AN EXPLORATORY STUDY INTO THE REHABILITATION OF
EX-FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN GWERU, ZIMBABWE FROM
1990 TO 1995

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AN EXPLORATORY STUDY INTO THE REHABILITATION OF EX-FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN GWERU, ZIMBABWE FROM 1990 TO 1995

BY JOHN CHAREMA

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Abstract

The purpose of the study was to explore the rehabilitation of ex-combatants who fought the Zimbabwe liberation war, thus to find out if these ex-combatants received counseling and were resettled or reintegrated within the period 1990 to 1995. In order to maintain focus the aims of the study were set out as follows:

- to focus on rehabilitation which encompasses taking care of the ex-combatants who were disabled and or injured during the war, as well as counseling, reintegrating and resettling them and
- to explore whether the ex-combatants who were demobilized and those who opted for a civilian life were rehabilitated.
- to explore if the ex-combatants were reintegrated.
- to understand how the ex-combatants were coping with their lives and
- to discover how they perceived their support from the government at the time of their demobilisation.

The study concentrated on ex-combatants in Gweru, who were to be rehabilitated from 1990 to 1995. In-depth face-to-face interviews were conducted to achieve the objectives set out for the study. The results of the study indicate that there was no rehabilitation, counseling, resettlement and real integration. The findings clearly indicate that these ex-combatants still think of being resettled, allocated good land for farming. They went on to suggest being paid pension by the government and to have their children employed, educated and supported by the government.
Key words

Disarmament

Demobilisation

Rehabilitation

Reintegration

Ex-freedom fighters/Ex-combatants

Post conflict
Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction
The Zimbabwe government enjoyed its independence obtained in 1980 for 20 years without much conflict and bitterness because most of the citizens were giving the leadership time to settle and address their concerns. Only about 20 000 ex-freedom fighters were incorporated into the national army from a pool of about 75 000 combatants (Dzinesa, 2006: 2). The same author goes on to explain that quite a big number (35 763) were demobilized for rehabilitation and yet very little is known as to whether those who were demobilized were rehabilitated, thus counseled, resettled or reintegrated. With the financial support from Britain and Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) the government embarked on disarmament, demobilization and rehabilitation (DDR) programmes. Mazarire & Rupiya (2000: 18) claim that due to poor planning, lack of experience coupled with the short-comings of DDR programmes, inadequate funds and corruption, most ex-freedom fighters who were supposed to be rehabilitated appeared not to have been. In this study the terms ex-freedom fighters and ex-combatants will be used interchangeably. This study explored whether ex-combatants who were demobilized were indeed rehabilitated.

1.2 Background to the study

Zimbabwe attained its independence in 1980 from the former colonial rule. Every Zimbabwean had high expectations of a better life especially from the incoming leadership. It was like the case of the Israelites from Egypt to Canan. The new government led by President Robert Mugabe started on a good note but with time lost focus on good governance. This lack of focus and greed cost the common Zimbabweans everything they had. Political disturbances, constitutional changes and the collapse of the economy characterize the period 1980 to date. The economic crisis in Zimbabwe resulted in an unprecedented shortage of both foreign and local currency, following the seizure of white owned farms and the
nationalizing of companies and mines. The formation of the strong Movement for Democratic Change political party (MDC) forced the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) to use and engage haphazardly the land redistribution programme in order for them to gain political mileage (Mazarire & Rupiya (2000: 18; Zimbabwe Country Report, 2001: 4). It would appear as though the ruling party misused the long overdue land reform programme to win votes. White farmers were displaced and their farms were distributed to the so-called landless blacks and ex-combatants, who turned out to be party supporters and government high-ranking officials (Zimbabwe Country Report, 2001: 8).

Inevitably, the phenomenal shortage of both local and foreign currency, basic commodities such as food and other day-to-day amenities as well as fuel, exerted pressure on a starving population of 14 million people. The ZANU PF government is on record in using people to achieve their objectives and leave them on their own at the end (Dzinesa, 2006: 10). There are claims that the “actual” ex-combatants are still living in abject poverty despite their contributions towards the liberation war (Zimbabwe Country Report, 2001: 11). This is evidenced by the present situation of 90% unemployment, the engagement of the unemployed youth into acts of terrorism by ZANU PF, the so called “green bombers” who were labeled “freedom fighters” and used to kill people in the aftermath of the 29 March 2008 elections (Mazarire & Rupiya (2000: 22; Zimbabwe Country Report, 2009: 6). After elections the government dissociated itself from the green bombers and they are now being prosecuted for war on terror, human abuse, land and property invasion and murder. The government misused the term “ex-combatants” for seizing the white owned farms and misused the same term to justify violence after the 29th March 2008 elections, in their words “in order not to give back the land to the whites”. After independence the actual ex-combatants were either incorporated into the national army or deployed to their home provinces in the understanding that they would be rehabilitated and resettled, which is said to have never happened. Those who tried to follow it up were referred from office to office without anyone taking responsibility. They kept on receiving empty promises, which never materialized
(Zimbabwe Country Report, 2001, 11). The formation of the MDC was well supported by the disgruntled ex-combatants who claim they did not benefit anything from the first independence, which they fought hard for and sacrificed their lives for. Paradoxically they are waiting for a second independence. However, the present government does not seem to have political accommodation for any party or anyone for that matter who tries to dethrone Mugabe and achieve democratic rule.

1.3 Rationale

The main purpose of the study is to find out whether the ex-combatants who fought the war to liberate Zimbabwe from the colonial rule were rehabilitated (counseled, resettled and reintegrated) and to explore their views on how their situation could be helped. If at all these ex-freedom fighters were not rehabilitated, suggestions and recommendations can be made to have their needs attended to. The results of this study will be discussed in relation to post conflict rehabilitation. The study is likely to create an opportunity for the government and the ex-combatants to meet and discuss the way forward concerning their welfare and resettlement. Although it is now 29 years later, and may be late for counseling, it can never be too late to be reintegrated and be resettled. It is also hoped that the recommendations from the study will help the government to put in place support systems for old ex-combatants and the education and employment of their children.

1.4 Statement of the problem

When Zimbabwe became independent in 1980 not all ex-combatants were absorbed into the national army. Some of them opted out and others were “demobilized and reintegrated” into the civil society. Not much is known about what happened to these ex-combatants. Musemwa (1995: 6) claims that those who used force during the land seizures from the white farmers and resettled
themselves within 1990 to 1995 are likely to be moved by the incoming government in order to restore law and order.

There has been a common cry about the suffering of the “actual” ex-combatants. This situation strengthened the MDC who enjoyed support from the ex-combatants and the majority of the population. Twenty-nine years after the first independence from the colonial rule, some of Zimbabwe’s ex-combatants are still living in abject poverty, seem unsettled and they are claims that they are regretting why they went to war. These ex-combatants were given demobilization pay offs, promised rehabilitation, counseling and resettlement. However, little is known as to whether these promises have been realized or not. Therefore the main purpose of this study is to establish whether the ex-combatants were rehabilitated, thus counseled and settled or not.

This study will be limited to the freedom fighters who, live in Gweru. Gweru is the third biggest town in Zimbabwe with a population of about three million six hundred thousand people. It is one hundred and sixty kilometers from Bulawayo the second biggest city in the country.

1.5 Objectives of the study

The aim of this study is to explore whether the ex-combatants who were demobilized in Zimbabwe and those who opted for a civilian life were rehabilitated. The study will concentrate on ex-combatants in Gweru, who fought in the liberation war and were to be rehabilitated within the period 1990 to 1995. The researcher would like to explore whether the ex-combatants received demobilisation pay outs and were rehabilitated within the period 1990 to 1995.

1.6 Theoretical/conceptual framework

Disarmament, Demobilisation Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DDRR) of ex-combatants is an increasingly widespread phenomenon particularly in African countries where there is a proliferation of civil wars. Many African countries have
gone through this phase (Zimbabwe, Angola, South Africa, Namibia, Burundi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Uganda) the list continues (Kingma, 2000: 42; ILO, 2001: 15). The assumption of rehabilitation (Fortna, 2004: 26), is that people are not permanently combatants and that it is possible to restore ex-combatants to civilian useful life, in which they contribute to themselves and to society. Different approaches to rehabilitating ex-combatants have been used in different African countries with the support of the United Nations (UN), the World Bank, the International Labour Office (ILO), Human Rights and Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) (Leber, 2001: 14).

The main overarching theoretical perspective of these different approaches is the functionalist perspective. This is based on the notion that social events like rehabilitation programmes can best be explained by how they are performed or the contributions they make towards the security, stability and continuity of the society (ILO, 1995: 38). Rehabilitation is seen as a complex system with interrelated parts (counseling, reintegration, resettlement, support and treatment of the disabled) which are integrated on the basis of achieving lasting peace (Cilliers, 1995: 74).

In this study the notions of functionality and dysfunctionality in functionalist theory were utilized. When functions manifest in rehabilitation programmes, they are observed, recorded and they are expected to bring the desired results. In this case the rehabilitation of ex-freedom fighters in Zimbabwe which is part of DDRR programmes will eventually bring stability and peace to the Zimbabwean society. According to Chris (1996: 37) rehabilitation theories claim that there are no sound scientific researches to determine how different individuals react to the same rehabilitating methods. The author goes on to state that rehabilitation may depend more decisively on the individual’s psychological background than on the rehabilitating methods or philosophy.
1.7 Significance of the Research

The results of this study will be discussed in relation to post conflicts rehabilitation, thus counseling and resettlement. The study is likely to create an opportunity for the government and the ex-combatants to meet and discuss the way to redress the situation and make sure that they are resettled, provided for, and their children are supported in education and employment. Although it is now 29 years later, it can never be too late to be resettled and supported. It is also hoped that the recommendations from the study will help the government put in place proper counseling and resettlement programmes for future needs.

1.8 Delimitation of the Research

This study is limited to ex-combatants who live in Mutapa high density suburb in Gweru. It was found to be practically not possible to locate all the ex-combatants in Gweru. The following factors were taken into consideration: the time factor, the cost of transport involved, the unavailability of petrol, and the conditions of the roads used in order to reach all the ex-combatants in Gweru, especially those in the surrounding areas. The scope of the research is constrained by the requirements of the degree programme hence a smaller study has been chosen.

1.9 Definition of concepts

1.9.1 Disarmament

Berdal (1996: 86) takes disarmament as an integral part of demobilisation when the aim is to reduce the number of combatants or to disband an armed unit. Bonn International Centre (2003: 57) defines disarmament as a process of taking away weapons from combatants to facilitate peace. Faltas & DiChiaro (2001: 125) believe that the weapons collected by personnel must be handed over to the authorities, who are responsible for the safe storage, redistribution.
or even destruction of those arms

1.9.2 Demobilisation

Carballo, Mansfield & Prokop (2000: 257) claim that demobilization entails either disbanding an armed unit, reducing the number of combatants in an armed group, or represents an interim stage before reassembling entire armed forces, be they regular or irregular. The authors go on to argue that the technical objectives of demobilisation and disarmament activities generally include improving the quality and efficiency of armed forces. Kingma (2000: 95) asserts that demobilisation helps to reduce the costs of standing armed forces; fewer personnel must be paid, and funds can be spent more efficiently on equipment and salaries. In Kingma’s view, demobilisation also provides an opportunity to restructure armed forces to make them more efficient. Oklahoma, 1999: 103) takes demobilization as a complete dissolution of armed groups of ex-combatants when a new government is formed. This generally follows a military defeat or a military stalemate which has forced the warring factions to the negotiation table. In these cases, the reintegration of ex-combatants from all warring factions is a prerequisite for a sustainable peace.

1.9.3 Rehabilitation

According to Dilli (1997: 61) rehabilitation is a process of restoring to useful life, good condition, operation, or capacity, through therapy and education. The assumption of rehabilitation (Barth, 2002:16), is that people are not permanently combatants and that it is possible to restore ex-combatants to civilian useful life, in which they contribute to themselves and to society. One goal of rehabilitation is to prevent criminal activities due to lack of basic physiological needs (Leber, 2001:156). Finally, rehabilitation must refer to the sociological findings on the socialisation and resocialisation processes, as change in behavior patterns and values entails a much more complex process.
1.9.4 Reintegration

Reintegration is defined by Boschmann (2002: 54) as the process by which ex-combatants acquire civilian status and gain access to civilian forms of work and income. Collier (2003: 8) believes that reintegration is essentially a social and economic process with an open time frame, primarily taking place in communities at the local level. While Kingma (2001: 326) argues that it is part of the general development of a country and a national responsibility, often necessitating external assistance. In these cases, the reintegration of ex-freedom fighters from all warring factions is a prerequisite for a sustainable peace.

1.9.5 Freedom fighters/Ex-combatants

Faltas, McDonald, & Waszink, (2001: 163) claim that there is a surprising lack of definitions for the term ex-combatants. However, according to African Rights (1995: 46) the term ex-combatant should not be understood as solely denoting an individual carrying a gun. United Nations (2000: 67) described ex-combatants as members of an armed group that form part of a target group for demobilisation, including persons working in logistics and administration. These can also include individuals, especially women and children who have been abducted and sexually or otherwise abused and who have subsequently stayed with the group. When dealing with disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating ex-combatants, the United Nations officially considers that fighters become ex-combatants when they are registered as disarmed.

This chapter dealt with the framework of the study. The next chapter is a review of pertinent literature relevant to this study.
Chapter 2

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide background information on Zimbabwe from the colonial rule to independence. A review of pertinent literature on what happened to Zimbabwe and other African countries in relation to Disarmament, Demobilisation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DDRR) is also given. Most of the information is obtained from United Nations documents, World Bank and Non Governmental Organizations that deal with peacekeeping, rehabilitation, and reconstruction.

2.2 Background

Zimbabwe experienced a protracted period of conflict starting from the late 1960s. The conflict intensified in the 1970s and ended only after a peace agreement was signed in 1979. Zimbabwe was a British colony, known as Southern Rhodesia, for over eighty years from 1885 until the White minority declared unilateral independence (UDI) in 1965. UDI intensified the frustration of the African majority that was already agitating for independence. The White minority of 250,000 also owned most of the arable land of the country (Barth, 2002: 15).

The clamour for land redistribution and majority rule were the primary underlying causes of the conflict. Two nationalist parties, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) that gave birth to the Zimbabwe African Liberation Army (ZNLA) led by Robert Mugabe and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) that gave birth to Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) led by Joshua Nkomo, formed a united front and fought the Rhodesian army. By 1977 the war had spread throughout Rhodesia.
ZANLA continued to operate from Mozambique, and remained dominant among the Shona tribes in the eastern and central Rhodesia. Meanwhile ZIPRA remained active in the north and west, using bases in Zambia and Botswana, and were mainly supported by the Ndebele tribes (Hartnack, 2005: 62). With this escalation came increasing sophistication and organisation. No longer were the guerrillas the disorganised force they had been in the 1960s. Indeed they were well-equipped with modern weapons, and although many were still untrained, an increasing number had received training in the Communist bloc and other sympathetic countries like Cuba, Russia and Germany (Schmidt, 2003: 18).

The Lusaka Commonwealth Conference of 1978 laid the basis for the Lancaster House constitutional talks that resulted in the peace agreement (Cilliers, 1995: 47: International Labour Office, 1995: 12). As a result the Zimbabwean government implemented the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants or ex-combatants as part of war to peace transitions.

