The Reintegration of War Veterans: Challenges and Their Implications for Zimbabwe

Shadreck P.M. Makombe

Zimbabwe Open University, Zimbabwe

Abstract: **The research sought to assess the reintegration of war veterans into the society, the challenges and their implications. In trying to find solutions to the research problem, the researcher examined the nature of the relationship between the war veterans and society in Zimbabwe and to determine how war veterans were being reintegrated into the society after returning from the war. The research method used was qualitative approach and the data was generated through the use of face-to-face interviews, focus group discussions and the researcher as a tool with a sample of eight participants which consisted war veterans. The research singled out that reintegration of war veterans had resulted in a complex process which raises many moral, practical, and operational questions. It was ultimately the remaking of relationships on many levels, not only between individuals, communities, and states, but within all of these entities as well. This research shows that participatory approaches in the Zimbabwe Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration DDR programmes fell short in meeting their objectives. Lack of participation had negative consequences for the specific programme objectives, and also for the wider peacebuilding project to which DDR is meant to contribute. The research concluded that reintegration was not properly conducted in Zimbabwe and war veterans would remain isolated from society if no proper measures are taken.**

Keywords: **Reintegration, Reconciliation, Disarmament, Demobilisation**

I. INTRODUCTION

❞*Son of the soil" during the armed struggle; "squatter" after independence'* (Moto, 1988:71:6). The irony in this statement encapsulates the predicament in which many ex-combatants find themselves in today, thirty-nine years after independence. For most of the now destitute ex-combatants, the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe was 'a revolution that lost its way' because of the raw deal they received from the *petit bourgeoisie* nationalist leadership when they were demobilised. For many ex-combatants, the refrain *'MUCHANOGUTA kumusha!'* [there will be plenty at home], made by politicians to instil resilience during the struggle, did not materialise. Whilst more than 25 000 war veterans have become progressively destitute in Zimbabwe, the very people they put into power, and those who opportunistically leaped on to the grave train and the bandwagon of the liberation struggle, have become oppressively rich.

Background to the problem

During the struggle for independence the masses were mobilised by the nationalist bourgeoisie leadership and called upon to make supreme sacrifices to liberate the country. The purpose of this thesis was, therefore, to comprehensively and critically explore the demobilisation process and its impact on the ordinary war veteran who, at the end of the war, found himself with neither sufficient resources nor the necessary social backup to re-integrate fully into the civil society he had struggled to liberate. The research addressed the war veterans' concerns, fears and crisis of expectations as well as the measures they took to salvage their situation.

The Southern African states of Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe each suffered armed conflict at various times from the 1960s to the early 1990s. Post-conflict disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants was crafted and implemented as part of the broader transition from war to peace in all the five countries. The pursuit of peace and stability through the management of weapons and sustainable reintegration of war veterans was one of the primary goals of these programmes. However, in all cases, DDR fell short of meeting this objective, with different security and stability implications within a decade or so of the implementation of DDR. This research sought to closely look at the reintegration of the war veterans in Zimbabwe and why it was not successful. It tried to provide remedial action to the issues that are still crippling the reintegration of the war veterans into the society to this very day.

Post-war recovery is a long-term task where success depends on the holistic and integrated implementation of various post-war recovery programmes from landmine clearance, physical rebuilding, and economic revitalization to institutional strengthening, reconciliation, and development. Each of these post-war activities has its own significance in the establishment of peace that can only be sustained by addressing the root causes of the conflict. It is in conjunction with this context that the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) of former war veterans in Zimbabwe should also play an imperative role for the sustainability of the peace-building process.

Kingma and Grebrewold (1998) identify a number of situations in which the reintegration of war veterans' and displaced populations might have an impact on the recurrence or development of conflicts. The absence of a functioning state and legal system plays a detrimental role in the confidence and perception of security of the population, including former combatants. As mentioned earlier, without

economic opportunities, war veterans are likely to use their military skills and available weapons to make a living through illegal activities. Kingma (1999) gives the examples of Mozambique and South Africa, where some of the demobilised war veterans turned to banditry. Similar to these experiences, in countries such as El Salvador, Cambodia, Mozambique and Nicaragua former combatants dispose themselves to making their way through banditry after demobilisation (Weiss-Fagen, 1995). The reintegration process should also be coupled with a reform process in order to ensure increased involvement of former combatants in decision-making at all levels, as frustration may result in the regrouping of armed factions (Kingma, 1999). Therefore, the analysis focused on issues of giving former combatants a preferential treatment, identification and utilisation of their resources, and the long-term implications of reintegration on the peace-building process in Zimbabwe and regional security.

