndebele grievances are reported, the government does not effectively deal with them?										
PD6	Do you feel the Ndebele people have abandoned their language in favour of the Shona language?										

Appendix C: Focus group discussion guide

A SHORT INTRODUCTION:

My name is Bekithemba Ndlovu. Student No.201823554.This survey seeks to explore the socio-political economic features of marginalization and the perceptions of people with an aim to identify its impact. Your contribution will help us assess the potential impact and develop mitigation measures.

Focus group/deep interview no:

District/Village/Quarter:

Date:

Conductor and Assistant:

Description of the person/group:

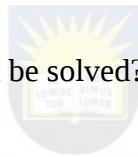
Total number of people in the meeting:

Participants

Sex	Age	Marital status	Education	Occupation	Other notes

Guiding questions

1. How do the Ndebele people experience life in this community?
2. Would you say the Ndebele people are marginalised?
3. Are there any conflicts between the Ndebele and the Shona people?
4. How successful do you think the government has been in dealing with the major problems affecting the Ndebele people of Bulawayo?
5. How do you describe the relationship between the Shona and the Ndebele people?
6. What do you think is the cause of emigration of the Ndebele people?
7. What have been the impacts of emigration on the livelihoods of people?
8. How do you think, can this problem be solved?



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Interview Questions

1. What would you say is, from your perspective, the most commonly held perception by the Ndebele speaking people of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe?

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2. Have you ever felt excluded in the distribution of national resources based on your ethnic background?

3. In your experience, what are the challenges faced by the Ndebele speaking people of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe? What strategies have you used to address these challenges, and how successful were those strategies?

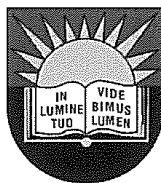
4. What kinds of experiences have you had in relating with Shona speaking people?



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5. What can be done about tribalism and prejudice, in your opinion?

Appendix D: Ethical Clearance Letter



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ETHICS CLEARANCE REC-270710-028-RA Level 01

Project Number:	FER011SNDL01
Project title:	The perceptions of marginalization by the Ndebele speaking people and its impact on the socio-political economy.
Qualification:	Masters in Political Science
Principal Researcher:	Bekithemba Ndlovu
Supervisor:	Dr V Ferim
Co-supervisor:	N/A

On behalf of the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee (UREC) I hereby grant ethics approval for FER011SNDL01. This approval is valid for 12 months from the date of approval. Renewal of approval must be applied for BEFORE termination of this approval period. Renewal is subject to receipt of a satisfactory progress report. The approval covers the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project and research instrument(s). The research may commence as from the 22/08/19, using the reference number indicated above.

Note that should any other instruments be required or amendments become necessary, these require separate authorisation.
Please note that the UREC must be informed immediately of

- Any material breaches of ethical undertakings or events that impact upon the ethical conduct of the research.

The Principal Researcher must report to the UREC in the prescribed format, where applicable, annually, and at the end of the project, in respect of ethical compliance.

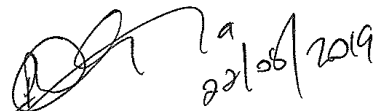
The UREC retains the right to

- Withdraw or amend this approval if
 - Any unethical principal or practices are revealed or suspected;
 - Relevant information has been withheld or misrepresented;
 - Regulatory changes of whatsoever nature so require;
 - The conditions contained in the Certificate have not been adhered to.
- Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project.

Your compliance with DoH 2015 guidelines and other regulatory instruments and with UREC ethics requirements as contained in the UREC terms of reference and standard operating procedures, is implied.

The UREC wishes you well in your research.

Yours sincerely



Professor Pumla Dineo Gqola
Acting UREC-Chairperson
 22 August 2019