### 2.3 Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration.

DDR is an important component in any peace agreement. Bures (2006: 85) claims that peace can only be maintained if DDR is implemented successfully. The resolutions laid out by the UN with regards to disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration shall be discussed. Support measures concerning disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration are looked at as well as the environment for development, weapon collection programme, destruction of weapons and Zimbabwe’s DDR programmes.

#### 2.3.1 United Nations Resolutions

The United Nations has been engaged in the DDR of former combatants in post-conflict situations for over fifteen years (Dhanapala, 2001: 8). DDR programmes are important in stabilizing war-torn societies as well as their long-term development. According to Amnesty International (2007: 5), disarmament,
demobilisation and reintegration must be incorporated into the whole peace process from the initial peace negotiations, peacekeeping and up to peace-building activities. These stages are not generally followed and as such the peace process does not last long. The last seven peace-keeping operations established by the UN Security Council have all included DDR in their mandate.

The Conceptual Framework of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) protects women and children under basic human rights and international law. The world has become aware of women and children as vulnerable groups to be protected and afforded justice.

The UN Security Council agreed to adopt Resolution 1493 on 28 July 2003 so as to effect the necessary changes towards the improvements of DDR. In this resolution the council continues to maintain respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all member countries but notwithstanding oppression of the majority by those in authority. The council upholds the obligations of all member countries to abstain from the use of force against territorial integrity and political independence. This is in accordance with the principles of the United Nations. According to the Amnesty International (2007), the organizations include the UN mission in Sierra Leone (UNMSIL, 1999), the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC, 1999), the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL, 2003), the UN Mission in Cote d’Ivoire (UNOCI, 2004), the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MONUSTAH, 2004), the UN Operation in Burundi (UNOB, 2004), and the UN Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS, 2005).

The Security Council at its 5430th meeting, on 28 April 2006, adopted Resolution 1590 in support of the implementation of DDR. The importance of the successful implementation of DDR can be demonstrated in Zimbabwe, where implementation of the Rehabilitation and Reintegration programmes had its successes and failures. These were hinged on disarmament and demobilisation. Another example would be when the United Nations Mission in Sudan was
mandated by UN Security Council Resolution 1590 (24 March 2005) to assist in the establishment of the DDR programme and its implementation. In this context, the integrated UN DDR Unit, consisting of UNMIS, UNDP and UNICEF was established to assist Sudan. When Sudan signed the peace agreement in 2005, it marked the end of Africa’s longest civil war and opened the way for peace and reconstruction.

A key requirement for this is to restore, maintain and strengthen security through DDR of ex-combatants who might otherwise, again, undermine public security (James, 2004: 5). This might retard progress towards development and sustainable peace. The primary responsibility for the positive outcome of the DDR process rests with national and local stakeholders who are ultimately accountable for the peace, security and development of that particular country. Resolution 1674 (2006) was adopted by the Security Council at its 5430th meeting, on 28 April 2006. The Security Council re-affirmed resolutions 1265 (1999) and 1296 (2000) on the protection of civilians in armed conflict. This included various resolutions on children in armed conflict and on women, peace and security. These resolutions further confirmed resolution 1631 (2005) which emphasized the importance of cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in maintaining international peace and security.

2.3.2 Support measures

Most of the resolutions underscore the importance of disarmament and Demobilisation before rehabilitation and reintegration. The thirteenth operative paragraph of resolution 1325, points explicitly to the need to incorporate gender perspectives into disarmament activities. As cited by (Dhanapala, 2001: 6), it encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants. The resolution, however, also includes several additional paragraphs that have implications for the work of the Organization in the field of disarmament. It
recommends, for example, increased participation of women in decision-making and in field-based operations. The implication would be to give special consideration to the needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement, and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction (World Bank, 2006: 14).

The resolution identifies the need for measures to support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution and the involvement of women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements (Johnstad, 2004: 12). These complexities underscore the need for a more effective programme for civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, taking into account the particular needs of women and girls. Discussions on disarmament have traditionally focused on male combatants as the focus of DDR programmes. In such discussions, women appear primarily as victims of conflicts in terms of their motherly caring roles (International Crisis Group, 2001: 27). However, this is an over-simplified view of reality. Conflict and post-conflict situations clearly affect all groups, women and men and girls and boys, although often in very different ways.

As pointed out by the Institute for Security Studies (2009: 11), all those who are involved in planning and implementing disarmament activities must therefore take these important gender perspectives into account. Without question, disarmament is one of the most important areas in which women have contributed to international peace and security. Dhanapala (2001: 32) points out that the strength of this support has only grown in time, and as more is known about the effects of nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons, what are aptly named, "weapons of mass destruction" the stronger this support will grow.

2.3.3 Environment for development

The DDR of former combatants plays an important role in providing an appropriate environment for development, especially in post conflict countries. In
post-conflict countries, Zimbabwe included, the DDR of ex-combatants and civilian “fighters” are vital to peace-building actions and regional security, which lead to successful development (Amnesty International, 2007: 46). If ex-combatants are not properly disarmed, demobilized and integrated, they can retain arms for banditry, violence and uprising, thus causing instability and a lack of security, which hampers humanitarian assistance and nation building. Unless destroyed or safely stored weapons that become surplus to requirements after the peace agreement may diffuse into society, increase violence, and create instability and a lack of security in the region (Faltas, McDonald and Waszink, 2001; Chris, 2002).

2.3.4 Weapon’s collection programme.

James (2004) asserts that one critical tool that is increasingly being employed in DDR is the voluntary weapons collection programme (WCP). Experience with DDR conducted after peace agreements in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Mozambique, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Liberia) demonstrated the problems that arise if provisions for weapons collection and control are inadequate (Ginifer, 1995: 73). The Weapons Collection Programmes and subsequent DDR depend not only on the peace agreement but also on the interconnected set of political, cultural and socio-economic factors of the country and its people (Ginifer, 1995: 8).

The study carried out by the Institute for Security Studies (2009) concluded that UN Transitional Administration’s failure to conduct comprehensive weapons collection, Demobilisation and reintegration of ex-combatants may cause a new nation to fail. This situation is what happened in Zimbabwe where the rehabilitation programme failed. Based on the comparative study and analysis (World Bank, 2004), the researchers suggested to adequately plan voluntary weapons collection, but not forced “search-and-seize” approaches. DDR was then addressed as a part of a broader political aspect, such as nation building. The study also established that the successful peace restoration and security
stability in the post-conflict region depend not only on the peace agreement but also on disarmament, Demobilisation and reintegration programmes (ILO, 2001: 6).

In Eastern Slavonia, the disarmament and Demobilisation programmes were carefully considered and planned (Kingma, 2003: 19). However, the reintegration process appeared not to have been considered as part of the continuum as such no resources were provided for it (UN 1999: 21). This is quite similar to what happened in Zimbabwe where programmes were put in place without adequate funding to support them.

Demobilisation, disarmament and weapons collection should be completed as a single operation. Leber (2001: 36) maintains that DDR of ex-combatants should be regarded as a comprehensive effort and planned accordingly. Medi (1998: 92) further declares that Demobilisation alone is not sufficient enough to reduce the number of arms in circulation. Reintegration of ex-combatants should be initiated together with disarmament and Demobilisation programmes and continued upon completion of the two. It must be supplemented by long-term measures, such as confidence-building, which consolidate peace and remove the incentive for people to keep weapons (World Bank, 2006).

2.3.5 Destruction of weapons

Weapons collection and DDR need to be a part of a broader political process, such as national capacity building (UN, 2005: 8). If the UN Transitional Administration could be the sole custodian of weapons collected under its authority, this would avoid problems in disposing weapons during or at the end of the operation. The responsibility for the weapons collection, storage, and accounting should not be given to ex-combatants but to the UN Transitional Authority. If the UN had been involved with such a programme in Zimbabwe it is likely that more success in rehabilitation and reintegration could have been realized.
Destruction of the weapons should be organized and supervised by the United Nations and parties involved in the weapons collection in a process having wide publicity (World Bank, 2006). Voluntary weapons collection should be adequately planned. The forced and search-and-seize approaches are not recommended for the Transitional Peacekeeping operations. The search-and-seize approach should take into consideration the national peculiarities, and the context of war (World Bank, 2003: 28). For example in the Zimbabwean situation the people used to be within a so-called army that could not be referred to as banditry (Musemwa, 1995: 67).

The voluntary WCP should be in place. The “buy-back” incentive programme should be considered as one of the options. A prominent panel of experts reviewing the UN peace operations referred to Demobilisation and reintegration as key factors in post-war stability that reduce the likelihood of conflict recurring (Amnesty International, 2007: 16). A successful completion of this task greatly contributes to the peace, stability and security of a country. On the contrary, a failure to conduct this task properly may cause a new nation to fail.

2.3.6 Zimbabwe DDR programme – long term

The success of the DDR programmes is seen as a *sine qua non* for long-term peace and stability (Kingma, 2000: 32). The immediate goal of the process is to restore security and stability through the responsible management of weapons of combatants. The end result is to help ex-combatants to become productive members of their local communities. The DDR, programme facilitates security and development. This can be achieved by ensuring the security of ex-combatants through their long-term sustainable reintegration, securing post conflict frameworks (Date-Bah, 2003: 42; Kelman, 2006: 164).
In that view, the UN was deliberately excluded from playing a pivotal role in the Zimbabwean independence process (Mazarire & Rupiya, 2000: 30). Britain, the former colonial power, desired to exclusively control and influence a short transitional period that would not include a long term beneficial post-conflict peace building role. Following the Lancaster House Agreement on 21 December 1979, a small British-led Commonwealth team supervised Zimbabwe’s ceasefire and monitored the transitional elections which lead to majority rule and legal independence (Mukora, 1990: 13). The post-independence regime tackled the integration of a new army amidst the DDR initiatives (Moyo, 1995: 15). The Lancaster House Agreement, effected through a ceasefire agreement in 1979 between the (Rhodesian Security Forces (RSF) and the Patriotic Front (PF) forces, provided for a demilitarisation process by means of the separation and containment of the liberation of ex-combatants in designated Assembly Points (APs), and of the RSF in their established bases (Zimbabwe Parliamentary Debates, 1983).

The Ceasefire Commission (CFC) and a modest Commonwealth Monitoring Force (CMF) provided the institutional framework for the implementation of the Zimbabwe Agreement. Operational deficiencies and organizational flaws did not impede Zimbabwe’s progressive transition (Mazarire & Rupiya (2000: 16). Since the Lancaster House Agreement did not provide the legal framework for the process, Zimbabwe’s post independence government implemented demobilisation practically, and the DDR programmes alongside the military integration of the three former warring parties, namely the RSF, ZANLA and ZIPRA, into a national army.

During the implementation period Zimbabwe did not follow any particular model in 1990, but went ahead and designed their own methods which later did not work out due to lack of adequate funding, corruption and poor planning (Musemwa, 1995: 28).
Civil wars in some of the African countries (The Democratic Republic of the Congo, Chad, Uganda and Sudan) involved combatants from neighbouring countries and these needed to be repatriated to their countries once a peace agreement was signed by fighting parties in a particular country. This led to the inclusion of repatriation to Disarmament, Demobilisation, Rehabilitation, Repatriation and Reintegration (DDRRR).

2.4 Disarmament, demobilisation, rehabilitation, reintegration and repatriation (DDRRR)

There have been DDRRR developments in Africa since 1990. DDRRR programmes have featured in post-conflict reconstruction from Afghanistan to Haiti. But the bulk of DDRRR interventions have occurred in Africa (UN, 2009). The failure of early DDRR programmes in Zimbabwe, Somalia and Liberia (UN, 2004), are partly attributed to the vague mandates and poor planning from organisations (UN, World Bank, NGOs) that rebuilding in such countries. This has prompted a shift in recent years toward more practical interventions that involve communities and ex-combatants.

2.4.1 Disarmament, demobilisation, rehabilitation, reintegration and repatriation programmes.

The UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNMIL) was established by the Security Council resolution 1509 (2003) with the following mandate among other issues, to support the work of the Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC); to draw up an action plan for the overall implementation of a disarmament, Demobilisation, rehabilitation, reintegration and repatriation (DDRRR) programme. This is to cater for all armed parties, with particular attention to the special needs of child combatants and women and addressing the inclusion of foreign combatants. One of the objects of the resolution was to contribute towards international efforts to protect and promote human rights in war-torn countries such as Liberia, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Mozambique. The process would be carried out with particular attention to vulnerable groups. These included refugees, returning refugees and internally displaced persons, women, children, and demobilized child soldiers, within UN missions’ capabilities and under acceptable security conditions (Amnesty International, 2007: 12). This
would be done in close cooperation with other United Nations agencies, related organizations, governmental organizations, and non-governmental organizations (Fortna, 2004: 63). The main objective of the DDRRR process (Dolan & Bagenda, 2004: 21), is to contribute to security and stability in post-conflict environments so that recovery and development can begin.

The Zimbabwe’s Disarmament, Demobilisation, Rehabilitation (DDR) programme terminated its services in 1990 following the disarmament and demobilisation of ex-combatants and their reintegration (Musemwa, 1995: 36). The programme contributed in consolidating national security through the disarmament and reintegration into society of all the ex-combatants or ex-combatants. The DDRR process followed the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1509 as a precondition for facilitating humanitarian assistance, restoration of civil authority, promotion of economic growth and sustainable development. The same programme further included the following three components: disarmament, demobilisation and rehabilitation. However, this study focuses on rehabilitation which encompasses taking care of the ex-combatants who were disabled and or injured during the war, as well as counseling, reintegrating and resettling them.

2.4.2 Reinsertion

Reinsertion is defined by Fortna (2004:14) as the assistance offered to ex-combatants during demobilisation but prior to the longer term process of reintegration. Demobilisation payouts similar to reinsertion is a form of transitional assistance to help cover the basic needs of ex-combatants and their families and can include transitional safety allowances, food, clothes, shelter, medical services, short-term education, training, employment and tools. While reintegration is a long term, continuous social and economic process of development, reinsertion is a short-term material and/or financial assistance to meet immediate needs, and can last up to one year. In Zimbabwe in some cases these payouts were stretched for as long as ten years depending on the
beneficiaries, especially if high ranking government officials were involved (Musemwa, 1995: 24).

The needs of the Zimbabwean adult ex-combatants returnees were different from the needs of the returning child soldiers, thus the adult returnees posed specific challenges for everyone concerned with their reintegration into society (Zimbabwe Parliamentary Debates, 1983: 18). Every step of the process had to be taken care of commencing with; the receiving of the returnees from assembly camps, then handling them while in military custody, caring for their health and well-being in the reception centers, counseling them, preparing them and their communities for reunion, supporting them in education and skills acquisition, and providing them with the much needed follow-up support. All these had to be carefully designed in order to facilitate the best possible reintegration into society of the adult ex-combatant returnees. As a consequence every phase had to meet the special challenges the returning ex-combatants were posing towards the society without singling them out.

Mukora (1990: 8) argues that these special needs were not satisfactorily taken into consideration during the whole rehabilitation process. Musemwa (1995: 16) goes on further to claim that understanding of the special needs of the ex-combatants is still limited and thus responses often lack relevance to their reintegration. On reviewing literature, a lot of work has been done including written reports on the rehabilitation of ex-combatants but there has been little research on the quality and success rate of the reintegration of adult ex-combatants although a lot of research has been carried out on the success rate of the reintegration of child ex-combatants (Baines, 2003: 6).