Statement of the research problem

It seems war veterans have remained an isolated group which is far removed from the society itself. The society believes that unless solutions to its state of misery caused by war veterans are found, their memories of war will always come with a sense of discontent and betrayal. The problem is that the vulnerability of the war veterans that has occasioned their ill-considered behaviour, since they are languishing in poverty, land wrangles, and erosion of cultural values. The main aspect that needed to be addressed is to examine the nature of the relationship between the war veterans and society in Zimbabwe and to determine how the war veterans were being reintegrated into the society after returning from the war.

Research questions

The thesis was guided by the following questions:

- To examine the nature of the relationship between the war veterans and society in Zimbabwe.
- To determine how the war veterans were being reintegrated into the society after returning from the war.

Conceptual Framework

There are a number of conceptual frameworks that dwell on the subject reintegration. The conceptual framework used in this work is an outcome of the 4Rs Framework Repatriation, Reintegration, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction. For the vast majority of the society, reintegration remains the preferred and most viable durable solution. This solution involves complex and challenging processes requiring integrated and sustained action by governments and international partners (UNHCR, 2011). In many reintegration processes, the search for durable solutions must be systematic and must begin at the outset of crisis between the society and war veterans.

With this in mind, UNHCR has developed, in close cooperation with its partners, the framework for repatriation, reintegration, rehabilitation and reconstruction, which consists of the establishment of 4Rs programmes in post-conflict situations aimed to ensure an integrated approach to repatriation, reintegration, rehabilitation and reconstruction; and the promotion of a strategy of Development through Local Integration (DLI) where local integration of war veterans is a viable option.

Table 1: The 4Rs Programme Concepts (Source: ILO, Crisis Response: Rapid Needs Assessment Manual (2001)

The 4Rs
Voluntary repatriation: the free and voluntary return of refugees to their country of origin in safety and dignity.
Reintegration: the ability of returning refugees (as well as IDPs and others) to secure the necessary political, economic, legal and social conditions to maintain their life, livelihood and dignity.
Rehabilitation: the restoration of social and economic infrastructure (for example, schools, clinics, water points, public facilities and houses) destroyed during conflict in areas of return to enable communities to pursue sustainable livelihoods; or "Actions that enable the affected population to resume more or less 'normal' patterns of life.". *Source: ILO, Crisis Response: Rapid Needs Assessment Manual (2001).*
Reconstruction: the (re)establishment of political order, institutions and productive capacity to create a base for sustainable development. *Source: The World Bank*; or "Developmental interventions that not only seek to build or repair the damage or return to the status quo ante, but also address medium- and long-term needs and improvements in policies, programmes, systems and capacities to avert the recurrence of crisis and reach higher levels of employment and standards of living". *Source: ILO, Generic Crisis Response Modules (2001).*

The strategic goal of the 4Rs programme concept is to achieve sustainable solutions through voluntary repatriation of displaced populations and thus national recovery, the consolidation of peace and stability and the foundation of longer-term development.

The relationship between the war veterans and society in Zimbabwe

In this thesis, a war veteran is defined as any person who was involved in the armed struggle in Zimbabwe. Although most of the war veterans were fighting for the liberation of Zimbabwe within organized groups such as the ZIPRA and ZANLA, there were other soldiers who were fighting in different factions and militias with varying agendas and ideologies. The conflict in Zimbabwe involved various categories of people. Male adults were the first people to be recruited into the armed war. Soon, the fighting forces started recruiting women oftentimes by force or abduction to work as cooks, porters, sexual partners or wives. There were, however, women who voluntarily joined the fighting, especially as the war progressed. Child soldiers were the third category of people to be recruited into the fighting forces as earlier stated.

It is, however, important to stress that the conflict in Zimbabwe was rather complicated and it sometimes becomes

difficult to make clear distinctions and delineations among some of the groups of people that were involved in the fighting. For example, because the war took so long, children who had initially been recruited as child soldiers matured into adults while still fighting. Other children who may have been born and raised in the camps grew up to take up guns and become adult soldiers. Women who may have been abducted for sexual purposes or forced marriages eventually joined the forces and became experienced fighters. Similarly, single women who may initially have joined the conflict voluntarily may have gotten married to soldiers and raised children in the barracks. Therefore, the war veterans in Zimbabwe can be any or a combination of these categories.

