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DISARMAMENT, DEMOBILISATION AND REINTEGRATION OF COMBATANTS IN NAMIBIA:

WAR VETERANS' PERCEPTIONS ON 'COMPENSATION'

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Management, University of the Witwatersrand, in 33% fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree Master of Management (in the field of Public and Development Management)

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research study was to obtain the views and perceptions of Namibia veterans of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), the armed wingof SWAPO, on compensation as a part of the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) process. This process compensates former freedom fighters as a reward for having contributed to the liberation struggle. DDR is one of the most important peace stabilising tools that is internationally recognised and the UN has adopted it as a pre-requisite for any peace agreement process in countrieswhich had experienced violent conflict.

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the war veterans' perception regarding 'compensation' being paid as a reward to former fighters of the Namibia liberation struggle by the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs.Structured interviews were conducted to collect data, and data analysis was done by identifying themes.Microsoft Excel statistics functions were used to calculate the totals, produce tables, graphs and pie charts.

The main finding of the study was that the former freedom fighters were facing many challenges and the government was far from addressing these challenges in their totality. The study found that the government was committed to address the plight of the former freedom fighters; however, the implementation of such a programme was fraught with challenges, such as the lack of resources and good governance. Moreover, the study established that the reintegration process was not addressing the issues of both groups of ex-combatants in Namibia.

DECLARATION

I, Ndiwakalunga Ndjadila, declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted to the Faculty of Management, University of Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters' of Security Management (in the field of Public and Development Management). It has not been submitted before for any degree or any examination at this or any other University.



Olivia Ndiwakalunga Ndjadila

31 March 2016

DEDICATION

This report is dedicated to my late father, Martin Shihepo, my three children, Cindy Ndapadula, Neville Helao and Marsha Tangeni Nelao Ndjadila, Julius Nakaleand their guardian, Meme Linda Nghipundaka, whose selfless support for all my endeavours is an inspiration. I am truly grateful for their unconditional love, support and patience shown to me during my study. I would never have been able to complete this research report without their support.

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The war veterans of the Namibia liberation struggle, for assisting with this research by providing me with information and being open in sharing their challenges. I will forever admire your bravery, and will never forget the enormous sacrifices made by our Namibian martyrs. You fought and sacrificed your precious lives and your youthful years for freedom and independence for all Namibians; my employer, the Office of the President, for having confidence in me and offering me a once in a lifetime opportunity by awarding me a bursary which made my studies much easier. Special thanks go to my two colleagues for the unconditional support given to me throughout my study period.

To God Almighty who, through His mercy and grace, bestowed His immeasurable blessing on my life and made it possible for me to make my dream come true. Thank You for keeping me steadfast in completing my studies for your glory; Dr Talita Smit of the University of Namibia, for agreeing on very short notice to edit this dissertation in an extra short time. Last but not least, to all my friends who stood by me and gave me their unconditional support.

ACRONYMS

APLA	Azanian People's Liberation Army
(CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CPA	Peace Agreement
DDR:	Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration
IDDRS:	International Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration Standards
GoS	Government of Sudan
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
MoVA	Ministry of Veterans' Affairs
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PLAN:	People's Liberation Army of Namibia
SADF:	South Africa Defence Force
SPLA/M	Sudanese People's Liberation Army/Movement
SAF	Sudan Armed Forces
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SC	Service Corps
SWAPO:	South West Africa People's Organisation
SWATF:	South West Africa Territorial Force
UN:	United Nations

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CHAPTER 1
THE ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The study explored the expectations of Namibian war veterans in terms of monetary compensation and other forms of non-monetary compensation. This study took into account that when the Namibia war veterans joined the liberation struggle in the sixties, they were inspired by the wind of change that was sweeping the African continent to liberate Africa from colonialism, and the fact that they were volunteer fighters.

The study was necessitated took into account the view of Hill, Taylor and Temin (2008) that, while most studies of demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) programmes focus on determining the numbers of participants and evaluating the effectiveness of vocational training, few studies have focused on how the ex-combatants themselves regard their own reintegration and their future in the society after the war. DDR constitutes three components which are integral to peace-building. DDR is a process aimed for the collection, documentation, control and disposal of small arms. It also includes the development of arms management programmes. The view is that when the number of weapons available in the society is reduced, it gives the monopoly regarding the means of violence to the state.

Demobilisation is a process of reducing the number of armed forces and, in some cases, to integrate combatants from opposing sides into one regular army. The process involves the following activities: a survey of combatants, an assessment of their needs, medical examinations, assembly, counselling and orientating, as well as discharging and transporting former combatants and their dependents to their homes of origin or where they want to settle after the end of the war. During this process, the ex-combatants receive a form of short-term assistance, termed ‘re-insertion’ to help them finding their feet. The assistance covers basic needs, such as cash or kind which includes clothing, food, shelter, construction materials and health services.