Research carried out in Uganda indicates that the success rate is higher on the reintegration of ex-child soldiers than on adult ex-combatants (Dolan and Bagenda, 2004). The research report goes on to mention that while the important task of supporting ex-child soldier returnees is well assessed and comparatively
well resourced, the needs of the adult ex-combatants are not well understood and approaches to cater for them are still at an experimental stage.

What needs to be noted here is that, the returning adult ex-combatants are a diverse group demanding a differentiated approach to cater for their needs (Medi, 1998: 71). Despite the lack of adequate research so far, experiences in Liberia, Northern Uganda, Angola and Zimbabwe included, indicate that the diversity among adult ex-combatants is often ignored (Barth, 2003: 18). It is important for both governments and civil society to understand that in most cases, civil wars are conflicts initiated by bad governance, oppression of one or more groups by the dominant one, unequal distribution of resources, violation of human rights, infringement on group moral and religious practices as well as issues of unfair land distribution (Leber, 2001: 56). While most people associate negative words or ideas with conflict, war, violence, destruction, killings, anger, feelings of hurt, which is not always the case. It is important to note that conflict is necessary for change (Pruitt & Kim, 2004), particularly if it is change for the better. It is crucial to understand that conflict is a natural, inseparable part of human existence. When observed from the perspective of humanitarian and developmental work, conflict is typically indicative of change within society. However, it is important to point out that in most cases change that comes through conflict comes with a huge cost that makes rehabilitation, reconstruction and reintegration difficult.

2.4.3 Relief

The period 1990 to 1995 characterizes part of the time the British government gave aid to Zimbabwe to rehabilitate ex-combatants (Zimbabwe country report, 2001: 4). This report adds that not much of this money was put to its proper use, most of it found its way in the pockets of greedy government officials who directed it towards personal gain. As such very little if any of the rehabilitation funds were put to their intended use (Museumwa, 1995: 15). Quite often, if development projects are not put in place, there is likely to be a relapse into civil
unrest which is likely to lead to a continuation of emergency relief from the western countries through non governmental organizations.

In Zimbabwe there was a level of peace because most ex-freedom fighters believed that the promises they were given by the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) government of hefty pay outs, counseling and resettlement would meet their basic needs. Pay outs of different amounts form two thousand five hundred ($2 500) up to fifteen thousand Zimbabwe dollars ($15 000) were given in 1994 which were equivalent to (US $470) four hundred and seventy American dollars to each ex-freedom fighters. The ex-freedom fighters were supposed to continue receiving pay outs of smaller amounts thereafter, but this did not happen (Zimbabwe Country Report, 2001: 42).

The money that was donated by donor countries for the resettlement of the ex-combatants was misused (Mukora, 1990, 26), in the name of disability compensation for all those who had fought the war to liberate Zimbabwe from colonial rule. Organizations that came in to help were engaged in relief aid, and sometimes they adapted their operations to laying the foundations for 'positive peace' in which longer-term goals were assumed, such as reconciling antagonistic communities or preparing for social and economic development.

In most war torn countries just like Zimbabwe at that time, many organizations such as the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the Norwegian Development Agent (NORAD), the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the United Nations Children’s Education Fund (UNICEF) came in to help with reconstruction of roads and infrastructure and general development (ILO, 1995: 29). This role is generally assumed formally or informally with a diplomatic process that results in a peace agreement. Incentives and conditions for securing peace or its implementation are also accommodated in the process, and these have an impact on rehabilitation, reconstruction and development (World Bank, 2004: 22). However, the government failed to live up to its promises it had made to the ex-combatants (Zimbabwe Country Report, 2001: 7).
2.5 Rehabilitation

The term 'rehabilitation' requires definition and explanation. Rehabilitation is used here, not in the criminal justice sense as a complement to punishment, but to signify a generative forging of new life out of the ruins of the old (ILO, 1995: 12). It differs from relief in that problems of immediate survival have become overlain with problems of adjustment to circumstances of relative peace. It is not sequential, for it overlaps with both relief and development. In addition to that, Cilliers (1995: 2) suggests that the resources used for rehabilitation can both distort the implementation of old or fresh economic and social development plans, or they can be used to restore the use of neo-liberal development policies that may well have contributed to the conflict in the first place. In other words, rehabilitation, like relief, becomes a recurrent feature or permanent condition for many communities. For rehabilitation to break out of this 'non-recovery' cycle (Medi, 1998: 12) it would have to be:

“……a process of social, political and economic adjustment to, and underpinning of, conditions of relative peace in which the participants, especially those who have been disempowered and immiserated by violence, can begin to prioritise future goals beyond immediate survival. Survivors not only need a stake in achieving these adjustment goals but need ultimate direction over the means to achieve them.”

This definition is based on a transformative approach to rehabilitation (Mukora, 1990: 23) in relation to the Zimbabwean ex-combatants. In that light, the fact that the process of 'rehabilitation' of all those in need through the process of adjustment, might take a generation of fifteen years or more, has to be addressed. Those in need include those who had a stake in the conflict, the disabled, the displaced, and those needing counseling and resettlement. Rehabilitation must be practical and functional such that it benefits both the ex-combatants and the society at large. This can only happen if those rehabilitated
are able to support themselves, their families and to contribute towards the development of the community.

Cilliers (1995: 74) argues that rehabilitation is a complex process which entails counseling, skills development, reintegration, resettlement and support and treatment for the disabled. Chris (1996: 37) explains that rehabilitation theories claim that there is no sound scientific research to determine how different individuals react to the same rehabilitating methods. Following Chris’ line of thought, it would stand to reason that not all ex-combatants who are rehabilitated will blend well with the community they live in, others may resort to living on unjust means committing criminal offences. The blame may not lie in the rehabilitating methods or philosophy but the individual’s environment and psychological background (Collier, 2003: 45). Therefore rehabilitation programmes can be measured by the way they contribute towards the security, stability and the continuity of the society (ILO, 1995: 38).

Successful rehabilitation programmes lead to self reliance as opposed to having people (ex-combatants and some members of the community) rely on hand outs from non-government organisations and donor agencies. Organisations that support rehabilitation programmes (UN, NGOs, World Bank) should involve all stakeholders and cultivate a good relationship. The relationship between emergency relief providers and recipients, between external agencies and local authorities, between former elites and the people who follow or oppose them needed to be natured. Similarly, the direction of the process is significant because when ex-combatants do not have a stake in making adjustments, or in reforming relationships, then the process itself is likely to fail and generate pressures for renewed conflict that can escalate.

For the purposes of this study rehabilitation encompasses the creation of enabling conditions and conducive environments for the ex-combatants so that they would adjust their lives through the process of counseling, and resettlement. This would mean that ex-combatants who became disabled or sustained injuries
as a result of the war would be rehabilitated through treatment and be also equipped with the necessary gadgets to function freely and independently. The ILO and its In Focus Programme on Crisis Response and Reconstruction (IFP/CRR) has focused particularly on disabled ex-combatants in a number of countries, including Afghanistan, Angola, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Namibia, Palestine and Zimbabwe inclusive (World Bank, 1993: 3). Projects in some of these countries (Angola, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Cambodia and Ethiopia) have assisted governments, agencies, local Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and organizations of persons with disabilities to provide vocational skills training, mostly in mainstream vocational training centres but also in special rehabilitation centres. Such programmes have met with little or no success in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Afghanistan (Cilliers, 1995: 5; Date-Bah, 2003: 47).

The focus in this study therefore, is on rehabilitation which is intended to achieve the protection and development of human rights and peace. This can be achieved by empowering the ex-combatants such that they live independent lives by being self-sufficient. Amnesty International (2007:19) claims that in Angola the government created a National Programme on Rehabilitation of Physically Disabled People (PNRPPD) to facilitate the rehabilitation of disabled ex-combatants. The report goes on to explain that the programme marked a shift in focus for the Angolan government’s Demobilisation and reintegration efforts. Since hostilities in Angola ended in April 2002 (World Bank, 2006: 1), almost 100,000 ex-combatants were disarmed and demobilized. Up to the present moment 20,000 personnel are about to be discharged from the Angolan Armed Forces, many of them disabled or chronically ill (World Bank, 2006: 4). As a consequence, the government is turning its attention to providing specialized rehabilitation and socio-economic reintegration for disabled individuals. Through the help of ILO and NGOs the government has started rehabilitation programmes to ensure provision of rehabilitation activities that benefit and support the socio-economic reintegration of ex-combatants with disability. The government has
enhanced mechanisms to improve the infrastructure, technical and material resources of up to 11 rehabilitation centers throughout the country (UNDP, 2006: 2).

If such a programme was implemented in Zimbabwe, it would enable ex-combatants and other community members to more easily access requirements for badly-needed prosthetic, orthopedic and rehabilitation services. Such a framework would provide the initial building blocks for enhancing national capacity within the rehabilitation sector. That way, the needs of those most affected by the armed conflict in Zimbabwe could be met even after the Demobilisation programme itself had been closed. Moreover, rehabilitation is not an end in itself but part of a process that has the potential to inhibit a return to violence or criminal activity (ILO, 2001: 69).

2.6 Post conflict rehabilitation

In recent times, the developing world has experienced a large number of internal conflicts and crises resulting in widespread devastation, displacement of populations and tragic loss of life. Nearly all of the world’s 20 poorest countries have experienced violent conflict over the past few decades (Van Goethem, 2005: 8). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and other development agencies have found themselves faced with the challenges posed in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of these countries in the post-conflict periods. They have also had to come to grips with the demands placed upon them in the aftermath of these conflicts on their traditional roles. Rebuilding of war-torn societies, reintegration of refugees, displaced persons and former ex-combatants, maintenance of peace once fighting has ceased and prevention of the eruption of violence in areas of unrest are all taking a place on the development agenda (UNDP, 2006: 5). Deeply involved in these issues by virtue of its universal presence and position as a trusted, neutral development partner in war-torn countries, the United Nations has gained considerable experience in the post-conflict reintegration, rehabilitation and reconstruction arena (Cilliers,
2003: 173). It recognized that complex crises and post-conflict situations, regrettably, are a significant and growing part of the developing world’s current landscape, and that there are development dimensions at every stage of such situations (Mason, Douglas & Frazer, 1997: 95).

Like raising children, the experience can be quite philosophical to open-minded parents. Ethics and morals, standard setting, firmness and leniency, attitudes purpose and all matters related to personal and social behaviour are constantly questioned in the process. Throughout the war years, when they had had to face ruthless occupation and Nazi retribution, (Dilli, 1997: 14) parents had taught their children to lie and when possible to cheat and steal food and ration tickets. Now that the war was over, those parents faced a new quandary: how were they to get their children back on the right moral track? This same dilemma if not checked may also apply to all post-conflict societies together with their attitude towards obedience to rules, respect of law and human rights.

During the Zimbabwean armed struggle, the then combatants who are now ex-combatants would rob shops, hi-jack trucks full of goods as a means of survival and by then it was acceptable although it was not morally right. The same ex-combatants if not well rehabilitated, thus counseled, reintegrated and resettled could duplicate the feat for survival purposes. The only way to get them back on the moral track is to resettle them and equip them with productive skills such that they become self sufficient (Cilliers, 2003: 158).

The open genocide such as that experienced in Cambodia and Rwanda (UNDP, 2003: 6) was exacerbated by feelings of hate that did not readily subside when the guns were silenced. The end of open conflict does not necessarily mean the end of violence. In these examples the existence of a troubled and an unsafe environment slowed down the drive towards reconstruction, rehabilitation and reintegration. Further to that, the prevalence of weak state structures and the abundance of the unemployed was fertile ground for corruption and the spread of organized crime.
This was experienced in Zimbabwe over a long period of time (Musemwa, 1995: 12). The challenges were further worsened by the shortage of food, the AIDS pandemic and the shortage of medicine (Dzinesa, 2006: 32). The challenges that lay ahead involved attending to the sick, counseling the traumatized and settling the displaced. It also involved caring for and feeding the surviving and the displaced. Similarly, the extension of the physical reconstruction of houses and that of the critical infrastructure meant to jump-start the economy was not an exception (Dzinesa, 2006: 18). Short term objectives such as that of receiving humanitarian and economic assistance from abroad, as well as giving the ex-combatants short term incentives did not have a long lasting solution. According to Moyo (1990: 7) what was required are long term goals such as setting up training programmes, community service centers, resuming education and the health system. When the ex-combatants saw that poverty was looming, since the programmes put in place by the government to help them had failed due to lack of clear policies and poor planning, they mobilized themselves to pressure the government for more support (Zimbabwe Women’s Writers, 2000: 3). The same authors go on to add that the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association (ZNLWVA), established after the Unity Accord between ZANU and ZAPU, offered the ex-combatants the platform to launch their demands.

Dzinesa (2006: 23) argues that the grounds of discontent and the threat to national stability, posed by the ineffectively reintegrated and disgruntled ex-combatants, exploded in 1995. This followed the Zimbabwean government’s suspension of the War Victims Compensation Fund (established by government in 1980 to cater for all war-injured persons). These events culminated in the appointment of a judicial commission by President Mugabe which inquired and reported on the administration of the much abused fund (Mukora, 1990, 9). This was the position of Zimbabwe within the period 1990 to 1995. Paradoxically Zimbabwe is now in a worse position than it was at the time (Zimbabwe Country Report, 2009: 11; Zimbabwe Women’s Writers, 2000: 24).

2.7 Post conflict rehabilitation counseling
Nystul (1999:38) says counseling is a process where counselors help clients to come to terms with their feelings and thoughts. In this way they gain insight into their problems in such a way that they view problems in a new or different light, which helps them to make rational, constructive decisions meant to change behavior and find solutions to their problems. The author also suggested that one view of human beings is that they are by nature irrational, un-socialized and destructive of themselves and others. This process is initiated by establishing a state of psychological contact or relationship between the counselor and the counselee and progresses to the extent that certain conditions essential to the success of the counseling process prevail.

Many counseling practitioners including La Forge (1990: 457), Lee (1991: 6), Lucking & Mitchum (1990: 270) believe that such conditions include counselor genuineness, or congruence, respect for client and an emphatic understanding of the client's internal form of reference. Most conflict reconstruction programmes have counseling trauma centers to help ex-combatants, and those whose family members were killed in their sight and also child soldiers. In this regard, counseling programmes will suffer in effectiveness and credibility unless counselors exhibit understanding, warmth, humanness and positive attitudes towards humankind.

Considering the above definitions and views expressed, it would stand to reason that the philosophy of counseling is based on individual respect, worthiness and the right to choices and direction. McLeod (1996:142) points out that the less defensive human beings are the more positive and constructive they become. Since the various definitions of counseling differ little in actual meaning, one might assume that all counselors function similarly in like situations, interpret client information in the same manner, and agree on desired outcomes in specific situations. However, these counselors may differ as much as the approaches they employ. Most rehabilitation and conflict management projects utilize a community-based approach and work around the model of providing: trauma
counseling services, psychosocial support, training trauma counselors, reintegration, skills training and resettlement (International Crisis Group, 2001: 19). All these aspects are an integral part of rehabilitation which is the main focus of this study.