However, the first challenge on reintegration in Zimbabwe is recognised in the failure to separate these groups upon reintegration. Furthermore, the reasons why many took up the arms were for a different reason. Other former war veterans were not from the peasantry class but from bourgeoisie class. Their main reason of joining the warmed struggled differed from the peasantry class in that they already had resources and means of living above the peasantry level. What they basically wanted to have was an opportunity to own and operate business and institutions in Zimbabwe. On the other hand, they were the peasantry class which joined the war in order to get better opportunities for life and be able to get fertile land since the majority were sent into reserves were the soils were poor and not much could be realised from it.

Understanding reintegration

Identifying concepts and definitions is a first basic exercise in developing a theoretical framework. Efforts to develop theory can cover a wide range of initiatives from providing loose conceptualization to formally modelling particular events or testing correlations between variables (Woods, 1996). The aim in this thesis is to remain at the level of loose conceptualisations. This implies that we avoid providing 'explanations' of reintegration, but instead work to enhance an 'understanding' of reintegration through theorization and empirical research.

A distinction between explanation and understanding is that explanation in the strict sense of the term is concerned with identifying what caused a particular event or state of affairs and entails, generating and testing hypotheses such as a change in x caused by y (Woods 1996: 11). Understanding is the knowledge about a subject or situation (Petter 2010). For the study of reintegration, however, it may be that a quest for enhancing understanding can be as productive as providing explanations. This means that less emphasis is placed on singling out individual and defining causal variables, as well as testing a set of falsifiable hypotheses on causal relationships. Since many causal factors are likely to be in operation in reintegration processes, it is more relevant to analyse how the various potential causal effects relate to each other, and how particular combinations of factors may account for why and how the process of reintegration has unfolded in

the way it has for different segments of war veterans. This is an exercise more akin to understanding than to strict explanation. Such an approach seeks to construct a plausible narrative for key traits of reintegration processes with an emphasis on grasping meaning as well as noting causal patterns.

Opportunities exist in Zimbabwe for engaging war veterans into productive activities, particularly with huge international support to the country in post-war reconstruction and peace consolidation. Unfortunately, it appears that DDRR implementing agencies were not able to identify appropriate interventions in which ex-combatants can enrol, and participate for their economic livelihood. There was a clear indication during the fieldwork that war veterans are likely to react violently depending on the extent of their re-marginalization, re-criminalisation, exploitation and economic incesurity. Also there are no clear policies/framework that target war veterans. Therefore, the increase in research on the visibility of the issues involved in their re-marginalization, re-criminalisation, exploitation and economic incesurity is necessary for a better understanding of issues for institutional action. Ultimately, efforts to recognize and include them in the political process and address the economic inequities associated with re-marginalization, re-criminalisation, exploitation and economic incesurity may discourage their resort to violence. The occasional protests that took place before in 2017 which resulted in the war-veterans meeting the then president Robert Mugabe also gave an indication that they felt a sense of marginalization.
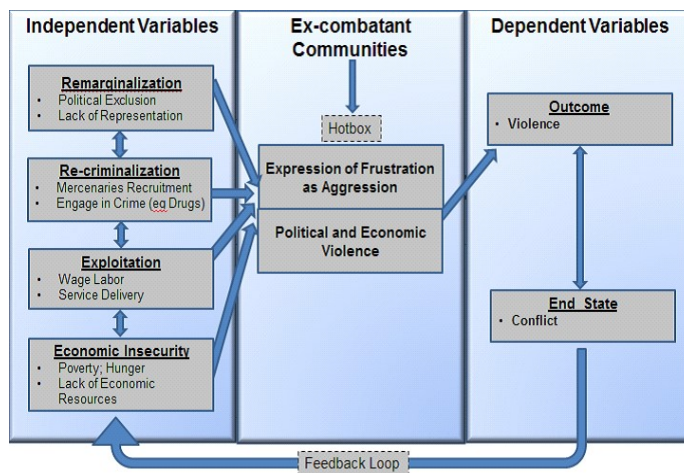

Figure 1: Description of the linkages between the variables and how they interact to generate violence involving ex-combatants (author, 2019)

Literature gap

The seriousness of the reintegration is that it is still affecting the war veterans up to this day. From the literature above, no proper reintegration was done in Zimbabwe. The process and manner in which reintegration was done failed to provide former war veterans with proper reintegration. Firstly, the thesis argue that, the first challenge on reintegration in Zimbabwe is recognised in the failure to separate the civilians

and war veterans upon reintegration. Furthermore, the reasons why many took up the arms were for a different reason. Other former war veterans were not from the peasantry class but from bourgeoisie class.