Reintegration is a long term process that takes place on multiple social, political and economic levels. Reintegration addresses the following: it investigates the psychological impact of conflict on ex-combatants and ensures that the support to ex-combatants does not cause jealousy among other members of the community to a point where there will be discontent that can undermine the peace-building process (Cutis& Dzinesa, 2013*).*

Omarch (2013) in Curtis and Dzineza (2013) claim that DDR is an important element in conflict solution and it plays an important role in establishing security and development. Security and development form the centre of discourse that perceives poverty, underdevelopment and poor governance as being at the root of violent crime and conflict. DDR discourse views conflict as a factor that undermines development and deepens poverty and underdevelopment, which in turn, create conditions for further conflict.

1.2 Background and context of the study

Namibia gained its independence on 21st March 1990, marking the independence of all Southern Africa countries, since Namibia was the last colony in the region to gain its independence. Namibia's independence was gained as a result of a peace agreement brokered by the United Nations (UN) as per Resolution 435 of the United Nations Security Council, which called for an end to a protracted and bitter liberation war and the holding of free and fair elections based on principles of democracy. Elections were won by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), formerly a liberation movement.

A former liberation movement, SWAPO, found itself as a government entrusted with the role of leading a nation. SWAPO's People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) freedom fighters were overwhelmed by the joy that the war had come to an end. Moreover, the PLAN fighters were eager and willing to disarm and demobilise and go back to their homes to reunite with their families once again (Dzinesa, 2006).

As a result, the PLAN fighters obeyed their commanders when they were told to go home and wait until such a time that they were to be called for any employment opportunities. However, this euphoria was short-lived. Soon after the independence celebrations were over, the reality started to sink in. Former PLAN combatants realised that they were on their own as they were not any longer in military bases or refugee camps where they were accustomed to free handouts.

The ex-combatants had to face the reality that once they were back in the country they needed to find employment to earn an income to support themselves and their families. The option of finding a career in the government or private sector did not work out for every ex-combatant. This was further exacerbated by the fact that most ex-combatants did not have formal qualifications because they had spent most of their youth fighting for the liberation of Namibia. This research study has confirmed claims made by Dzinesa (2006; 2008) and Lamb (2013)that the majority of the former PLAN fighters had never attended formal school; as a result, all they knew was how to handle a gun.

Furthermore, it is the view of the researcher that former freedom fighters in Namibia were not properly reintegrated into civilian life. This resulted in some form of unrest and demonstrations by former freedom fighters, who were expressing their unhappiness and frustrations, as well as making political statements in local media against the Namibian government for neglecting them. This was a clear indication that the former freedom fighters were not happy with their living conditions in an independent Namibia. As a result, they pressurised the government to improve their living conditions. Their plight was supported by civil organisations who also expressed the same sentiments regarding the living standards of ex-combatants in Namibia, as was summed up by Jauch (2013), a civil activist who, in support of ex-combatants, stated the following:

> The political activists and observers may argue that Namibia had little choice in adopting a capitalist market economy at Independence, thus could not really effect any substantial redistribution in favour of the poor. However, ideals of justice and solidarity continued to be pronounced by political leaders

and there was no doubt that inequality and poverty required a systematic state intervention if any socio-economic progress was to be achieved. One of those interventions was the payment of war veterans, many of whom continued to struggle to make ends meet after Independence.

Considering the security threats posed by former freedom fighters, the Namibian government started to take note of the concerns of the former fighters. This resulted in formal engagements and negotiations to address the reintegration of ex-combatants. A consequence was the formation of the Socio-Economic Integration Programme for Ex-Combatants (SIPE) funded by the Government, primarily established to alleviate the plight of disabled and jobless freedom fighters, including those orphaned by Namibia's liberation war (Gaomas, 2004; Metsola, 2010; 1996; Clapman, 2012).

As a result of this initiative, many former freedom fighters found employment in the security sectors, for example, the Namibian Police, Namibia Defence Force and government agencies. Those who could not be employed, due to their age, disability and other factors, were referred to social welfare institutions to qualify for social grants.

Another programme was to cater for those who could not be reintegrated into government structures. They were placed with the Development Brigade Cooperation (DBC) so that they could be trained in vocational skills and engage in income-generating projects. However, the researcher observed that DBC did not succeed in its intended objectives to assist former fighters to become self-reliant. DBC did not have proper structures, as well as qualified personnel, to manage a programme of such magnitude. As a result, the DBC was unable to execute its mandated functions, resulting in former freedom fighters turning to the streets, protesting again.

Similarly, a peace project was established to look into the psycho-social issues of ex-combatants, as well as to find long-term employment for ex-combatants. This action was a response to the first wave of demonstrations by former fighters. The second wave of demonstrations in 2006 gave birth to the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs (Metsola, 1996; Dzinesa, 2006).

