

Full Length Research Paper

Actions and their Eventualities: Reviewing Political Campaign Actions in Zimbabwe.

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The study that sought to understand the essence of action in a political contestation and its effects on the intended targets was conducted qualitatively through an exploratory approach. The study focused on a selection of actions (street running, picketing, silence, assault, rowdy behaviour, rape, murder, raids) that were applied by political youth in Chipadze Township in 2008. A sample of 20 former youth activists were interviewed and complimented by archival records and academic literature. 20 youths (8 females and 12 males) aged between 20 and 30 were purposively random sampled from Ward 6 in Chipadze township, Bindura. Analysis of data was done using Latent Content Analysis. The study amongst several findings established that action as a political strategy had proven to be very effective though prone to serious abuse if the involved parties were of low intellect and working under a dictatorial leadership.

Keywords: Action, human rights, politics, youth activism, youth violence.

INTRODUCTION

From a psychological perspective, there are various types of actions; instrumentally rational action, value-rational action and affectual action, all meant to achieve a particular objective. However, this study, not cast from an action scientist perspective but rather a conflict analyst point of view, focused on one commonly referred to as traditional action or protest. Action also referred to as behaviour is a move or activity; physical or psychological meant to drive a protesting message to the other party. This act is usually accompanied by high emotions, anger and differences and therefore likely to be uncontrollable and involuntary in nature. The study sought to examine the actions that were applied by a selected group of political youth in Chipadze Township during 2008 political violence. The study sought to understand the essence of such actions and their effects on the intended targets.

Background

In year 2008, in the township of Chipadze in Bindura, Zimbabwe during the March to June election era, there was a serious record of political activity which included violence. The political activities were conducted largely by two main political parties through their youth groups. Contextually, youth are politically active young people aged between 15 and 30 years of age. However, one particular political party was more prominent because of its general dominance on the ground and the fact that it was to a great extent, being supported by the state security agents in proxy.

To fight away political rivals in the township, youth vigilantes adopted a variety of strategies meant to instill fear and pain in the people, show political strength, coerce people to support and vote for a particular political party, inculcate a particular ideology, and create

confusion and fear so that they could get whatever they wanted from the people without resistance. The youth who were sponsored by elite elders in their political parties went beyond the mandate in a bid to satisfy their personal aggrandizement desires and to some extent retaliate on past hostilities with their neighbours. The actions which may also be regarded as behaviours were in most instances directed at particular targets. In this study, people who are involved in the actions are referred to as actors but not in the context of individuals, groups and institutions contributing to conflict or being affected by it. It was therefore the scope of the study to establish some of the applied actions, their essence and effects on the intended targets.

METHODOLOGY

This was a qualitative study following an exploratory design which sought to establish the essence of youth actions and their effects on the intended targets. The study focused on a selection of actions (street running, picketing, silence, assault, rowdy behaviour, rape, murder, raids) that were applied by political youth in Chipadze Township in 2008 with a view to analysing them individually. The study sought to establish the effects of each action to the victims and how the action would have been produced. The study did not however seek to produce statistics of the affected individuals. The analysis was based on some youth narratives and complimented by archival records and academic literature. Youth narratives were drawn from interviews with 20 youths (8 females and 12 males) aged between 20 and 30 randomly sampled from known former youth activists in Ward 6, which was the hot bed of political activism in the district. Data collection was necessitated through the employment of 4 Research Assistants¹. All the participants were informed about the essence of the study to which they voluntarily consented to participate.

The study extracted events of 80 actions from the 20 youth. The event narrations were transcribed in considerable detail to capture aspects of the relative timing of actions, victims of the actions and effects of the same. The analysis of data was done using Latent Content Analysis which allowed the researcher to break down the narratives into minute and codable units which

¹ Special acknowledgements go to the 4 Research Assistants who volunteered in the collection of data and its analysis. They diligently interviewed all the participants, transcribed the narratives and coded using Latent Content Analysis methodology.

then subsequently created usable themes. The narrative interviews sought to extract data on the following aspects; type of action, target of action and scope of an action. It was hypothesized that group actions tended to spark more violence than individual.