Their main reason of joining the warmed struggled differed from the peasantry class in that they already had resources and means of living above the peasantry level. What they basically wanted to have was opportunity to own and operate business and institutions in Zimbabwe. The peasantry class joined the war in order to get better opportunities for life and be able to get fertile land since the majority were sent into reserves were the soils were poor and not much could be realised from it. There were also the general communities the war veterans were coming from which also had their own expectations of a new Zimbabwe motivated by the freedom fighter's teaching that they were going to war in order to enjoy freedom, better life, win back the land which remains one of the most important means of production and opportunities for all. Most importantly the war was meant to guarantee the one man one vote ideology which safeguarded the sovereignty of the country and its people. As a result, communities also had expectations from the outcome of the war, the same of which were never realised.

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study was conducted from a qualitative, interpretive research paradigm (Gerring, 2007). This is a paradigm that, among other things, seeks subjective views of individuals' war veterans (Sapsford, 2007). The first selection criterion was voluntary participation. Of the 45 eligible candidates, the researcher eliminated members of my immediate executive with whom the researcher interacted with daily and with whom personal relationships had developed. This reduced the pool of eligible candidates to 35. Invitations to participate in this study were sent out in January 2017, and eight candidates committed to three interviews each over an 18-month period.

The researcher used purposive sampling to recruit participants. The researcher chose to work with war veterans rather than traditional leaders since the researcher was in the war of liberation for 5 years. The researcher believed working with the war veterans' community to answer the research question offers several advantages. The second criterion for selection was membership in the association led by the researcher during my tenure as Secretary General. The shared experiences provide a common backdrop and, to some extent, normalize each individual's reintegration process. Each person experienced the same major events, yet interpreted them differently, making their own meanings in different ways over time.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with war veterans in Gweru. These were face-to-face interviews. Shingleton and Straight (2014), suggest that an interview is a conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee with the specific purpose of obtaining relevant information. The researcher aimed to concentrate on topical issues and not specific

questions, hence the utilisation of semi-structured interviews. The researcher used a tape recorder with the concert of the participants so as to capture the exact words from the participants' mouth and also used probes when interviewing to find out secret or hidden information on the issue of reintegration of war veterans and the challenges thereof.

III. FINDINGS

From the participants, the majority (63%) were male while the minority (37%) were female. The participants were asked in order to ascertain the level of education the participants had and, hence, come to see if the results could be credible enough. The importance of the level of education within the country is of paramount importance as it has a large bearing on how one understands and see things. As a result, the researcher saw it necessary to look at the level of education from the participants. From the results of the study, one (12.5%) respondent had Zimbabwe Junior Certificate, Ordinary Level, certificates and degree, respectively. There were no participants with A level or a certificate from the study. There was however, 2 (25%) participants had diploma qualification and post graduate degree respectively.

This study understands reintegration as a process of re-entry into the community, characterized by change of the aggressive behaviour of post-war community members, for mutual acceptance between former adversaries and the re-cultivation of the community values for peaceful co-existence. The study set to take reintegration of post-war in Zimbabwe at a level above that proposed by Angucia (2010). It is a shift from his focus on the processes of welcoming back former war veterans that precede their acceptance and reunion with to the community, to the re-cultivation of community / cultural values and practices that can encourage co-existence, by use of memory as a resource and by addressing it for and in reconciliation.

Challenging enough, as much as participants demanded for the government's acknowledgement and were bitter about its reservations over acknowledgement and compensation, they in practice, side-lined the mutuality of the phenomenon of acknowledgment. Neither do the war veterans acknowledge the efforts the government made in trying to protect the community and provide for their needs, very few do. In the true sense of the practice, acknowledgement emanates from restoration of mutual trust, objectivity, openness to the facts [things as they happened] and embraces the dimension of care. Neither of the sides is objective enough to the facts. Shriver (2001) calls disregarding ones' history and his historic pains, and condemns since it does not facilitate the reconciliation and reintegration of a community. This appeared to be a need for both government and the community to acknowledge and respect each other in order work together.