2.8 Counseling psychosomatic conditions

Torture causes short term and long term physical and psychological damage to individuals (James, 2004: 32). Assessing which symptoms are physical in origin and which are psychological is not necessarily easy. Studies in primary health care settings in Zimbabwe have shown a high percentage of people suffering from anxiety and depression and related psychosomatic disorders. Many of the headaches, stomach aches, poor sleep patterns and other vague disturbances that people present with are linked to psychological stress (Dhanapala, 2001; 234). Certainly, most ex-combatants went through untold stressful depressing conditions where they narrowly survived death. Due to such experiences, they frequently display these disorders such that counseling is needed for their histories of torture to reduce these symptoms. Having been psychologically affected, most ex-combatants are likely to show post-traumatic stress in the immediate wake of torturous conditions. This includes symptoms of sleep disturbance, flashbacks, anxiety and over-reaction to events reminding one of the tortures. However, some years after the torture, one is more likely to find a pervasive sense of depression and apathy in ex-combatants, a low self-esteem and a sense that life is pointless or unfair. This has been referred to as "continuous traumatic stress syndrome" (Barth, 2003: 4).

In addition to psychological effects, there are very real physical consequences of torture, some of which are distinctive (Dzinesa, 2006: 32). These include joint pains and over stretching in the joints. Pains may also be associated in a symbolic way with torture (Human Rights Report, 2009; 15). For example, a man who has had electric shocks to the testicles may be impotent afterwards, even
though there is no lasting physical damage (Zimbabwe Country Report, 2009: 11). In addition to that, brain injury, paralysis, fractures, damaged organs, deafness, blindness and altered functions are all consequences of torture. All these are hard, if not impossible, to rehabilitate years after the event (Faltas & DiChiaro, 2001; 40).

There is great cause for concern in Zimbabwe when one considers the high numbers of ex-combatants and their surviving families in the country. Many of these are survivors of the 1980s violence and the multiple impact on them in physical, psychological and material terms has been enormous (Musemwa, 1995: 5). People have been tortured, seen their loved ones murdered or abducted and had their houses burnt (Zimbabwe Country Report, 2009: 12). According to the Human Rights Organisation Report (2009:8) little or no efforts have been made to alleviate the plight of the victims and some of those who caused the damage have not been made answerable. The report goes on to add that the possibility of healing or repairing the damage in this situation remains slim and requires the input of resources and good will on the part of the authorities.

2.9 Reintegration

The aim of reintegration is to provide support to demobilized ex-combatants so as to assist them in becoming productive members of society. The success of reintegration rests on the three pillars of; formal education, vocational training and social reintegration (Cilliers, 2003: 6).

The rehabilitation programme in Zimbabwe was jointly initiated and implemented by national and international stakeholders including the Government of Zimbabwe, NGOs, and a number of other international agencies (Mukora, 1990: 21). It is important to point out that Zimbabwe implemented its reintegration in 1990. Since then and up to the time Liberia, Sierra Leone and Angola implemented their programmes, the UN had made great strides and
improvements. In Liberia, Sierra Leone and Angola (World Bank, 2006: 7) a similar programme was implemented, successfully coordinated and monitored by the Joint Implementation Unit (JIU) that consisted of the government of each of the countries involved, UNDP and NGOs. THE World Bank report goes on to add that the UNDP actively supported the formal education of ex-combatants in 366 schools and colleges across Liberia. The formal education component catered for the needs of up to 21,900 students (ex-combatants) and recorded an extremely low failure and drop out rate. A further 1,500 students graduated from computer schools. UNDP supplied students with uniforms, school materials and other educational-related materials, in addition to paying school fees and providing living allowances for students.

In Zimbabwe students (ex-combatants and any other members of the society) were enrolled for adult evening classes where they paid nominal fees and the teachers were paid for through the government by International donor agencies and NGOs. Similarly, the government ran short of funds and thereafter, the evening classes were stopped.

In Liberia and Angola UNDP was committed to augmenting and improving the formal education component. In that regard, it hosted workshops and reviews in order to identify important issues and potential areas of improvement (Mazurana, and McKay, 2003: 18). It is possible that the programme in Liberia was undertaken after UNDP had learnt lessons of funds being diverted to other causes due to poor monitoring, particularly in the countries that were helped first such as Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe such programmes were initiated but benefited a few people due to corruption and mismanagement of funds (Dzinesa, 2006: 53).

As pointed out in the Zimbabwe Country Report (2009: 28) centers were established throughout the country; Kushinga Industrial College in Kwekwe, Chindunduma College in Bindura, Zimbabwe Agricultural College in Chegutu and Nkululeko Agricultural College in Gweru. All these colleges were established to equip ex-combatants with skills. However, the colleges could not be sustained
due to lack of funds. Most funds that were generated at these colleges were spent somewhere else instead of ploughing them back to sustain the farming and industrial projects carried out at the colleges (Zimbabwe Farmers Union, 1995: 16). With time the colleges ceased to function due to lack of money. The Zimbabwe Farmers Union report goes on to add that little did the government know that, vocational training from these colleges would have provided the ex-combatants with the means of generating income, creating livelihoods and helping ease their reintegration into economic life, while at the same time providing a skilled labour force to support the recovery of the Zimbabwean economy.

In Liberia UNDP worked closely with approximately 200 NGOs and UN agencies to provide vocational training for ex-combatants. Ex-combatants were trained in construction, carpentry, plumbing, tailoring, cobbbling, electronics, mechanics, soap production, baking, or agriculture depending on the preference declared during the Demobilisation and disarmament phase. Probably what could have happened through the rehabilitation of marketplaces and road infrastructure is that surplus products could have been sold for profit, resulting in greater capital for repayment of loans and reinvestment in activities. The rehabilitation of schools improved school attendance and increased the likelihood that the youth who were child soldiers would stay in school, receive an education and thus acquire more employable skills for the future (Cilliers, 1995: 8). Similarly, through the revolving fund scheme made from the produce obtained from the established production centers enabled such programmes to continue operating. What this means is that, improved agricultural mechanisms could enable a more sustainable productive environment, and provide employment opportunities in the long-term for the unemployed ex-combatant (ILO, 2001: 26). This is what should have happened in Zimbabwe to pave way for successful social reintegration.

2.10 Social reintegration
Societies in Zimbabwe underwent rapid social changes during and after the war (Mukora, 1990:3). This transformation was often accompanied by the fact that young people’s involvement in the war changed their understanding of authority, and male youths in particular were often unwilling to return to the pre-war situation. As a consequence, communities were very fragile and had difficulties in dealing with external influences. Experiences from other countries (Uganda, Angola, Liberia, Burundi) show that the influx of poorly trained young men and women without military experience, can be an additional big risk to the society’s stability (Baines, 2003: 12; Barth, 2003: 8; Van Goethem, 2005: 18; Medi, 1998: 26). This is often worsened when a local economy like that of Zimbabwe, which was not in a position to absorb large numbers of ex-combatants, and the insecurity that prevailed, prevented them from becoming engaged in industrial activities.

Communities in Zimbabwe are generally open and welcoming towards ex-combatants. But the research conducted by Baines (2003: 30) in Uganda and Angola documents cases where adult returnees have been harassed and threatened, showing that the supportive atmosphere is fragile and cannot be taken for granted. In general, people state their almost unconditional willingness to welcome home ex-combatants. In the same study Campbell reported of some local leaders who also reported their discomfort with returnees. This is likely to be the case with all other countries and Zimbabwe is not an exception. Some people fear the ex-combatants for the atrocities they committed while in the liberation war. Ginifer (1995: 3) cites an ex-combatant camp leader interviewed in Zimbabwe who illustrated the degree of isolation of ex-combatants by stating how at times he wanted to help traumatized returnees, but was discouraged by members of the community who lost relatives during the war voicing their concern that he was associating with murderers and rebels. Despite the generally welcoming attitude of the communities, some ex-combatants feel rejected and isolated, and are sometimes threatened and harmed as was experienced in Uganda (Baines, 2003: 27).
In general, ex-combatants often find their new environment difficult to cope with, as reported by (James 2004: 35). The same author goes on to argue that while male ex-combatants are likely to encounter general obstacles in pursuing a normal civilian life, finding a spouse and providing a living for their families, female ex-combatants are likely to suffer additional stigmatization. The vast majority of them may have been sexually abused. As a consequence many are likely to be left by their husbands or face enormous difficulties in finding a partner. Often their situation is worse if they return pregnant or with children born in the war. Therefore social reintegration may not be easily attained, in some cases it would not be achieved at all.

Mazurana & McKay (2003: 121) claim that social reintegration continues to pose major challenges in any country where there has been a civil war. In Zimbabwe, although a number of commanders and their troops were officially integrated into Government units and in particular the army, poverty and unemployment remained unchanged for most ex-freedom fighters and continued to pose a potential threat to stability throughout the country. Furthermore, as the Government could not absorb the growing national army due to budgetary constraints, more effort was needed to support the peace and reconciliation process. Moyo (1990: 13) asserts that NGOs and UNDP’s participatory initiatives responded to this need by providing post-conflict assistance programmes, which supported local communities on the one hand, and facilitated the reintegration of ex-combatants into civilian life on the other. However, this process was not completed and it only benefited a few ex-combatants, particularly those who were known by high ranking government officials (Mazarire & Rupiya (2000: 15). Peace, stability, and national reconciliation were supposed to be strengthened through the implementation of major and sub-projects throughout the regions of Zimbabwe. Dzinesa (2006:15) reports that such projects were intended to target the employment of ex-combatants and the rehabilitation of social and economic infrastructure. Both the community and the ex-combatants must have found the
reintegration exercise a particular challenge, as it required a change of perception and an acceptance of a change of roles.

During the civil war, combatants had enjoyed a degree of power vis-à-vis the local authorities and the population (Zimbabwe Women Writers, 2000: 14). To compound the problem, many former combatants were returning to their places of origin and families, which were extremely difficult economic environments (Human Rights Report, 2009:63). The probability of them becoming additional burdens to the community rather than assets was very high. The possibility of completing the reintegration exercise successfully would have been achieved if the government had followed the approach suggested by NGOs and UNDP, that is, to involve ex-combatants in local decision-making structures and in the implementation of reintegration activities (Musemwa, 1995: 3). This could have helped to focus on the immediate action needed to stabilize the socio-economic situation of the former combatants.

While there is no one view attesting to the overall acceptance level of the civilian population, focusing on sub-projects that would benefit the local communities at-large and that which would prevent civilians from feeling a priori that excluded and enabled the host communities to perceive the benefits of accepting ex-combatants into the community. Ex-combatants required useful skills in order to benefit themselves and the society.

An important aspect to be included in the rehabilitation programme was skills training (Zimbabwe Farmers Union, 1995: 62). As pointed out by Moyo (1995: 10) the extent to which ex-combatants would make the transition to civilian life was similarly challenging, particularly as the professions they were could be trained for (farming, plumbing, carpentry, welding, plastering, brick laying, sewing) were among the most popular on the labour market. On the other hand, cash handouts or even temporary employment for ex-combatants would probably not have been
enough. It would be interesting to find out through this study how ex-combatants in Zimbabwe found their way back into the society.

2.11 Post conflict resettlement

Repeated conflicts and wars have plagued many developing regions and countries in recent years, from Afghanistan, the Great Lakes region, Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Horn of Africa, and Cambodia, to the West Bank and Gaza and parts of Eastern Europe. These conflicts have devastating effects on the populations involved, destroying infrastructure, dislocating families, increasing poverty and generally raising the level of vulnerability of many groups until long after the cessation of hostilities (Ofstad, 2003: 84).

Zimbabwe went through the same process. However, in Zimbabwe, as alluded to earlier on, the funds that were supposed to be used to resettle the ex-combatants were misdirected for personal gain (Zimbabwe Country Report, 2001: 8). A sense of the scope of the problem is given by the number of those receiving assistance from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). In 2003, the UNHCR assisted about 17 million people worldwide, including about 11.5 million refugees and asylum-seekers, 4.5 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) as well as others who were of concern to the commission, such as stateless people (World Bank, 2003: 2). Due to misrule and the ever worsening conditions, almost half of the population in Zimbabwe including the ex-combatants, survived on aid from NGOs. This claim can be supported by the following example, in some of the transition countries in Africa, as many as ten million people have been displaced since 1990 by wars and ethnic conflicts (UNDP 2001). By the end of 2003, it was estimated that nearly half of these, perhaps four million people, remained displaced with no available avenues for sustainable reintegration or livelihood (UNDP, 2004). Furthermore, recent research suggests that post-conflict countries have a 50 percent chance of experiencing renewed violence within the first five years following the initial peace settlement (International Crisis Group, 2001).
Even countries that have had long histories of peace are not immune to conflict, as illustrated by recent conflicts in Zimbabwe and other countries like Côte d’Ivoire and Nepal. The risks and vulnerabilities facing all societies are often exacerbated by conditions of conflict and social upheaval, coupled with the creation of refugees and internally displaced populations. The long-term human development needs are critical, and are often not met by basic humanitarian assistance alone. Zimbabwe is a good example with almost six million of its population spilling into Botswana, South Africa, Australia, Britain, Namibia and other countries in search of basic food (Zimbabwe Country Report, 2009: 27). Informal, family and community-based risk-coping arrangements commonly relied upon by households are strained following conflicts and can become fragmented and dysfunctional (Mugah, 2006: 23). An important issue for international organizations and recovering societies in post-conflict settings is how and when transition from primarily humanitarian relief to more strategic sustained development should take place and last. The selected use of social safety net interventions, integrated with a range of other actions and approaches, may assist societies in rebuilding and preventing future conflicts (Ball, 1997: 264).

Among other possibilities, counseling and other social services can be put in place so as to benefit ex-combatants and their families. Apart from that, social funds and public works can help build infrastructure and provide reintegration, employment, micro-credit and small business opportunities. The latter can help foster growth and targeted conditional production may also assist in encouraging ex-combatants to work for themselves and maintain their health as a way of enhancing and encouraging human capital.

Bad governance and internal party fighting in Zimbabwe overtook development priorities in terms of the rehabilitation of ex-combatants. However, Musemwa (1995: 4) believes that small projects that were implemented to help “ex-combatants” ended up benefiting not only them but the society at large. Dzinesa (2006: 42) claims that unfortunately due to the ever-shrinking economy with more emphasis on sharing and less on production, the programmes could not be
sustained. He adds that what started as an extension of skills training and job development services for ex-combatants and child soldiers slowly expanded to serve the needs of various individuals and communities affected by violence and conflict. In Zimbabwe, like in Sierra Leone and Liberia (Dzinesa, 2006:53), only a few victims of war and ex-combatants were provided with skills training, but trauma counseling and resettlement did not seem to be readily available like it was in the other two countries, Uganda and Angola.

2.12 Conclusion

This chapter briefly dealt with the reasons for the liberation war in Zimbabwe, the cease fire agreement, the disarmament, Demobilisation and reintegration process. The chapter discussed compensation of war victims and war veterans. The challenges faced in implementing the rehabilitation and reintegration programmes such as lack of funds, poor organization and poor planning have been spelt out as have the government promises and the needs of ex-combatants have also been discussed at length. The torture and violence suffered by ex-combatants and their family members without any trauma counseling arranged for them has been registered as a cause for concern. The importance of proper planning for reintegration and rehabilitation of ex-combatants has been emphasized. This research is paramount in the investigation to determine the position of ex-combatants from 1990 to 1995 so that recommendations can be made towards the rehabilitation, resettlement and reintegration of those people who fought the liberation war.