Theoretical Explanation

Cognitive Social Personology centres on the view that people react flexibly to situations as they create them cognitively and that they act behaviourally to change circumstances so that they match closely with their expectations (Cantor and Kihlstrom, 1982). According to this theory, the youth in the selected area of study must have acted in some way so that they could achieve a particular objective. However, the actions might also have been tainted by some involuntary reactions possibly influenced by what the study refers as group psychology.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Actions

Any action can have an effect on various variables. Agents who perform an action naturally must compromise among available variables, because actions that increase the importance of one may reduce the significance of another. Contextually, a variable is a desired end state which an actor would want to achieve through the performance of a particular action. It may be called an objective. Often according to Max (1968) and McCall and Simmons (1978), people focus on one targeted variable and forget to realize that there are various competing variables that emerge from different directions at the same time as one tries to satisfy a particular end. What often happens is that as people protest violently and destructively towards the provision of social services, in the process, they destroy the machinery which helps in the delivery of the social services (Burke, 1991 and Dodo et al, 2014). In the end, the actors have achieved to push for the delivery of social services while reducing the capacity for the delivery of the same service.

Action tactics are systems of moves applied by actors in certain circumstances to fulfill intended objectives which to the studied youth action included instilling fear and pain in the people, show of strength, coerce people to support and vote for a particular political party, inculcate a particular ideology, create confusion and fear so that they could get whatever they wanted from the people without resistance. Such violent youth actions that instilled terror and pain as they killed

fighting for either space or power at the instigation of their leaders were recorded in South Sudan, Uganda, Mozambique and Congo (Goodman, 2004; Boothby, 2006; Bayer, 2007; Annan et al, 2011). Action tactics have projected eventualities, which include those that the actor thinks emerge from the action and fulfill the targeted objective (Burke and Stets, 2009).

Actions, good or bad have results for the behavioural world, for learning, and for effectiveness. These results may be intentional or unintentional, useful or useless and results that are unintentional may nonetheless be planned to attain specific results which, due to its strategy, inevitably produce results that are unintended. The out-come of an action rests on the responses of the addressees as well as those of actors, the strategies employed, and the effectiveness of the actions and to some extent, the coverage of the media if it is not meant to be secret (Mitchell, 1981 and Carter, 2013).

Conflict

Politics in Zimbabwe just like in several of the developing countries are often characterised by conflicts that usually lead to violence. These conflicts may vary from place to place and may be defined by a variety of variables. Some conflicts may be over tangible and seeable issues so much so that they are easily resolvable while others are highly dynamic and mutate as resolutions are crafted. Some of the issues that make some conflicts particularly hard to address according to Gurr (1993) and Coleman (2000) comprise the huge number of multifaceted concerns to be addressed, the huge numbers of people involved, a prior account of violent conflict and a history of intolerable and provocative behaviour like those experienced with Palestinian, Congolese and Mozambican youth amongst others (Barber, 1999; Boothby et al, 2006 and Bayer et al, 2007).

Conflicts over the years have been noted to include benefits or principles that the disputants consider essential to their existence and in most cases include important human needs, parties' ethical standards and identities (Barash and Webel, 2002). There are also instances when it is the yearning for fairness that people tend to be reluctant to cooperate and talk thus fueling actions.

There are also some conflicts that are experienced because of the existence of groups, because the groups have failed to cohere or because communication or remarks turn out to be personal, directed at an individual or a group of individuals. Burke (1991) argues that differences in groups are common

and usually healthy. However, they only become a challenge when they consume too much time to the disadvantage of the group's objectives. An individual's wayward actions can disrupt the group's cohesion, affecting the development and general emotional condition of the other group members. Studies have shown that whenever groups operate, there are various categories of members who exhibit different capabilities, behaviours and weaknesses. Generally there are four most prevalent types: Non-Participation, Conflict, Monopolising and Scapegoating. The non-participating members often choose to see rather than to contribute vocally while the monopolizing members occupy all the talking and action time overshadowing the rest of the group. This domination in the group at the expense of other members' contributions often leads to conflicts with other members feeling disadvantaged and suppressed. There is also the scapegoating members who always want to lay blame on other members should there be a problem. Whenever blame for failure is laid on a particular individual within a group, there is bound to be frustration, anger and demotivation subsequently leading to the member's withdrawal from the group. The final group of members is called conflict. In this group, there are people who always seek to trigger conflicts regardless of the eventualities (Carter, 2013).