It was noted that some elements were much participatory than others, and that is true especially of the children's reintegration programme. The general approach was that

anyone who was found to be under 18 years old on initial screening at the disarmament centre would be diverted to a separate part of the demobilisation camp, and would be off that site within 72 hours. The next stage was to spend time in an Interim Care Centre (ICC) for children. These programmes were generally run by agencies with experience of dealing with children, and who had a child-centred approach. The ratio of staff to war veterans was much higher, and there were more opportunities for psycho-social support. The approach was that reintegration of children would take place in the community, rather than them becoming long term residents of such centres. That meant helping to trace their original families, negotiating and organising their return, and supporting both the child and the community in the reintegration process. Sometimes it was difficult to trace a family, if a child had been abducted at a young age and could not recall places or names; considerable work was required to trace relatives, and the child might end up being fostered by relatives if their parents had been killed during the war. In all of this, close collaboration and shared decision-making was required, often involving several stakeholders: in essence, it was a much more participatory approach. , and of corruption.

 At the most basic level, the need to properly understand beneficiaries' needs is one of the utilitarian arguments for participatory planning, quite apart from the issues of power and marginalisation which have been spelled out clearly in the comments quoted in this chapter. However, whether the failures are rooted in the inclusion of stakeholders early on, or solely in the implementation phase, the impact of these problems on the ultimate goal of DDR is one which is bound up with participation. While the effects of inadequate training or missing benefits is very real for the ex-combatants, the impact on the wider community includes a failure to generate the goodwill and "buy in" of former fighters for the new governance of Zimbabwe. One of the objectives of DDR is to handle the threat posed to the peace process by disillusioned and demoralised ex-combatants who have no livelihood, and have an uncertain identity and role in the new dispensation. Programme failures can even worsen these negative aspects, in terms of the breakdown of trust and sense of broken promises.

The key point, however, is that this disillusionment is exacerbated in situations where there is no sense of participation, or ownership in the programme. Disappointments can, on the other hand, be mitigated by a sense of having been treated fairly and included in the process. Those taking an entirely minimalist approach to DDR programmes may see the primary goal as disarming potential troublemakers and keeping them busy for a while just after a peace agreement has been signed. The lasting effect on the peace process, however, stems from whether there is disappointment or buy-in, as well as the more immediate question for ex-combatants of whether they have a viable livelihood. Their attitude is a function of both the direct outcome of their vocational training or education, combined

with the underlying sense of participation, through which the attitude is mediated (see Figure 2).
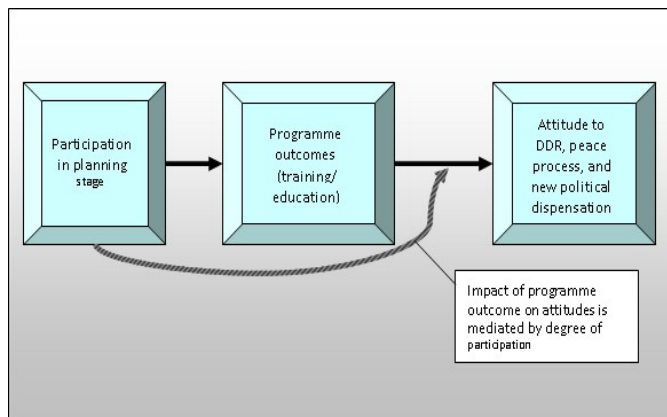

Figure 2: How participation and programme outcomes affect attitudes.