The next chapter deals with research methodology. An explanation of the research design is given as well as the methodological decisions. The appropriateness of the design, its merits and demerits are dealt with. Focus is also placed on data collection procedures, data management and data analysis techniques. The population and the sample are discussed. The procedure followed in data gathering and the method used is presented. This is followed by methods of data analysis.
CHAPTER 3

Research Methodology
3.1 Introduction

Observations and recommendations based on research carried out in a number of countries (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Burundi, Ethiopia) that went through crises or post-conflict situations indicate that well planned demobilisation, rehabilitation, resettlement and reintegration have positive results in terms of a country’s progress while the opposite can result in further conflicts, loss of human life, human suffering and economic collapse (ILO, 1995; Mugah, 2006:18). In cases, such as Burundi, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, and Somalia, the governments could not effectively implement rehabilitation, resettlement, reintegration and reconstruction either because they did not plan well or did not have the resources to implement the programmes (Fitzgerald, 2003: 74; Arthur, 1998: 94; Kriger, 1992: 102).

In such situations, programmes suffered from implementation delays and abortion before completion, just like the case of Zimbabwe. Where adequate planning for rehabilitation was done, even with limited resources, such as in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and Liberia (World Bank, 2002: 86; ILO, 1995: 8; Kingma, 2000:25) there is a reasonably success story of rehabilitation, resettlement and reintegration. These dimensions of post conflicts continue to be subjects of debate in policy and public debates in relation to the success and failures of rehabilitation, resettlement and reintegration.

This study will examine the rehabilitation, thus counseling, reintegration and resettlement of Zimbabwe’s ex-combatants or combatants in Gweru. The ex-combatants who took part in the study involved both those from, Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) led by Robert Mugabe and Zimbabwe Peoples Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), led by Joshua Nkomo. Although the main focus of the study is to explore the rehabilitation of these ex-combatants, one cannot deal with rehabilitation divorced of disarmament and Demobilisation since all these aspects are interrelated with one stage leading to the next one.

3.2 Primary aim and objectives
The primary aim of this study is:

- to focus on rehabilitation which encompasses taking care of the ex-combatants who were disabled and or injured during the war, as well as counseling, reintegrating and resettling them and
- to explore whether the ex-combatants who were demobilized and those who opted for a civilian life were rehabilitated.

The study will concentrate on ex-combatants in Gweru, who were to be rehabilitated from 1990 to 1995. The specific aim of the methodology is to follow an appropriate procedure, in this case qualitative methods in order to achieve the general aim and objectives. The researcher followed this approach in order to explore whether the ex-combatants who fought the war to liberate Zimbabwe from the colonial rule were given assistance with Demobilisation and rehabilitation, within the period 1990 to 1995.

As stated above, through the use of qualitative research methods in this case study, in-depth face-to-face interviews were used to achieve the objectives set out for the study. The main focus of the study was;

- to explore if the ex-combatants were reintegrated and rehabilitated.
- to understand how the ex-combatants were coping with their lives and
- to discover how they perceived their support from the government at the time of their Demobilisation.

Further objectives were included in the study in order to get more information;

- to establish the period the ex-combatants were involved in the liberation war and
- to establish whether the ex-combatants who fought in the Zimbabwe liberation war received any pay outs.

3.3 Motivation for the research
There has been a growing concern on the International arena regarding the successes and failures of programmes that relate to Demobilisation, rehabilitation, and reintegration (ILO, 2001: 120). Not many countries have been successful in all areas of post conflict reconstruction programmes, particularly in Africa (James, 2004: 168; Colletta, 1996: 53), with specific focus on thousands of ex-combatants returnees who live in squalid conditions.

The following factors are given in support of what happens in war torn countries, complex crisis and post-conflict situations are significant and regrettably a growing part of the current landscape of the developing world. According to the report given by UNDP Emergency Response Division, of the world's 20 poorest countries in 2002, most ex-combatants have experienced poverty and conflict in the past decades. Zimbabwe experienced the problems and difficulties of rehabilitating ex-combatants in order to equip them for independent living. In Africa alone, 29 of the 45 UNDP programme countries on rehabilitation and reintegration are experiencing some form of political or civil or social crisis (Mason, Douglas & Fraser, 1997: 204).

Secondly, every stage of crisis and post-conflict has a development dimension. The ‘relief to development’ or ‘continuum’ concepts have been shown to be inadequate paradigms in capturing the complex reality of crisis and post-conflict situations (Amnesty International, 2007: 26). Theoretically programmes were put in place to rehabilitate ex-combatants in Zimbabwe within 1990 to 1995; however, the researcher would like to find out what these programmes yielded practically. In real life, development and humanitarian concerns overlap, and affect one another and rarely follow any fixed sequence. Today’s complex crises make it even more profound as there are increasingly internal and protracted failures in rehabilitation, which, have long-lasting social, economic and environmental impacts (International Crisis Group, 2001). However, some countries have made relative progress in rehabilitation, thus counseling, resettlement and reintegration. These are countries where there are pockets of
relative calm and good governance that allow development to continue (Chris, 1996: 73).

Finally, the nature of a crisis or post-conflict situation demands quick and decisive action. This transformation must be done rapidly; there is little time to lose. Ofstad (2003: 31) contend that prolonging such a situation makes it breeding ground for further conflict or civil war. Therefore the researcher is motivated by this situation to study the rehabilitation programmes of ex-combatants in Zimbabwe within the period 1990 to 1995, finding out their present position and their views on what the government should do to help them.

3.4 Research design and methodology

Research design according to Patton (2002: 15) provides the glue that holds the research project together. In his view a design is used to structure the research, to show how all the major parts of the research project, the samples or groups, measures, treatments or programmes and methods of assignment work together to try and address the central research questions. In corroboration with Patton’s view point, Holliday (2007: 123), explains that understanding the relationships among designs is important in making design choices suitable for particular research work taking into consideration the strengths and weaknesses of different designs.

Research methodology is a systematic way and a set of methods that are used for collecting and analyzing research data (Morse, 2002: 96). Methodology includes the following concepts as they relate to a particular discipline or field of study; a collection of theories, concepts or ideas; a comparative study of different approaches; and critique of the individual methods (Creswell, 2003: 37). Methodology refers to the rationale and the philosophical assumptions that underlie a particular study relative to the method used. In view of the above factors, methodology can refer to the theoretical analysis of the ways of investigation appropriate to a field of study or to the body of inquiry. These are
underpinned by the principles particular to a branch of knowledge. This enables the researcher to choose the most suitable design and method to produce valid and reliable research. This research was conducted by means of in-depth semi-structured interviews.

3.5 Methodological paradigm

Morse (2001: 9) asserts that broadly speaking there are two major types of research paradigms (Creswell, 2003), namely quantitative and qualitative models. The quantitative paradigm is also known as the traditional, positivist, experimental way of carrying out research. The qualitative paradigm is also known as the constructivist, naturalistic, interpretive, post-positivist way of carrying out a study. This particular study is qualitative and therefore is naturalistic, descriptive and interpretive by nature.

3.6 Qualitative research paradigm

Qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, such as "real world setting where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest" (Patton, 2001: 39). Qualitative research, broadly defined, means "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 17) and instead, the kind of research that produces findings arrived at from real-world settings where the "phenomenon of interest unfolds naturally" (Patton, 2001: 39).

Unlike quantitative researchers who seek causal determination, prediction, and generalization. As pointed out by Denzin and Lincoln (2005: 32) qualitative research is a defined category of research designs or models, all of which elicit data in a natural environment, in form of descriptive narratives, like field notes, audio and video recordings as well as written and picture records. Phenomenological research is carried out in its natural environment such that the information is described and interpreted according to how the subjects perceive
the problems and the possible solutions to those problems. These authors go on to explain that qualitative research is holistic, discovery oriented, explanatory and provides a world view. Qualitative methods use descriptions and categories. This can be in the form of open ended interviews, observation, document analysis, case studies/life histories and correlational studies.

Qualitative approach was used in this study because it allowed more information and questions to be answered. The approach allowed the researcher to be part of a whole and to relate to respondents with dignity and humility, factors that are in question in this research. Qualitative approach gives more room for diversity in responses as well as the capacity to adapt to new developments or issues during the research process. This approach allowed the researcher to explore what happened to the demobilized ex-combatants from 1990 to 1995.

The researcher further received a detailed examination of each case and in-turn allowed the respondents to explain their circumstances and situations. Qualitative research claims to generate quality data (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002: 63) with explanations as to why and how certain outcomes were achieved or not achieved. Through the openness of respondents, the researcher received both depth and detail, generated new information and recognized phenomena normally ignored by quantitative methods. It is Guba & Lincoln’s (1998: 26) view that qualitative research tries to capture events as they happen and represent respondents on their own terms in their own views.

3.7 Limitations of the qualitative approach

In qualitative research the sample size is usually small. Therefore the results cannot be easily generalized. As pointed out by Cresswell (2008: 248) it is
difficult to aggregate data and make systematic comparisons. The research is dependent upon the researcher’s skills and experiences in research work.

3.8 Exploratory research

Exploratory research helps determine the best research design, data collection method and selection of subjects (Kotler, Adam, Brown, & Armstrong, 2006). Given its fundamental nature, exploratory research often helps researchers to find out or conclude that a perceived problem does exist or does not actually exist. This type of study often relies on qualitative approaches such as in-depth interviews and discussions with respondents. The results of exploratory research are usually useful for giving insight (Salkind, 2000: 42), which was helpful in the plight of the rehabilitation of ex-combatants. The researcher used exploratory research in order to gain insight into the ex-combatants' present situation. The results of qualitative research can give some indication as to the "why", "how" and "when" something occurs, but not necessarily how often (Patton, 2001: 65). This helped the researcher to find out what happened from 1990 to 1995. Exploratory research is not typically generalisable to the population at large.

3.9 Sample frame/Target population

Patton (1990: 5) states that a population is a group of individual persons, objects, or items from which samples are taken for measurement. According to Babbie and Mouton (2006: 178) the target population consists of the subjects involved in the study from which the sample can be drawn. This ensures that the researcher gets the correct information for valid and reliable information for the study. It was found to be practically not possible to locate all the ex-combatants in Gweru. The following factors were taken into consideration:

- the time factor,
- the cost of transport involved,
- the unavailability of petrol, and
the conditions of the roads used in order to reach all the ex-combatants in Gweru, especially those in the surrounding areas.

To make this research possible the target population of this study consisted of all ex-combatants who live in Mutapa, one of the high density suburbs in Gweru where most of the underprivileged people live. The target population for this study was all the ex-combatants in Gweru who were involved in the liberation struggle, fighting for Zimbabwe’s independence up to 1980.

3.10 Sampling

A sample is a finite part of a statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole (Patton, 1990:15). When dealing with people, it can be defined as a set of respondents selected from a larger population for the purpose of a study (Salkind, 2001: 15). The purpose of sampling is to select a suitable sample, or a representative part of a population for the purpose of determining parameters or characteristics of the whole population (Kotler, Adam, Brown, & Armstrong, 2006). Sampling is the process of selecting units from a population of interest so that by studying the sample we may fairly generalize our results back to the population from which they were chosen. However, in this study the primary purpose was to include cases that were relevant to provide the required information but not necessarily representative of the population. This study employed non-probability purposive sampling in order to select the sample according to the objectives of the study. The sample in this study is made up of eight ex-combatants.

In qualitative studies sample sizes are usually smaller and typically not random but purposive in design. Purposive sampling allows subjects to be selected because of some characteristics (Patton, 1990:169), in this study ex-combatants, who fought prior to Zimbabwe’s independence in 1980 and were rehabilitated or not within the period 1990 to 1995. Purposive sampling starts with a purpose in mind and the sample is thus selected to include people of interest and exclude
those who do not suit the purpose. This type of study obtains rich information from in-depth interviews (Kotler, Adam, Brown, & Armstrong, 2006). To make this study possible within the given time, only ex-combatants located in Mutapa high density suburb in Gweru were involved in the study.

3.11 Sampling procedure

For this type of study, Duke (2004: 198) recommends sampling 3 -10 subjects. This study had a sample of 8 ex-combatants, who fought in the Zimbabwe liberation war and were to be rehabilitated within the period 1990 to 1995. The researcher visited the chairperson of the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association (ZNLWVA) in Gweru town in order to get contacts of ex-combatants who lived in Mutapa high density suburb. The researcher visited individual ex-combatants in their homes.

Chain-sampling was used in order to quickly identify the required number of suitable participants. Chain sampling gave the researcher the latitude to find out from identified ex-combatants other ex-combatants in a similar situation to theirs. Suitable participants were ex-combatants of 46 years and above. Most of the screening was done in the initial interview during introductions and explanations of the purpose of the study and who could or could not take part in the study. All individuals sampled for interviews had personal life stories and experiences of the phenomenon being studied.

3.12 Data collection procedures - Interviews

Frey and Oishi (19995: 1) define an interview as a purposeful conversation in which one person asks prepared questions (interviewer) and another answers them (respondent). This is done to gain information on a particular topic or a particular area to be researched. Interviews are a useful tool which can lead to further research using other methods such as observation and experiments (Jensen and Jankowski, 1991: 101). While there are different forms of interviews, such as structured, unstructured or open-ended and semi-structured, this study
made use of semi-structured interviews. During the interview process the researcher had the opportunity to exercise flexibility and control, and created good rapport with the respondents in order to elicit the required information.

A good relationship between the researcher and the respondents is necessary when dealing with sensitive or taboo topics. The environment and atmosphere the interview is conducted in, may in itself allow information to be gained without directly asking for it (Wimmer and Dominic, 1997: 157).

A semi-structured interview is flexible; allowing new questions to be brought up during the interview as a result of what the interviewee says (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002: 195). The interviewer in a semi-structured interview generally has a framework of themes to be explored. Lindlof and Taylor (2002: 195) add that during the interview, a researcher asks an interviewee questions based on a prepared written list of questions and topics. In this study the researcher sought to find out the plight of Zimbabwe liberation ex-combatants, during the period within 1990 to 1995. The researcher also encouraged the respondents to freely express their ideas and provide information that they thought was important. With this flexibility, the researcher obtained unexpected significant information as well as answers for prepared interview questions. In addition to asking questions, the researcher took notes for later analysis.

In order to conduct successful semi-structured interviews, the researcher encouraged respondents to feel comfortable about talking freely. Even if the researcher knew what questions he wanted to ask of informants, how he asked those questions was another important issue as cited by (Wimmer and Dominic, 1997: 157). In semi-structured interviews, researchers ask open-ended questions, which require descriptive answers.

It is generally beneficial for interviewers to have an interview guide prepared, which is an informal "grouping of topics and questions that the interviewer can ask in different ways for different participants" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002: 195).
Interview guides help researchers to focus an interview on the topics at hand without constraining them to a particular format. This freedom can help interviewers to tailor their questions to the interview context, without losing focus (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002: 67).