Violence

A conflict arises whenever individuals or groups of people fail to compromise over principles, aspirations, opinions, philosophies, or needs. At times these differences may be seen as small, trivial and irrelevant, but when a conflict activates strong feelings, a profound individual need is usually at the centre of the problem. It is the unidentified problems and unfulfilled people's aspirations which often lead to the eruption of violence pitting the individual or group seeking to control the situation against those resisting to be manipulated. Violence, depending on the perpetrator and the amount of resistance offered, may result in serious casualties including permanent deprivation of some socio-politico-economic services (Kriesberg, 1991). This is typical of the Kenyan violence in 2007 especially in North Rift region, Western, Nyanza, Rift Valley and Coast Provinces where youth vigilantes embarked on violent actions that unleashed terror and pain on defenceless civilians (ICG, 2008) and the resistance actions by youth in Palestine (Barber, 1999).

Every individual wants to feel cherished, supported and recognised but the means in which these needs are satisfied differ widely. Rubenstein (1990) argues that the conflicting expectations for feeling

contented and secure generate some of the most serious conflicts in our relationships. It may be some of these conflicts that serve as triggers for violence which then transform an otherwise health conflictual environment into a blood and fatal struggle. While there are various reasons for the manifestation of violence the world over, the study did not seek to touch on that. Rather, it highlights that in Chipadze during the period of the study, (Dodo and Msorowegomo, 2012), the activists were motivated by the following; joblessness, thuggery, illiteracy, political ideology, barbarism, poverty, jealous and hate and criminal tendencies.

FINDINGS

The study findings classified youth groups into three distinct categories; actively progressive group, passively fearful group and actively destructive group. Each group had its own ways of conducting youth activities in the community. However, it must be realized that these groups may not have been distinctively constituted but operated within the same compositions albeit exuding traits for particular groups.

It was also established in the study that different groups have diverse preferences and that their objectives are recognized through political maneuvering. The goals of a group according to the study are normally unpredictable, and the unpredictability is sustained by paying attention to the objectives preferred by various groups successively rather than concurrently. The stated group objectives are often redundant in the sense that they neither need nor prevent any specific conduct, mainly because redundant goals are consistent with almost any set of goals.

It was also established in the study that all the 80 action narratives that were presented by the 20 participants fitted into the selected actions under the study; street running, picketing, silence, assault, rowdy behaviour, rape, murder and raids.

Actively progressive group (APG)

The APG is made up of youth who join youth vigilantism for basically two reasons; to seek objective change and to develop their political positions and aspirations. This group is mainly made up of youth who despite academic challenges display maturity and a high level of intelligence and civilisation. The members according to the study findings (32 narratives) conduct their activities sincerely, objectively and peacefully. Because of that, they are respected and widely recognized as progressive activists. Therefore, the

members require no need for disguise nor engage in games of treachery.

The study also established that because of the way that the group members interact with the community, along the way building a good name and trust, there was some creation of self-protective interpersonal and group relationships. The group/society relationship also naturally led to a decline in dysfunctional group and intergroup undercurrents owing to the level of unity and determination to achieve all the set objectives. These according to 13 narratives included mobilizing membership, raising awareness, motivating communities towards a set agenda and mobilizing communities to donate resources towards their noble and stated cause amongst others. This group sought nothing other than peace, compromise and continuity.

It was presented in 24 narratives that the Actively Progressive Group members work as a cooperative sharing ideas and restraining each other in times of conflicts. It is this cooperation and the desire to stay focused that have sharpened the members' ability to identify and answer to the issues that are critical to the other persons in their communities in a peaceful, non-defensive, and humble manner. The people involved in this APG, according to eight narratives have been noted to exhibit a strong willingness to pardon and to forget the conflict without hatred. This is despite having either gone through horrific experiences or witnessed scenes where defenceless and innocent people were being persecuted. According to one narrative;

"Vanoita zvavanoita asi vaine mwoyo wekuregerera nekutya"

(These people engage in their activities but with a sense of fear and forgiveness)

The capability to search for cooperation and circumvent punishment as a retaliatory measure is one of the several strengths that characterises this group which also displays strong endurance and a strong determination to attain its set objectives. The research has found out that such groups which exhibit traits as those of APG only seek sustainable solutions to any conflict as the members have a deep conviction that confronting conflict head-on is the best thing for both sides rather than skirting discussing the contentious issues.