Where the perceived failures are based solely on unrealistic expectations, or a misunderstanding of what the "new social contract" consisted of, this suggests that inclusion, ownership, and communication in the earlier stages play a role. In short, it points to participation.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The relationship between the war veterans and society is based on the findings that the reasons why many people went to war were divergent but there was a common goal of dislodging the white rule. However, expectation differed on where one was coming from. For example, the bourgeoisie class in Zimbabwe did not necessarily need reintegration. They already had resources and education on their part which most of them attained during the war of liberation. What they were fighting for was the system of governance which was not providing opportunities for them. On the other hand, the peasantry war veterans went to war with the intention of getting better life, opportunities for jobs and mainly the land because the areas in which land was made available to them were not fertile. There were also the former Rhodesian soldiers, who were basically concerned about their pensions and how they would proceed with life after retirement. Some decided to relocate to South Africa where the reintegration was still intact and effective whilst others remained on the farms ploughing their land. The challenge, therefore, was that the reintegration system did not take into cognisance the individual divergent needs of former freedom fighters on reintegration. They were simply put into the same bracket as if they were of the same mind. On the contrary, they did not share similar expectations because what they wanted was influenced by their position in society. Hence, the blanket reintegration exercise provided to the war veterans left most of them asking themselves why they had sacrificed so much for a country that gave them very little in return. In fact, the bringing together of war veterans and those of Rhodesian soldiers into one force cannot be called reintegration but integration. There seems to be a misconception that this was

part and parcel of the reintegration process when in fact it was integration into one army force.

Women, both as fighters and as war-affected civilians acquired new roles during the war. However, as they were often expected to return to their traditional roles after the war, it is likely that this change had negative impacts on family. Finally, the traumas of war can have psychological impacts on the community, particularly on children, and both soldiers and civilians since it affects their social and emotional development. However, the reintegration that was done in Zimbabwe mainly concentrated on those war veterans who were directly involved in the war leaving out those who were not directly involved but whose lives the war impacted on and up to this day, those who are still alive are still feeling the effects of the war in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, those who were responsible did not fit the community in accepting the war veterans. In other words, the community in which the war veterans were being integrated into were not involved in the process.

War veterans have remained re-marginalised from the community in Zimbabwe because the government of the day has used that as a weapon to retain their patronage. Society perceive them to belong to a privileged particular group, referred to as "war veterans", and consequently are excluded from society and the benefits accruing to that society. This view probably reflects the aftermath of the war, war veterans embraced their status as "war affected" victims and "beneficiaries of reintegration, further alienating themselves from civilians as they navigated foreign, rather than local models of peace-building. (Re)-marginalization can be understood as persistent inequality and adversity resulting from discrimination, social stigma and stereotypes.

REFERENCES

[1] African Monitor (2011). Fighting Ranges in Sudan's Southern Kordofan. Retrieved April 21, 2011, from http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/Africa-

[2] Berg, B. L., and Lune, H. (2004). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (Vol. 5). Boston, MA, USA: Pearson.

[3] Bowd, (2008), "Women in Mozambique: Gender Struggle and Gender Politics", *Review of African Political Economy*, 41:5–16.

[4] Breidlid, A. (2005). "Education in the Sudan: The Privileging of an Islamic Discourse". Compare: 35 (5), 247 – 263.

[5] Burman, M. and McKay, S. (2007). "Marginalization of girl mothers during reintegration from armed groups in Sierra Leone". International Nursing Review: 54 (4), 316–323.

[6] Byrne, Bridget, 1996, "Towards a Gendered Understanding of Conflict", *IDS Bulletin*,

[7] Colletta F (1996) *Conducting In-depth interviews: A Guide for Designing and Conducting In-depth Interviews for Evaluation Input*. Retrieved from: http://www.pathfind.org/site/DocServer/m_e_tool_series_indepth_ interviews.pdf?

[8] Coulter, Chris, (2005), "The Post War Moment: Female Fighters in Sierra Leone", *Migration Studies Working Paper Ser* Coulter, Chris, 2004, "The Girls Left Behind Project: an evaluation report". Unpublished report for UNICEF/Freetown.

[9] Denzin, N. K. (1989). Interpretive interactionism. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

[10] Douglas, J.D. (1976). Investigative Social Research. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

[11] Dzinesa, K (2000). National identity, citizenship and immigration: Putting identity in context. *Journal for theTheory of Social Behaviour, 43*(3), 361-382. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5914.2012.00501.x

[12] Ferris, Elizabeth, (1993), *Women, War and Peace*, Uppsala: Life and Peace Institute.

[13] Flint, J. and de Waal, A. (2005).Darful. A Short History of a Long War. London: Zed Books Ltd.

[14] Gbla, O. (2003). "Conflict and Post-war Trauma Among Child Soldiers in

[15] Geertz, C. (1973). The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

[16] Giroux, H. (1983). Theory and Resistance in Education. South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey.

[17] Goffman, E. (1990). Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity. London: Penguin Group.