Semi-structured interviews are conducted with a fairly open framework which allow for focused, conversational, two-way communication. They can be used both to give and receive information. When people have a conversation, they respond to each other by probing to keep the conversation going. During interviews, the researcher used appropriate probing those that encouraged interview respondents to talk more. However, Cresswell (2008: 233) states that probing should be neutral so that it does not redirect interviewees. Interviews are commonly used for collecting a wide range of data on a small sample within a short time (Babbie, 1998). This study among other things aimed at finding out whether ex-combatants who did not opt for the national army therein were rehabilitated, counseled and resettled. Interviews were ideal for this purpose since they allowed the respondents to express their views anonymously with their confidentiality maintained.

The researcher designed an interview protocol adapted from Cresswell (2008: 234) that contained instructions for the process of the interview. Questions were asked, and notes of responses from interviewees were taken. Some aspects of the protocol included the following information from the participants:

- the organization of work affiliation,
- educational background,
- present status,
- date,
- location and
- time of interview.

The research was conducted by means of one-on-one semi-structured interviews. This method was chosen because it allowed the respondents to express their views freely and much data were collected through interview
conversations. During the interview process the researcher provided clear instructions and asked questions on the interview guide, and compiled notes. The process was carried out by the researcher in a courteous manner, by not interjecting personal opinions into the interview and also maintaining confidentiality regarding the interview.

Face to face one-on-one interviews are useful for asking sensitive questions and enabled interviewees to ask questions or provide comments that went beyond the initial questions set out by the researcher. Interviews led to a high response rate and generated comprehensive data full of detail, because the researcher scheduled the interviews in advance and sampled participants who typically felt free to complete the interviews. Babbie (1998: 16) claims that interviews are commonly used for collecting lots of data on a small sample within a short time. Although there was a set of semi-structured questions, the researcher was able to elicit considerable information through follow-up questions and probes. Having an interviewer present also reduced the problem of unclear questions because the interviewer clarified all unclear information on the spot. However, Lindlof and Taylor (2002: 28) point out that, researchers should be careful not to prejudice participant answers, either knowingly or unknowingly, through comments or body language. Interviews generate first-hand quality data (Babbie, 1998: 26). This in itself is a big advantage in using the interview method. The method also allowed respondents to express their views freely without being unnecessarily restricted. Where further explanation was needed the participants had an opportunity to explain themselves. It is important to point out that the interviewer should be experienced in soliciting for the required data without being swayed away. In this study the researcher had that in mind when he was conducting interviews.

3.13 Validity and Reliability

Denzin & Lincoln (2005: 426) declare that without rigor, research is worthless, becomes fiction, and loses its utility. Hence, a great deal of attention is applied to reliability and validity in all research methods. Challenges to rigor in qualitative research interestingly progressed with the widespread of improved statistical
packages and the development of computing systems in quantitative research (Patton, 2001: 178). The lack of hard numbers and \( p \) values, in qualitative research expressed a lack of confidence from both inside and outside the field of research. Rather than explicating how rigor was attained in qualitative inquiry, a number of leading qualitative researchers argued that reliability and validity were terms pertaining to the quantitative paradigm and were not pertinent to qualitative inquiry (Altheide & Johnson, 1998: 36; Leininger, 1994: 122). Some suggested adopting new criteria for determining reliability and validity, and hence ensuring rigor in qualitative inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 87; Leininger, 2004: 64; Salkind, 2000: 39).

In the 1980s, (Guba & Lincoln, 1982: 243) reliability and validity were substituted with the parallel concept of "trustworthiness," containing four aspects: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Within these were specific methodological strategies which were applied in this study for demonstrating qualitative rigor, such as the audit trail, member checks when coding, categorizing, or confirming results with participants, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, structural corroboration, and referential material adequacy as cited by (Guba & Lincoln, 1981: 216; Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 95; Guba & Lincoln, 1982: 236). Thus, over the past two decades, reliability and validity have been subtly replaced by criteria and standards for evaluation of the overall significance, relevance, impact, and utility of completed research.

Strategies to ensure rigor inherent in the research process itself were back staged to these new criteria to the extent that, while they continue to be used, they are less likely to be valued or recognized as indices of rigor (Salkind, 2001: 17). The following authors (Hammersley, 2002: 185; Kuzel & Engel, 2001: 114; Yin, 2004: 186), argue that the broad and abstract concepts of reliability and validity can be applied to all research because the goal of finding plausible and credible outcome explanations is central to all research.
There has been a growing concern that, in the time since (Guba and Lincoln, 1982: 238) developed their criteria for trustworthiness, there has been a tendency for qualitative researchers to focus on the tangible outcomes of the research (which can be cited at the end of a study) rather than demonstrating how verification strategies were used to shape and direct the research during its development.

3.13.1 The nature of verification in qualitative research

Creswell (2008: 256) defines verification as the process of checking, confirming, making sure, and being certain that both the interview process and the recording of information are accurate. He goes on to add that in qualitative research, verification refers to the mechanisms used during the process of research to incrementally contribute to ensuring reliability and validity and, thus, the rigor of a study. These mechanisms are woven into every step of the inquiry to construct a solid product (Creswell, 2007: 56; Kvale, 2006: 237) by identifying and correcting errors before they are built into the developing model and before they subvert the analysis. If the principles of qualitative inquiry are followed, as was the case in this study, the analysis is self-correcting. In other words, qualitative research is interactive rather than linear, so that a good qualitative researcher moves back and forth between design and implementation to ensure congruence among question formulation, literature, recruitment, data collection strategies, and analysis (Patton, 1990: 24) Data were systematically checked, focus was maintained, and the fit of data and the conceptual work of analysis and interpretation were monitored and confirmed constantly, just as stressed by Patton. Verification strategies helped the researcher to identify when to continue, stop or modify the research process in order to achieve reliability and validity and ensure rigor.

3.13.2 Researcher responsiveness
According to Salkind (2001: 8) research is only as good as the investigator. It is the researcher’s creativity, sensitivity, flexibility and skill in using the verification strategies that determines the reliability and validity of the evolving study (Creswell, 2007: 75). For example, ongoing analysis results in the dynamic formulation of conjectures and questions that force purposive sampling. The researcher analyses the data, which would then determine future participant recruitment. Within the process of categorization and saturation lie sampling strategies to ensure replication and confirmation. Kriger (1992: 21) contend that responsiveness of the investigator to whether or not the categorization scheme actually holds (and is kept), or appears thin and muddled (and the scheme is changed), influences the outcome. In this way, it is essential that the investigator remains open, use sensitivity, creativity and insight, and be willing to relinquish any ideas that are poorly supported regardless of the excitement and the potential that they first appear to provide (Morse, 2001: 68). All these factors were taken into consideration during the course of this study in order to ensure reliability and validity. It is these investigator qualities or actions that produce social inquiry and are crucial to the attainment of optimal reliability and validity. As pointed out by Patton (2001: 39), the lack of responsiveness of the investigator at all stages of the research process is the greatest hidden threat to validity and one that is poorly detected using post hoc criteria of “trustworthiness.” Lack of responsiveness of the investigator may be due to lack of knowledge, overly adhering to instructions rather than listening to data, the inability to abstract, synthesize or move beyond the technicalities of data coding. It could also be due to working deductively (implicitly or explicitly) from previously held assumptions or a theoretical framework, or following instructions in a rote fashion rather than using them strategically in decision making. To further enhance the process, verification strategies were employed.

3.13.3 Verification strategies
Within the conduct of inquiry itself, verification strategies that ensure both reliability and validity of data are activities such as ensuring methodological coherence, sampling sufficiency, developing a dynamic relationship between sampling, data collection and analysis, thinking theoretically, and theory development (Cresswell, 2008: 243). Each of these is discussed briefly.

Methodological coherence aims to achieve congruency between the research question and the components of the method. In qualitative research the question has to match the method, which also matches the data and the analytic procedures (Frey & Oishi, 1995: 57). As the research unfolds, the process may not follow a linear pattern. Data may demand to be treated differently (Wimmer & Dominic, 1997: 155) so that the question may have to be restructured or methods changed. Sampling plans may be expanded or change course altogether. The fit of these components with data to meet the analytic goals must be coherent, with each verifying the previous component and the methodological assumptions as a whole (Salkind, 2000: 86).

It is important that the sample is made appropriate, consisting of participants who best represent or have knowledge of the research topic. That was the main reason for using purposive sampling in this study. This ensures efficient and effective saturation of categories, with optimal quality data and minimum dross. Sampling adequacy, evidenced by saturation and replication (Morse, 2001: 122), means that sufficient data to account for all aspects of the phenomenon have been obtained. Seeking negative cases is essential, ensuring validity by indicating aspects of the developing analysis that are initially less than obvious. By definition, saturating data ensures replication in categories; replication verifies, and ensures comprehension and completeness (Cresswell, 2008: 248).

Jensen & Jankowski (1991: 114) claim that collecting and analyzing data concurrently forms a mutual interaction between what is known and what one
needs to know. This pacing and the interaction between data and analysis (as discussed earlier) is the essence of attaining reliability and validity.

One other important aspect is thinking theoretically. Ideas emerging from data are reconfirmed in new data giving a rise to new ideas that, in turn, must be verified in data already collected. The same authors (Jensen & Jankowski, 1991: 114) maintain that thinking theoretically requires macro-micro perspectives, inching forward without making cognitive leaps, constantly checking and rechecking, and building a solid foundation. In this study the researcher went over and over the information with the respondent checking for accuracy and consistency.

Theory development is to move with deliberation between a micro perspective of the data and a macro conceptual/theoretical understanding (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002: 216). They go on to propose that in this way, theory is developed through two mechanisms: (1) as an outcome of the research process, rather than being adopted as a framework to move the analysis along; and (2) as a template for comparison and further development of the theory. Valid theories that are well developed and informed are comprehensive, logical, parsimonious, and consistent (Glaser 2002: 78; Morse 1997: 445). Altogether these verification strategies incrementally and interactively contribute towards reliability and validity, thus ensuring rigor. Wimmer & Dominic (1997: 105) endorse that qualitative inquiry should be beyond question, beyond challenge, and provide pragmatic scientific evidence that must be integrated into our developing knowledge base. In this study the researcher followed all the important aspects (taking note of body language, facial expressions, using courteous language, prompting for more information, maintaining eye contact) as he interacted with the respondents.

3.14 Data analysis

Data analysis is probably the aspect of qualitative research that most clearly distinguishes it from quantitative research. The first step in data analysis is to
explore the data. A preliminary exploratory analysis in qualitative research consists of exploring the data, writing down ideas, thinking about the organization of the data in text segments or themes (Cresswell, 2008: 250). Qualitative data analysis is primarily an inductive process of organizing the data into categories and identifying patterns or relationships among the categories (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002: 195). The process of qualitative data analysis is an ongoing cyclical process integrated into all phases of qualitative research. It is an inductive process in which categories and patterns emerge from the data rather than being imposed on data prior to data collection (Stenbacka, 2001: 123). In this study similar responses and ideas were grouped and treated in their categories. Qualitative data analysis in this study underwent the following stages: coding topics, classifying topics, developing categories and seeking patterns as cited by (Morse, 2002: 103). There are many different perspectives on the kinds of things that the researcher can, and should, notice in the data, and how to go about the process of noticing those things. But behind these differences there is the common and simple practice of going out into the world and noticing interesting things. The process is making observations, writing field notes, recording and gathering information, all this is done during the interview process. This process was followed by collecting and analyzing data from ex-combatants producing a record of classified information. Once a record is produced, the researcher pays attention to the record, and notices similarities and differences in the record (Stenbacka, 2001: 112). The record is read many times to allow sorting and coding of data.

As the researcher observes and writes responses in categories, the next step is to sort the data. This process is analogous to working on a jigsaw. Straus & Corbin (1990: 18) assert that a common strategy for solving the puzzle is to identify and sort puzzle pieces into groups and then fit them together to a make a whole. This was done with pieces of information collected during interviews with ex-combatants. Some of the puzzle pieces easily fitted into these categories, while others were more difficult to categorize. In any case, this sorting made it
easier to solve the puzzle when the pieces were identified. The researcher sorted and sifted them, searching for types, classes, sequences, processes, patterns or wholes. As cited by Kotler, Adam, Brown, & Armstrong (2006: 107), the aim of this process was to assemble or reconstruct the data in a meaningful or comprehensible fashion for easy analysis.

3.15 Data coding

Coding is a qualitative research process in which the researcher makes sense of out of text data, divides it into text or image segments, labels the segments, examines codes for overlap and redundancy and collapses these codes into broad themes. Coding helps to condense and reduce large amounts of data to small and manageable data into analytical categories. This is an inductive process of narrowing data into a few themes (Creswell, 2003: 225). In this process the researcher selects specific data to use and disregard other data that do not specifically provide evidence for relevant themes. Denzin & Lincoln (2005: 426) claim that coding is an interpretive technique that both organizes the data and provides a means to introduce the interpretations of it into meaningful information. Most coding requires the researcher to read the data and demarcate segments within it. In this study each segment was labeled with a “code” in form of a short phrase or sentence that suggests how the associated data segments inform the research objectives. When coding was complete, the researcher prepared reports summarizing the prevalence of codes, discussing similarities and differences in related codes across distinct original sources/contexts, comparing the relationship between one or more codes. In this study the researcher employed these steps in analyzing and categorizing the data collected.

3.16 Ethical considerations

During the initial stages of the study informed consent was sought and it was explained to the interviewees that participation was voluntary. According to
(Cresswell, 2008: 229) ethics is a philosophical study of moral value of human conduct and of the rules and principles that ought to govern it, or a code of behaviour considered correct especially that of a particular group, profession or individual. Before conducting any interviews, (Bernard, 2002: 68), the researcher needs to inform interview subjects of the purpose of the research, the use of data obtained through the interview, and assure them of confidentiality and anonymity of information. Most importantly, researchers need to let interview subjects know that their participation is voluntary.

In this study the participants were informed of the purpose of the research, that participation was voluntary, that they were free to withdraw if uncomfortable, and that all information was confidential. This process is called informed consent and is mandatory for ethical reasons (Kvale, 2006: 12). In this study participants expressed their willingness to participate in the research by filling in consent forms. The author goes on to add that informed consent may also improve the validity of data because a researcher assures interviewees of their rights and security.

Researchers are responsible for maintaining the dignity and welfare of all participants. This obligation also entails protecting them from harm, unnecessary risks, or mental and physical discomfort that may be inherent in the research procedure. Researchers are also responsible for conducting themselves ethically and for treating the participants in an ethical manner at all times. As pointed out by Angrosino (2002: 243) the reason for ethical considerations is for the protection of the rights of individuals and groups: to have informed consent free of coercion; respect for rights of privacy and confidentiality; minimization of risk of harm to the subject and limitation of unreliable information.

3.17 Conclusion

This chapter dealt with the research methodology which entails the research design, the population and sample, the method of collecting data and how the
data were analysed. Reliability and validity were discussed in detail in order to make an attempt to justify the use of qualitative research in this study. Ethical issues were dealt with to ensure measures taken were adequate on matters of security and confidentiality on the part of participants. The next chapter deals with discussion and interpretation of results.

Chapter 4

4.0 Research findings and discussion

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, data are presented and interpreted. The findings are discussed in relation to the participants’ responses with the main focus on rehabilitation which encompasses taking care of the ex-combatants who were disabled and/or injured during the war, as well as counseling, reintegrating and resettling them. A common strategy for solving the puzzle is to identify and sort puzzle pieces into
groups and then fit them together to a make a whole (Holliday, 2007: 128). This was done with information gathered during interviews. Some of the puzzle pieces easily fitted into these categories, while others were more difficult to categorize. The data are coded and presented in relation to the objectives of the study.