Passively fearful group (PFG)

The PFG was made up of youth who had been forced into vigilantism but naturally not interested in the activities that were conducted. According to 22 narratives, they were also afraid of getting arrested and

tarnishing their social reputations. Whenever they happened to engage in some confrontational situations, the group exhibited reconciliatory behaviours that were accepted by their rivals as they showed some levels of civilisation though presented in a cowardice manner. According to three narratives;

“Mayouth acho anoita ichitoya zvekutoti munomva manzwa tsitsi”

(These youth are fearful in their approach that you end up sympathizing with them)

The PFG took serious concern about its behaviour and actions so that it could not injure others along the way. This kind of conduct was largely because they had low freedom of choice due to their fear and passivity. According to 18 narratives, members of such groups sometimes exhibit a determination to focus on fright and circumvention of conflict as a way of avoiding fatalities. The group, according to 13 narratives has also been noted to suffer a serious challenge of incapability to identify and respond to the issues that are of interest to the other party. This failure is influenced and nurtured by the members' desire to keep away from conflicts as much as possible. The same members often fail to express their feelings and views no matter how devastating they may be to their welfare and the generality of their communities.

Actively destructive group (ADG)

The study found out that when individuals in this group deal with tough and frightening challenges, they make situations of self-fulfilling predictions, undiscussability, self-sealing processes, and more lethal mistakes as they look for solutions to their errors. According to 34 narratives, as these actions unfold, they remain ignorant of their accountabilities for these situations. These conditions that they erect around themselves often lead to more restrictive and defensive strategies such as polarization between groups; win-lose group dynamics, conformity, and trickery practices. One narrative said;

“Vanoita zvekuparadza. Havanei nemangwana. Havanei nehukama hwemumaraini. Chavo chete kuita zvekuti vanoguta ivo. Vamwe ndipo pavanozwiwanira, hupenyu hwavo hwotochinja”

(They destroy, never thinking about the future or relationships. All they seek is self-aggrandisement)

The study (28 narratives) also established that such groups learn to defend themselves, to enter into coalitions with other groups to improve their situations, and to hold back or misrepresent material that could increase their susceptibility. Some of the means could involve violent vigilantism, violent street toy-toying,

instilling fear and pain in the people and arbitrary thuggery as noted in situations in Uganda, Congo, Mozambique and South Sudan.

Participants in this group displayed tendencies of high freedom of choice as they could use their power and authority vested in them by the security agents to select whatever they wanted without reprimand. Because of the power that they had, according to 17 narratives, the group members always engaged in high risk activities and confrontations with their rivals. Some of their actions clearly showed that they were inviting open challenges with the rest of the residents and the law enforcing agents. The group also believed in strong and uncompromising defensive systems as a way of safeguarding their territorial integrity and sovereignty against rival political groups.

The study according to 37 narratives, also found out that there are some youth who engaged in violent actions that amounted to the criminalization of politics akin to the Kenyan 2007 crisis (ICG, 2008) and the Ugandan situation (Annan et al, 2011). Once political activism has been criminalized, it turns to political thuggery which is characterised by mugging, terrorisation, gangsterism, killing, physical attack and usually includes physical fight. Such violent thuggery is usually perpetrated by short-tempered, livid, spiteful, and murderous activists whose levels of reasoning, cognition and conscience are next to nil.

Actions

After categorizing the youth into groups according to their conduct and approaches to situations, the study also looked at the specific actions that the youth did use to send their messages to the recipients. The actions that are being looked at are street running, picketing, silence, assault, rowdy behaviour, rape, murder and raids.

Street running

Participants (4 females and 8 males) indicated that the most common action that was used by the youth to provoke their rivals as they could sing insultingly and immediately leave the site was street running. This was mainly used during the day to show their strength and it hinged on large numbers. According to the participants, street running population swelled around Chipadze business centre where the youth would force shoppers to join the run. 3 participants (2 females and 1 male) indicated that the street runs were the main sources of home destructions. As the youth ran around the streets,

they would identify homes for destruction before they pounded on them. This action according to the study had the capacity to either annoy or provoke more households into spiting and ridiculing the youth who would then pounce on their properties as punishment.

Picketing

Picketing is the mobilisation of people at a given point with the intention of attracting political attention. This action was during the period of the study applied in Chipadze especially at the Council offices where the youth would send their displeasure over the servicing of the opposition political parties' needs by the Council. Two participants revealed that the Town Clerk of the town was dismissed from the post for allegedly leasing a local stadium to the opposition before some youth picketed at the offices.