[18] Halberstadt, A. G., Cassidy, J., Stifter, C. A., Parke, R. D. and Fox, N. A. (1995). "Self expressiveness with the family context: Psychometric support for a new measure". Psychological Assessment: 1995, 7, 93–103.

[19] Higate, Paul, (2004), *Gender and Peacekeeping: Case Studies: The Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sierra Leone*, Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies.

[20] Hoffman, Danny, (2005), "Violent events as narrative blocs: the disarmament at Bo, Sierra Leone", *Anthropological Quarterly*, 78(2):353.

[21] Hoffman, Danny, (2007), *The city as barracks: Freetown, Monrovia, and the organization of violence in postcolonial African cities*, Cultural Anthropology 22(3):400–428.

[22] Human Rights Watch (2003). Forgotten Fighters: Child Soldiers in Angola. New York: Human Rights Watch.

[23] ILO (2003). Wounded Childhood: The Use of Children in Armed Conflict in Central Africa. Switzerland Geneva: ILO.

[24] Implementation for Novice Researchers. *The Qualitative Report* 13 (4), pp. 544-559.

[25] Ismail, Olawale, (2002), "Liberia's Child Combatants: Paying the Price of Neglect", *Conflict, Security and Development*, 2(2):125–134.

[26] Kvale, S (1996). Interviews: An introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage publications.

[27] Kvale, S. and Brinkmann, S. (2009). Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing. Los Angeles, California: Sage publications

[28] Mackie, D. M. (1986). "Social identification effects in group polarization". Journal of Personality and Social Psychology: 1986, 50, 720-728.

[29] Majok, I. D. (2002). Suffering and God, a Theological Reflection on the War in Sudan. Gurtong: Paulines Publications Africa.

[30] Mhanda A (2011) Individual demobilization and reintegration process in Colombia: Implementation, challenges and former combatants' perspectives. *Intervention, 5*(3), 179-190. doi:10.1097/WTF.0b013e3282f1d036

[31] Moyo S, (1985), The Socic-Economic Status and Needs of Ex-Combatants: The Case of Masvingo Province, Z.I.D.S Consultancy Report prepared for the Lutheran World Federation (Harare), 4

[32] Muchomba, E. and Sharp, B. (2006). South Sudan Centre for Census, Statistics and

[33] Mugenda, A. G. (2008). Social Science Research.Principles and Practice. Nairobi: ARTS.

[34] Nyasha and Row, (1983), 'Four Yean of Armed Struggle in Zimbabwe' in Davies M, (ed), *Third World, Second Sex: Women's Struggles andNational Liberation, Third World Women speak out. Zed* Books, London

[35] Nyathi and Hoffman, (1990), *Tomorrow is Built Today: Experiences of War, Colonialism and the Struggle for Collective Co-operatives in Zimbabwe,* AmviL Harare

[36] Nyerere, J. K. (1968). Education for Self Reliance, Freedom and Socialism. Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press.

[37] Olson, E. T. (2010). Personal Identity, the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Retrieved June 18, 2010

fromhttp://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2010/entries/identity-personal/

[38] Porto J., Parsons I. and Alden C. (2007). From soldiers to citizens: the social, economic and political reintegration of UNITA Ex-combatants, ISS MONOGRAPH SERIES No 130. Luanda, Angola. Press.

[39] Pugel, J. (2006). What the Fighters Say: A Survey of Ex-combatants in Liberia. A UNDP- funded empirical study conducted in partnership with African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect, Monrovia: ANPPCAN

[40] Putnam A (2001), *Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict, Global Overview and Implications for Security Sector*, Geneva Centre for

[41] Rose, S., Bisson. J., Churchill, R. and Wessely, S. (2009). Psychological debriefing for preventingpost traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Retrieved June 10, 2011, from http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/o/cochrane/clsysrev/articles/CD000560/frame.html

[42] The following newspapers and magazines are cited in the text: *Argus; The People's Voice; The Herald; The Financial Gazette; The Zimbabwe News; Moto; Zimbabwe Project*

[43] UNESCO (2010). Education under attack: Published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 7, place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP, France. University of East London.

[44] Watson C. (2010). Socio-Economic Reintegration of Ex-Combatants: What Role for the European Union? Reintegration briefing paper 1.1. International Alert, London.

[45] World Bank. (1996). *The transition from war to peace in sub-Saharan Africa.* doi:10.1596/0-8213-3581-2