The process of coding and analyzing data is a critical part of qualitative research because it is the unique part that enables a researcher to make an original contribution to the body of knowledge. Clarke (2005: 5) takes coding as a process for both categorizing qualitative data and for describing the implications and details of these.

In open coding the researcher forms initial categories of information about the phenomenon being studied by segmenting information, linking relational theories and concepts together as well as identifying contrasting features in the data.

Through axial coding, the researcher followed the process of relating codes (categories and concepts) to each other, via a combination of inductive and deductive thinking. The basic frame of generic relationships is understood to include phenomena, causal conditions, context conditions, intervening conditions, action strategies and consequences (Charmaz, 2006). The selective coding helps the researcher to identify data that support the conceptual coding categories already developed. In this study the researcher employed these steps in analyzing and categorizing the data collected.

Biographical details of the participants in the study are discussed first in order to frame the results that follow. The period the participants were involved in the armed struggle, the disarmament and the demobilisation process are also discussed. Themes that emerge are considered and categorized accordingly. Further discussion is carried out on the demobilisation pay outs and rehabilitation, being counseling, skills training, resettlement and reintegration as well as ex-combatants’ suggestions on how they can be helped.

4.2 Data presentation and interpretation
Qualitative researchers often display their findings visually by using tables and figures that augment the discussion (Miles & Huberman, 1994: 261). Data can be displayed in different ways. In this study tables were used to present data collected during the study. Eight ex-combatants all from Mutapa (a high density suburb) took part in the liberation war that ended in 1980. All were interviewed with regards to disarmament and demobilisation that led to rehabilitation and reintegration which are the main foci of the study. The biographical details of the participants were recorded. The data collected is indicated in the following tables.

Table 1: Biographical details of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age range</th>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>No of children</th>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Professional Qualification/Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>married</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>JC</td>
<td>Teaching cert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>divorced</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>O Level</td>
<td>Driver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>married</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>O Level</td>
<td>Carpentry cert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>divorced</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>JC</td>
<td>Salesman (cert.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>married</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>O Level</td>
<td>Salesman (cert.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>divorced</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>O Level</td>
<td>Teaching cert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>61-70</td>
<td>married</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>JC</td>
<td>Builder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>61-70</td>
<td>married</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>JC</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the eight participants who took part in the study were men. This was not by design but these were the ex-combatants who were found in Mutapa at the time of the study. The ages of the participants ranged from 40 to 70. Out of the eight ex-combatants interviewed, five of them were between the ages of 51 and 60 years of age, one was between 40 and 50 while the other two were between 61 and 70. Five of the ex-combatants were married and three were divorced. Seven of the ex-combatants had children, three had two each, two had four each, one had three and another had five. Their level of education ranged from Junior certificate to General Certificate at Ordinary level. Four of them had a qualification of Junior certificate while the other four had Ordinary level. Two of
the ex-combatants were qualified teachers, one was a driver, two were carpenters, two were salesmen and one was a builder. The next part is another background table indicating period of war, disarmament and demobilisation.

Table 2 One ex-combatant at a time joined the war in the following years: 1971; 1973; 1976 and 1977. Two at a time joined in 1974 and 1975. Only one ex-combatant trained in Zambia while seven of them trained in Mozambique. Four ex-combatants were each in the war for two years, three years, six years and eight years respectively. Two fought for four years and another two for five years. All ex-combatants were disarmed in 1980. Three ex-combatants were each demobilized in 1990; 1991 and 1992. Five of them were demobilized in 1993.

Table 2: Period of war, disarmament and demobilisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Year joined war</th>
<th>Country of operation</th>
<th>No. of years in war</th>
<th>Period involved in war</th>
<th>Year of disarmament</th>
<th>Year of Demobilization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

One ex-combatant at a time joined the war in the following years: 1971; 1973; 1976 and 1977. Two at a time joined in 1974 and 1975. Only one ex-combatant trained in Zambia while seven of them trained in Mozambique. Four ex-combatants were each in the war for two years, three years, six years and eight years respectively. Two fought for four years and another two for five years. All ex-combatants were disarmed in 1980. Three ex-combatants were each demobilized in 1990; 1991 and 1992. Five of them were demobilized in 1993. When asked the question whether ex-combatants were given the option to join
the army or to be re-integrated, two said that they were not given an option they were simply told there were too many people in the army. Three said that they were given any option that was later changed because there were too many people who wanted to join the army. One was given an option but was not interested due to his bad experiences in the war. One was injured and so had no option. The findings for this data are represented in Table 3.

**Table 3: Options, demobilisation payouts, counseling, training programmes and resettlement**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Demobilization &amp; monthly pay outs</th>
<th>Counseling</th>
<th>Training Programmes</th>
<th>Resettlement &amp; Reintegration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Yes, but was not a firm option. Never worked out.</td>
<td>Bulk $4000 and monthly payment of $150</td>
<td>No, told not to talk about war.</td>
<td>Building, but did not complete the course</td>
<td>No, just occupied a farm but has been evacuated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>No, was told there were too many people.</td>
<td>Bulk $4400 and monthly payment of $185</td>
<td>No, were told to appease ancestral spirits</td>
<td>No, promised money to start own business</td>
<td>No, we just invaded land where we are farming.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Yes, but was later changed. Too many people.</td>
<td>Bulk $2500 and monthly payment of $200</td>
<td>No, relatives talked to me and reported to ancestral spirits</td>
<td>Carpentry but did not complete the programme</td>
<td>Occupied a farm and were later evacuated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Yes, but was later changed. Too many people</td>
<td>Bulk $15000 &amp; monthly payment of $150</td>
<td>No, relatives talked to me.</td>
<td>Agriculture at Kushinga but did not complete</td>
<td>No, invaded land where we are just farming.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>No, was told army too big.</td>
<td>Bulk $4400 and monthly payment of $185</td>
<td>No, were told to discuss with parents &amp; relatives at home</td>
<td>I am just farming illegally in one farm</td>
<td>No, very few who knew top officials were resettled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>No, they said they wanted young people</td>
<td>Bulk $4000 and monthly payment of $150</td>
<td>No, were advised not to talk about the war.</td>
<td>Did not get into any programme, went home straight.</td>
<td>No, were just promised and now it's a new government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Yes, but not interested due to</td>
<td>Bulk $4400 and monthly</td>
<td>No, just told to forget bush</td>
<td>Was not engaged in</td>
<td>No, were not settled.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Had no choice because I was injured.</th>
<th>Bulk $10500 &amp; monthly payment of $150</th>
<th>No, were told life in the bush is over we were home.</th>
<th>No, because I was injured</th>
<th>No, were just promised. I don’t think it will happen.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When asked whether they had received demobilization pay outs and how much, three said that they were paid each an amount of $4400 and a monthly payment of $185, two spoke of an amount of $4000 and a monthly payment of $150 while three said they were each paid $2500 and a payment of $200 per month, $15000 and a monthly payment of $150 and $10500 and $150 per month respectively. One hundred and fifty dollars could only buy a meal for three days at the time but obviously cannot buy anything today. Refer to Table 3.

Table 3 indicates the findings with regard to the answers from the participants when asked if they received counseling on reintegration. All eight stated that they did not receive any counseling. When asked about the programmes they engaged in after the war, four stated that they were not engaged in any programme, three said that each one of them were engaged in one of the following: agriculture, carpentry and building. When asked if they were resettled, all eight of them said they were not properly resettled. Three of them indicated that they were only promised while the other three said they occupied an invaded farm but they were later evacuated by government officials.

Table 4: Suggestions to help ex-combatants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part.</th>
<th>Rehabilitation &amp; Resettlement</th>
<th>Farming &amp; Business</th>
<th>Pension and Education for children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Farms earmarked for ex-combatants resettlement were grabbed by ZANU PF officials</td>
<td>Those trained in agriculture and building to be given government jobs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Should be properly counseled and disabled should be treated and well</td>
<td>Business set up by the government and handed over</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When the ex-combatants were asked “What more do you think should be done to help people in your position?” All the eight stated that ex-combatants should be counseled and settled on good land as indicated in Table 4. Three of them (03; 05 08) added that those who were disabled should be rehabilitated and be offered free medical treatment. Four (01; 04; 06; 07) mentioned that the government should start businesses and hand them over to ex-combatants or financially support ex-combatants in business ventures. There was no mention of training to gain business skills. Two (04; 05) stated that those who were trained in agriculture can either be supported with farm implements so that they produce or be employed by the government. One of them (01) also stated that those trained in building could be employed by the government. Two (02; 07) mentioned that ex-combatants’ children should be educated by the state at no charge while one pointed out that old ex-combatants should be put on pension funded by the government.
4.3 Biographical details of participants in the study

Findings indicate that all eight participants who were interviewed were men; however, this does not mean that there were no women who fought in the Zimbabwe liberation war. With the UN Security Council Resolution 1325, the topic of gender and armed conflict is firmly placed on the international agenda (United Nations Security Council, 2000: 3). Most attention has been paid to women’s roles in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post conflict rehabilitation. Less consideration is given to women's roles in active warfare and to women who operate as combatants in regular armies in conflict. This is despite the fact that paragraph 13 of Resolution 1325 encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, Demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependents.

The fact that in this study only male ex-combatants were involved may be because of the location or that the few women who were involved in the war do not live in Gweru. This may also be explained by the fact that in most countries, it is generally assumed that men are more violent than women and women are more inclined to and are supportive of peace. The bigger percentage of combatants who get involved in the actual fighting are men, while the majority of women support by working as medics for the injured or support by providing food and information about the enemy (Goldstein, 2001: 95).

Studies that have been carried out by different researchers (Fitzgerald, A.M. 2003: 41; Barth, 2002: 15; Kriger, 1992: 78; Turshen & Twangiramariya, 1998: 127; Arthur, 1998: 34) however, indicate that female combatants have been active in forces in Eritrea, Ethiopia, Namibia, Nicaragua, Mozambique, South Africa, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Liberia, Algeria and Zimbabwe the country in question. There is growing evidence and recognition that women as well as men
are actively involved in fighting during conflict (Goldstein, 2001: 59). Although the proportion of female participation in national armies, guerrilla or armed liberation movements varies, it generally ranges from ten percent to one third of combatants (Lindsey, 2000: 562).

The ages of the participants ranged from 41 to 70. All the participants were quite old and as such their memories were not so good and they could have missed some of the information although they claimed to remember most of the important aspects. This factor was controlled by purposeful sampling procedure that specifically targeted ex-combatants who were involved in the liberation war prior to 1980. Five of the participants were married while three were divorced. It is most likely that the time these ex-combatants spent away from their families fighting the liberation war, affected their marriages. This follows what was indicated by the three participants; (02) “When I left for the struggle my family suffered, sometimes they would go without food, clothes, school fees and this eventually affected my marriage”. The second one (06) pointed out that “My wife was taken by somebody and when I came back she had family with that man”. The third one (04) emotionally stated that “I fought for the country and while I was away my family was destroyed. I suffered for nothing, I benefited nothing”.

Studies carried out by (Enloe, 2000: 68) indicate that marriages and families suffer particularly for those involved in the war, especially if members of the family are separated. Seven of the ex-combatants had children and only one did not have. All the seven who had children asserted that their children were supposed to be educated by the state. One of them (07) suggested that “Children of ex-combatants who were not employed could be employed by parastatal companies so that they would not suffer like they did when their parents were fighting in the armed struggle”.

Four of the ex-combatants had an academic qualification of a Junior Certificate and another four had Ordinary Level. Two of the participants were qualified
teachers. One was a salesman and another had a driver’s license. These are people who left their profession to join the armed struggle. Four of the participants did not have any professional qualifications. One is likely to have joined the war immediately after ordinary level or he did not do well at that level. According to Colletta (1996: 192) if ex-combatants are demobilized and reintegrated without trade skills to make a living from, without employment and meaningful business ventures, they are likely to commit crime in order to earn a living. A similar situation was cited in Uganda where other adult returnees who could not make ends meet considered turning to robbery and thuggery or going back to the LRA, where they received more provisions and could grab what they wanted at will (Date-Bah, 2003: 48).

4.4 Period of war, disarmament and demobilisation

All the participants joined the war from 1971 to 1977. The ex-combatant who participated in the liberation war for the shortest period served for two years while the one who served the longest was in the war for eight years. On finding out whether the ex-combatants were keen to come home when the ceasefire was announced in 1979, interesting responses came out. The following were some of the responses: (05) “I was both excited to come home as a victor and at the same time felt sad to lose the power of carrying a gun”. One of them (03) remarked, “I was excited to go home but in the bush we enjoyed raiding shops and farms for food and money”. The other (08) pointed out that, “Ordinary youth who were not soldiers brought us food”.

Another psychological process that drives perpetuation of war is the sacrifice trap, also commonly known as entrapment. In some conflicts, a party may expend seemingly unjustified amounts of time, energy, and resources because the combatants do not want to go back and face home and face a future which is uncertain. So they continue or even increase their commitment to a failing course of action in order to justify their previous investments. As time passes, the cost of continuing the war increases, but because they do not regard total withdrawal as
an option, they come to regard total commitment as the only choice (Kelman, 2006: 210). Pruitt and Kim (2004: 16) express that combatants become trapped into an escalatory path of ever-increasing commitment. In this study ex-combatants’ comments were a clear indication that there was a mixed reaction of excitement to go home and uncertainty for the future.

Seven of the participants trained for war in Mozambique and only one trained in Zambia. This could be attributed to the fact that it was easier to cross from Zimbabwe into Mozambique in days on foot unlike the long distance to Zambia that would take weeks. There were far more risks for combatants to walk or travel to Zambia because of road blocks and patrols by the Rhodesian forces and yet crossing into Mozambique combatants would use the thick bush areas where there were no roads. The other factor was that the government and people of Mozambique were more prepared to receive combatants from Zimbabwe than the government and people of Zambia were (Zimbabwe Women’s Writers, 2000: 18).

All the participants were disarmed in 1980. The United Nations recommends disarmament soon after a ceasefire agreement in order to minimize the misuse of arms. If such arms are not collected and put in safe-keeping or destroyed they can be used to commit crime if they fall into the wrong hands. Five of the participants were demobilized in 1993. The other three were demobilized in the following order: 1990, 1991 and 1992 respectively.

4.5 Options, demobilisation payouts, counseling, skills training and resettlement.

Four of the eight participants were given the option to join the army or to be reintegrated into the community. However, when it came to the practical realization, the option was withdrawn because it was established that it was impossible to absorb all the interested ex-combatants into the national army. Studies show that it is the general trend in all countries that have experienced
civil wars (Date-Bah, 2003: 15; Kriger, 1992: 78; Turshen & Twangiramariya, 1998: 127). One of the four (07) who was given the option to join the national army said that he did not take the option because of the bad experiences he had during the armed struggle. Three of the participants (1, 03 & 04) said they were told the army was too big and therefore were not given the option to join. One of the participants (08) was injured during the war and needed rehabilitation. In his words, “The war reduced me to a half human being therefore I could not be a soldier anymore”. As pointed out by the UN, in every country where there is civil war, many people are injured both combatants and civilians, and these need to be treated and rehabilitated. Some of them will need technical equipment, wheel chairs, prostheses, hearing aids and canes to facilitate their free movement. Appropriate programmes can be set up for them to acquire skills for industrial production to enable them to live independent lives.