Silence

This form of action is elaborately discussed in Dodo et al (2012). It is a passive action whereby an individual simply decides to keep quiet and avoid discussing any matters that may be of interest or concern. While this action may be taken as one of peace, it also carries an element of arrogance and serious protest on the part of the protestor or actor who in this case were the youth. This action according to eight participants (4 females and 4 males) was believed to be used by some residents who did not want to be confrontational with the youth but all the same wanted to fight back.

Assault

This was the most common form of action that was applied by the youth on the residents and their rivals. According to 18 participants (8 females and 10 males), all the vigilante groups were using this strategy to instill terror on the residents and especially on perceived political enemies. Some of the victims would get assaulted with sticks, sjamboks and chains while others would be tortured by getting roasted on naked fires. Two of the participants who were part of the youth political leadership indicated that during the period under study, there was an average of 5-7 severe assaults in the ward per day. The participants pointed out that assault as an action strategy was being used arbitrarily on people regardless of their ages. One participant said;

“Vanhu vaimamiswa [sic], wainzwa tsitsi”
(People were severely assaulted that you felt pity)

Rowdy behaviour

This action was not confined to any particular place of meant for any specific constituency of people. Rather, the action was influenced largely by the intake of alcohol and illicit drugs and the presence of a crowd prepared to watch and cheer. This action is mainly about impressing the crowd and the sponsor while embarrassing and showing strength to the victim.

From 12 participants (4 females and 8 males) other contributory issues that were raised include the manifestation of conflicts triggered by aberrance and demonstrations that are no longer directed to the rival within reciprocal interactions, but intensify to physical ranting.

It was also noted that aberrant caused conflicts were seldom perceived as the conflict source for ADG, but represented nearly all their conflicts. Rowdy behaviour by the youth was usually used to provoke, embarrass people and create chaos which could allow the youth to either loot goods or steal from an unsuspecting crowd.

Raids

This form of action was specifically designed to address food and other logistical requirements. It was established from 17 participants (7 females and 10 males) that after the youth had identified their targets' residence and economic establishments; they would then pound and forcibly take whatever they wanted through two basic means. First, they could cause commotion and allow members to grab anything without really allotting blame on any specific individual. They could also approach the target and forcibly take whatever they wanted in full view of the entire crowd. With this approach, the target is subjected to conditions which do not allow him/her any other option than to let valuables getting looted. The only option available to the targets that resisted raids was severe torture in the form of getting limbs amputated, getting either raped or sodomised or getting beaten up badly.

Rape

Amongst all the forms of action as a strategy by youth during the political era, rape was one of the most

evil. It was directed at girls and daughters of individuals suspected of supporting the opposition political party. This action implied that several youth would gang rape a single and defenceless girl in most cases without using any protection thus exposing the victim to sexually transmitted illnesses. According to six males and five female participants, they had during the period of the turmoil witnessed the raping of several girls and women. Three males confessed to have participated in several cases in which one participant revealed that he had contracted a sexually transmitted disease.

“Ndakasviira [sic] vasikana nevakadzi vakawanda. Vazhinji taivapomera mhosva kuti tiwane kuvasviira [sic]. Ini handina kumbobvira ndapfeka condom. Hameno. Ndaingoitiramo. Nguva yekupfeka condom painge pasina”.

(I slept with several girls and women without any protection. We would first make allegations against them to justify our actions.)

Two of the females confessed to have identified and facilitated the raping of some girls in the neighbourhood by their fellow male group members. These actions were according to the females meant to punish them for refusing to participate in their vigilante groups.

Murder

This is one form of action which is rare but which has the capacity to draw the attention of the entire community. According to eight participants (3 females and 5 males), the youth would apply all the other strategies of showing their strength to the rivals before they adopted murder. Either this was the final method of execution or was specifically reserved for the targeted individuals who were considered treasonous and dangerous to the existence of the youth interests and the main party as a whole. It was established from the participants that murder in this area of study was executed through various means; roasting targets on open fires, strangulation and choking, drowning in water, administering poison in food and beating to death. All the actions left indelible and horrific marks on the affected people and households.

DISCUSSION

The research did establish the essence of action as a political strategy and its effects on the intended target. The study which was motivated by the way and frequency of the action by the youth in the area under study did confirm that action was indeed an endorsed

political strategy from the top most hierarchy of the political parties meant to drive some messages to both the local residents and the political rivals amongst others.

The study also established that action as a strategy had to be implemented by some individuals who in this case were the youth. In their conduct of business, the youth would operate differently deriving satisfaction from their diverse preferences. The study therefore, based on their modus operandi categorised the youth activities into three distinct groups; actively progressive group, passively fearful group and actively destructive group. These groups were noted to be different in their approaches and the way they appreciated politics and life. However, politicians who were observed to be power hungry were also identified with the actively destructive group which was characterised by heartlessness, vigour and greedy.

The creation of the three youth groups APG, PFG and ADG clearly exposes the tendencies in the youth as defined by their family backgrounds, the schools they attended, level of education attained and how one received and appreciated instructions from the political leadership. The study reveals that the distribution of reconciliatory behavioural tendencies was similar between the APG and PFG groups. However, PFG group sought to compromise in comparatively fewer conflicts than APG. It therefore means that the youth who were in the forefront in the most heinous activities fall within the ADG as they executed their assignments knowingly. Second in the order of participation in heinous activities were youth in the PFG who were just pushed into acting without questioning for fear of being victimized or ridiculed by their peers. These were slow in thinking and making own decisions while the PFG members questioned all their activities and equally sought to achieve their goals peacefully and creating sustainable relationships.

Another action that the youth used to apply when they wanted to embarrass, provoke the people or create an environment conducive for stealing was getting rowdy at public places. This action served the youth well as they survived on raids and theft. Since part of the loot was also sent to the leaders back at the political bases, it could have been the most supported action within political circles. It is therefore a deduction of this study that all the actions that were performed by the youth had been sanctioned by the political leadership that benefitted differently depending on their levels and aspirations. Some leaders wanted to achieve power, some wanted recognition, and others desired material incentives while some simply followed ignorantly.

Actions by their nature seek to send a particular message to the other part. Depending on the importance

of the message to be sent and the significance of the agenda to be achieved, actions are performed differently to satisfy those expectations. Similarly, different forms of actions produce different results especially their impacts on the targeted population. It has been realized in this study that street running as an action was the most basic and prevalent action that was used to provoke residents into ridiculing the practice before they were targeted for torture and property destruction. The noise produced as the youth ran around singing and the destruction of property though minimum were enough to irritate the community before they exposed themselves to persecution. It has also been established through this study that all the vigilante groups were using assault action strategy to instill terror on the residents and especially on perceived political enemies.

The study established that some forms of actions were only meant to punish their targets by possibly infecting with incurable diseases like AIDS. This is against the backdrop where several youth raped without bothering to use protection despite the fact that the conditions under which they raped allowed them time to wear contraceptives. It is not clear as to whether they were deliberately spreading the diseases or they did not use the contraceptives out of sheer ignorance. Action as a means of sending a message has been seen to be very effective though prone to serious abuse as noted in this study.

CONCLUSION

The study which sought to establish some of the actions that were used by the youth, their essence and effects on the intended targets found various but interesting positions with regards to the concept of 'action' as propounded in the Cognitive Social Personology theory. The theory argues that people react flexibly to situations as they create them cognitively and that they act behaviourally to change circumstances so that they match closely with their expectations. With this understanding and how the youth acted on the ground, the study therefore makes some conclusions which are however not conclusive.

The study concluded that all the actions by the youth were indeed an endorsed and sanctioned political strategy from the top most hierarchy which benefitted differently. On the part of the operational youth, it is the study's conclusion again that some forms of actions were only meant to punish their targets by possibly infecting with incurable diseases like AIDS while some were purely out of ignorance and peer pressure. Therefore, the intentions of the actions were two-fold; from the leadership, it was to cover political ground while

from the operational youth, it was sheer ignorance and peer pressure.

The research findings also concluded that youth, though operating together have different psychological and emotional temperaments. This is evident in the activities of the youth who despite working together, some exceeded their expectations with the hope of either impressing their leaders and the rest of the group by not paying attention to the feelings of their victims while others were polite, calculative and exercised restraint. It is therefore the conclusion of this study that the three youth groups APG, PFG and ADG clearly expose the tendencies in the youth as defined by their family backgrounds, the schools they attended, level of education attained and how one received and appreciated instructions from the political leadership. The study also concluded that action as a means of sending a message has proved to be very effective though prone to serious abuse if the involved parties are of low intellect and working under a dictatorial leadership.

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