4.6 Demobilisation payouts

Demobilisation payouts ranged from two thousand five hundred ($2 500) to fifteen thousand ($15 000) Zimbabwe dollars with monthly payments of one hundred and fifty dollars, two hundred and one hundred and eighty five ($150; $200 & $185). The payouts seemed to have a strong relationship with the number of years served in the liberation war. The participant who, according to the given information, received the least amount of two thousand five hundred dollars and a monthly payment of two hundred dollars, had only served for two years whereas the participant who received ten thousand five hundred dollars and a monthly payment of one hundred and fifty dollars served for six years and the participant who received fifteen thousand dollars and a monthly payment of one hundred and fifty dollars, served for eight years.

Three of the participants received four thousand four hundred dollars each with a monthly payment of one hundred and fifty dollars and two received four thousand dollars each with a monthly payment of one hundred and fifty dollars. It is difficult
to ascertain how the monthly payments were arrived at. When the ex-combatants were asked, “How were the monthly payments determined?” all of them indicated that they did not know. When asked if they were involved in making decisions, the following responses were given, (04: 07) “Only the commanders and high ranking army officials were involved. We were just given the money and asked to sign. Those who were prominent and had positions were given $50 000 each. This was referred to as 50kgs”. From the participants’ responses, it would appear as though the commanders made decisions and decided what to give which group from the Demobilisation allocation of funds they were given.

When asked whether the payouts were very helpful three of the participants (03: 05) responded as follows, “In the armed struggle we got more money than we were given when we left”. The other (08) said, “This was a painful payout especially when I remember how we suffered in the war. Sometimes we would go for days without food and we survived by eating wild fruit”. The third participant (06) remarked, “The payouts were not worth the risks we took such as hunger, war, disease, snakes and wild animals. They were a joke but the commanders kept on reminding us that we were not fighting for money but for land, and yet up to now we do not have land while they have each about five farms”. The reintegration process was faced with high expectations of returning home and the dilemma that limited attention and support often made these ex-combatants wonder why they left the bush, while they suffered from the atrocities they had suffered.

Kingma (2000: 28) asserts that The Human Needs Theory assumes that deep-rooted conflict is caused by unmet desires or frustrated human needs thus physical, psychological and social. Security, identity, participation and autonomy are often cited. The Conflict Transformation Theory assumes that conflict is caused by real problems of inequality and injustice expressed by competing social cultural and economic frameworks (Kingma, 1997: 86). The participants in this study felt a heavy load of injustice and unequal distribution of the payouts.
4.7 Rehabilitation

None of the participants who were interviewed were rehabilitated, thus none of them were resettled, reintegrated and counseled. Two pointed out that they were advised by the officers who were in charge of Demobilisation camps not to talk about the war because then it would remind them of the bad experiences of what happened in the war. The other four said they were advised to discuss their problems with relatives and then appease the spirits. Two claimed that they were advised to forget about bush life and concentrate on their civilian life. When asked if they managed to cope without receiving counseling, they gave the following individual responses (03) “Each time I heard a sharp sound like that of a gun, I acted like I was in the war”. (01) “It took me time to adjust in order to walk in the open freely. Sometimes I still feel like somebody is just going to shoot me particularly if I am walking in the bush alone”. (07) “Sometimes my emotions drive me mad when I run short of food, or any basic resources, especially when I think of how we suffered to liberate the country. When people continue to suffer emotions, memories of difficult times continue to be revived. At times I think like getting the gun and going back to the bush. I struggle to control my emotions when angry, but I also feel unsafe without a gun”.

While it has been a long time such that one would not imagine such emotions coming up, it is possible that when one is reminded of the difficulties, one is likely to become emotional again. Participant (05) went on to say “Sometimes the images of our colleagues and enemies killed in the war appear to me vividly”. From these responses, it is clear that the importance of counseling people who have gone through a war cannot be overemphasized. Successful trauma counseling and psychosocial healing are necessary for ex-combatants some of whom went through torture, abuse and harassment in order for them to form positive images, and achieve emotional and social healing for successful reintegration (ILO, 1995: 24). As expressed by Oklahoma (1999: 138) counseling would also help ex-combatants to establish a positive new identity and create a meaningful relationship with the community.
in which they live. Most ex-combatants interviewed expressed the need for proper counseling in the past as well as for the present-day future.

This counseling could be enhanced through the use of music, drama, and other social activities. In Uganda (World Bank, 2002: 23) the use of social activities such as debate, drama, music and dances helped ex-combatants to live on despite the horrors of rebel captivity, and helped to give them a new sense to live. Most likely such activities could not have been implemented in Zimbabwe since it is likely that such knowledge might not have been available. James (2004:79) quotes a 17 year old male ex-combatant who chose to join the LRA in Northern Uganda at the age of 13 to avenge the death of his parents, thought to be killed by the Ugandan army, who praised the counseling treatment he had received and pointed out that, "It helped me get relief from the trauma and the related problems of the bush life. I no longer experience nightmares and now I have friends who love and help me in my problems" (ILO, 1995: 53).

The experiences from Uganda ex-combatants, as well as lessons drawn from other war-affected areas, show the need for comprehensive counseling schemes for successful reintegration. Experience in Northern Uganda and findings from Sierra Leone (Kingma, 1996: 74) emphasises that persons who have been fighting in the war should not be integrated into society without counseling or otherwise they may be social misfits. The family and community need to be part of the process of counseling healing because they are part of the wound (Kingma, 1996: 47). Counseling may be part of a process of recovery, but is not sufficient in itself. This should be accompanied by skills training that will enable ex-combatants to engage in projects that help them to make a living without being dependant on the government.

4.8 Skills training

Two of the ex-combatants were qualified teachers who said they went back to teaching in 1990. One of the participants said that he was not engaged in any skills programme because of his disability. Three of the participants were not involved in any training. What they wanted to do was farming but they were not allocated land. One of these three (02) said, “I am just farming illegally on one of
the farms but I am not sure for how long”. Two of the participants were engaged in skills training, one in carpentry and another in agriculture. The two (03; 04) said,” We did not complete the courses. The training was closed down due to a shortage of funds”. When probed further about what happened to the funds, the two (03; 04) alleged the following; “There was a lot of corruption, funds and resources were looted by government high ranking officials”. “We (04) could see trucks almost everyday carrying machinery and products away”. They also pointed out that the training was not properly managed; there was mismanagement of equipment, resources and products. One of participants (03) said, “Nobody was accountable, those who were accountable when the training started were transferred or moved away. No explanation was given to us as to why they were transferred or moved away”.

Skills training is very important because it sets people on the road to independent living supporting themselves and their families. A research carried out in Uganda (James, 2004: 94) indicated that the demand for viable training options and income generating projects is immense. The research found that the majority of respondents expressed the need to acquire vocational skills. In Zimbabwe options that were available for ex-combatants to benefit from vocational training and income generating activities were limited and unsuccessful.

Four of the participants pointed out that they invaded farms where they are still farming. Two of these four said they have since been evacuated and they have no land. When probed to find out how long they will farm illegally, they each answered as follows, (02) “I will stay as long as the government has not moved me away”. The other one (05) said, “I am not sure, we might be lucky to stay since the farm we occupied is not attractive to government high ranking officials. Government officials and politicians want farms with water, buildings and other developments” The other four participants said they were promised to be resettled and they are still waiting. One of them (06) remarked, “Even if we are allocated farms we do not have equipment and resources to use. We see many
of our colleagues not doing much on the farms. All they have done is to build huts close to the main road to sell firewood and tomatoes. They will end up stealing from farmers who are producing crops”.

Asked if there was still hope for them to be resettled, the responses were as follows (02) “I am not sure but there is a new government, that of unity which has its own problems of reviving industry and agriculture. Most people who are not producing are likely to be moved away from the farms”. The other participant (03) commented, “It’s all gone, I don’t think we will get anything”.

From these interviews there was a general feeling that the land was not being put to proper use. Another participant (07) claimed that, “Most of the land is lying idle while people starve and the government will have to import food”. It appears there is still conflict concerning the distribution of resources, land in particular. In conditions of oppression, discrimination, under-privilege and isolation, the defense of values (in this case land) is important to the needs of personal security and identity (Kingma, 2001: 51). In the interviews the ex-combatants continued to stress the importance of land distribution and being settled on good land.

4.9 Participants’ suggestions to help ex-combatants

Seven of the participants pointed out that ex-combatants should be settled on good land and they should receive proper counseling even though it is many years after. Most of the ex-combatants feel they need to get what they were denied in order to heal. One of them appeared quite emotional and maintained that “Farms earmarked to resettle ex-combatants were grabbed by ZANU PF officials and they shared with their relatives”. Three of the participants argued that ex-combatants who need treatment and rehabilitation for disability should be accorded that free of charge and in addition they should be well looked after. Four were of the view that the government should start businesses and hand
them over to unemployed ex-combatants. Two of the participants were of the view that those qualified in agriculture and building should be employed by the government, and those in the farming sector should be supplied with farming implements. The other two suggested that ex-combatants injured in the war should be treated, rehabilitated, counseled and resettled at the government’s expense. One participant suggested that old ex-combatants should be put on pension by the government. Another two suggested that children of ex-combatants should be educated by the government free of charge. This is a possible suggestion which was not in the government’s original plan.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter dealt with the presentation and discussion of the findings it explored in the period the ex-combatants were involved in the war and when they were disarmed. It is apparent that no rehabilitation took place, ex-combatants were not counseled, they were not resettled, they were not allocated land for resettlement, and those who were injured were not rehabilitated in order for them to lead independent lives. The Demobilisation process and payouts were also discussed. Ex-combatants expressed their views about the payouts, counseling and training skills that were offered. The issue of resettlement and the distribution of land were expressed with great emotion. Most of their suggestions concerned, proper counseling, resettlement on good land and government support for ex-combatants and their children. The next chapter deals with conclusions and recommendations for further research.

Chapter 5

5.1 Conclusions and Recommendations

The aims and objectives of the research were to explore the rehabilitation of ex-combatants who fought the Zimbabwe liberation war, thus to find out if these ex-combatants received counseling and were resettled or reintegrated. The ex-
combatants, who were interviewed, indicated that there was no rehabilitation, counseling, resettlement and real integration. Qualitative methods were used to solicit information from the ex-combatants. Face-to-face interviews were conducted to obtain in-depth information to further explore their present position and their views on how they think the government can help them. Research findings clearly indicate that these ex-combatants still think of being resettled, allocated good land for farming, be put on government pension and have their children employed and supported by the government. Most of those who were interviewed expressed that they did not benefit much from the government payouts.

The plight of the ex-combatants in requiring basic support in the form of being accorded opportunities for skills training in order to fit them for a new role in society is still to be addressed. However, it would appear as though most of them are quite old and that the idea of wanting to be trained, employed and to farm may no longer be of any meaningful value. It is suggested that what could be beneficial is to equip their children with trade skills and offer them employment opportunities. It is further recommended that sufficient resources in the form of basic accommodation and support in terms of food must be made available to the core affected group.

It was illustrative how the pay outs grant money was distributed among ex-combatants and the so-called ex-combatants. A number of Cabinet Ministers and their entourages, senior armed forces personnel, police and other government department officials simply used the sums for personal gain. Others pooled their resources in the commercial undertakings established by ZANU PF that have since been mired in financial controversies while many ex-combatants desperately beg for food, clothes, and secure housing to shelter their families. The result has been a widening of the gap of the “haves and have-nots” amongst the ex-combatants. Considering the Zimbabwean situation, it is important to have a look at the developments and improvements made in Africa in terms of DDRR since 1990.
It is recommended that there are lessons to learn from the conduct of government on the initiatives on Demobilisation, and reintegration since 1980. The point of departure in undertaking effective Demobilisation and reintegration is to define the problem, that is, Demobilisation, resettlement and reintegration must involve all stakeholders, the government, the ex-combatants themselves and the community. Although it appears late, counseling centres could be established to help children of ex-combatants and for future eventualities. Demobilisation, counseling and reintegration are national problems that require all hands on board in order to address them. Instead of provincialising the exercise as a preserve of government, shutting out the business, the private sector, churches and other support systems, it suggested to involve all stakeholders.

The successful conclusion of reintegrating ex-combatants has direct implications on peace building. Finally, a time limit must be set and the implications of the exercise disseminated to all key players. In other words, the exercise should place a burden of responsibility on the policy makers, the implementers, and the demobilized members and the society.

5.2 Recommendations

After interpreting the findings of this study, the following can be recommended:

- It is most apparent that ex-combatants who were interviewed still need to be resettled on good land. Taking into consideration their ages, even if these ex-combatants were to be allocated land it is likely that not much value would be realized out of it. Some of them clearly indicated that they fought for the land but did not get any and are still not well settled. It is necessary to resettle these ex-combatants to avoid further conflicts.

- Views were expressed for the government to introduce businesses and hand them over to ex-combatants. The ex-combatants also expressed that their children need to be educated, employed and cared for by the
government. It is worthwhile for the government to consider these views and act on them.

- The observation that the main responsibility for planning and execution lies with the government is fully appreciated and recommended but there is need for international monitoring to ensure that resources allocated for rehabilitation programmes, development and reconstruction are not diverted for personal use but are used properly for the right cause.

- It would appear as though ex-combatants who were interviewed have lost hope of reaping the benefits of the war. Most important of all, they need to be allocated land, helped with business and have their children educated by the government. The fact that they missed counseling when they needed it most and still ask for it does not necessarily mean that it will serve the same purpose. Perhaps group counseling for a marked period could provide emotional healing.

- The successful conclusion of Demobilisation, counseling, resettling and reintegrating ex-combatants has direct implications on peace building and post-conflict reconstruction. It is highly recommended that a register of all ex-combatants be compiled in every region of the country in order to check what all ex-combatants benefited from after the war.

- There is need for a land audit in order to ensure equal distribution of land.

- Finally, a time limit must be set to revisit the plight of ex-combatants and attend to their concerns. It would be a good idea to re-implement the DDRR programme taking into consideration improvements and changes made by the UN over the years from 1990 to 2010. In other words, the exercise should place a burden of responsibility on the policy makers, the implementers, and the demobilized members and the society. While the findings of this study are limited to the sample used, there is no real evidence to suggest that a wider practical research would not lead to confirmatory findings. Obviously, this would be the topic of further research studies beyond the scope of this treatise.
5.3 Suggestions for further research

There is no evidence in the literature on Zimbabwe to suggest or indicate any research that has been carried out on ex-combatants. Therefore there is need for further research in the area. A similar study could be carried out in all regions with the use of a reasonably big sample. A survey would yield quick results for action in order to remedy the situation before it deteriorates.

If a wider national research project is carried out, it would be a good idea to obtain records from the army headquarters and use them to get detailed and accurate information concerning ex-combatants. It is easier to control information with a small sample than with a large sample that covers the whole country. Research findings in this area would help the government address problems that threaten peace and development which all Zimbabweans look forward to enjoy. It would also be important to find out the position of children of both active and retired ex-combatants in order to support them.

6.0 References


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