The Namibian government was also faced with the challenge of the former South West African Territorial Force (SWATF) and the South West Africa Police Counter Insurgency Unit (KOEVOET) troops who fought under South African Defence Force(SADF).This group of ex-soldiers had regrouped for meetings, protests and was issuing ultimatums, demanding to be recognised as war veterans as well. These former combatants had been camping at the offices of the Herero Traditional Authority in protest against the Namibia government. They were of the opinion that, like any other Namibian, they too were affected and deserved to be acknowledged as war veterans and be accorded the same privileges given to other ex-combatants(in this case, the former freedom fighters under the leadership of the SWAPO movement). However, the Namibian government was not willing to grant them any benefits. The government was of the opinion that they had been working for the 'imperialists'; hence, they should be compensated by the 'imperialists' (Nkala, 2012).

Challenges of DDR planning and implementation were also common in several cases. For instance, Zena (2013) notes that, while the first two components of DDR were relatively easy to plan, implement and manage, it was at the stage of reintegration where the problems started to show. The components of reintegration differed, depending on the expectations of participants, but it usually included skills training, loans, job placement and assistance to re-socialise ex-combatants and facilitate their relocation to permanent homes (Zena, 2013). As such, this phase was usually long, compared to the processes of demobilisation and disarmament. It is quite interesting to note that, as the definition and scope of DDR had been changing, most countries came up with different definitions and scopes of DDR, because of the reintegration phase which was usually long. Muggah and O'Donnell (2015) note that the scope and dimensions of DDR went through three phases of change due to inherent contextual complexities. Consequently, Namibia's reintegration process was no exception, as it was caught in the web of new requirements because the different scopes and dimensions of DDR continued to evolve (Lamb, 2013; African Development Bank Group (2011).

1.3 The problem statement

Namibia's DDR programme, specifically the reintegration element, is yet to be completed and administered. This was revealed by the disgruntled ex-combatants as they had been staging demonstrations and protests, demanding jobs and compensation for their contributions during the liberation struggle. First it was the demonstrations and protests by the elderly ex-combatants until the year 2007 when the government opened dialogue with them. However, soon after the ex-combatants had stopped their protests, their children, including those of the deceased ex-combatants, took to the streets in mass demonstrations demanding to be granted 'veteran status' as well. Furthermore, former SWATF and KOEVOET members were also demanding reintegration benefits. This situation regarding the 'kids of the liberation struggle' and KOEVOET/SWATF had been going on for some time. Based on these developments, it can be argued that the reintegration process, which is normally designed to address such issues, was not properly conducted (Isaacs, 2007; Heita, 2009; Ikela, 2015).

When one considers the above, it is the view of researcher that, if the issue of war veterans in Namibia is not addressed, the current situation is likely to pose a security threat, as well as a threat to peace and stability in the country. It is, therefore, imperative for the Namibia government to obtain a clear understanding of the demands made by these ex-soldiers. It appears that not much research was done regarding the implementation of the reintegration of war veterans in Namibia. Therefore, there is a need for further research on the reintegration of war veterans in Namibia.

1.4 The study objectives

The purpose of the study was to explore the expectations, views and opinions of the war veterans from the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) process in terms of compensation, with the aim to provide a good understanding of former combatants' needs and views regarding their

expectations in relation to their reintegration into society. This study employed the term 'compensation' which is a term used by the ex-combatants when demanding recognition within the reintegration programme for the contribution they had made to the liberation struggle as PLAN soldiers.

The study was also seeking to understand how the former combatants were briefed by their commanders during the demobilisation process. It is generally assumed that when the war veterans were inspired to join the liberation struggle, they had expectations that, in the event that they had won the war, they would come back home as heroes and heroines who would enjoy a share of the country's resources. The study attempted to find answers and confirm the hopes, expectations and dreams of the war veterans about a liberated Namibia.

In addition, the researcher believes that the on-going processes of DDR in other countries acted as an eye-opener to the ex-combatants, in such a way that they felt that they had to be compensated or the government should attend to their needs for compensation due to their war efforts. Consequently, the study sought to evaluate their expectations against reality, and how to bridge the gap between the two.

Hence, the research addressed the following sub-objectives:

To examine the DDR practices as they were implemented in Namibia;

To establish the main players or initiators of Namibia's DDR processes;

To establish the expectations of ex-combatants in relation to the DDR processes;
To establish the challenges faced by the war veterans of the Namibian liberation struggle;

To determine the challenges faced by the Namibian government in the reintegration of ex-combatants;

To assist the Namibian government to address the plight of the ex-combatants

1.5 Research questions

In order to meet the objectives highlighted above, the following research questions were formulated to gain the perspectives of war veterans:

The key questions were:

What are the ex-combatants' expectations of the DDR processes?

What are the current challenges faced by ex-combatants?

To what extent was the DDR programme implemented in Namibia?

The sub questions were:

Who are the main players or initiators in Namibia's DDR process?

What are the challenges faced by the Namibian government in assisting war veterans?

1.6 Significance of the study

The study is very important to the body of knowledge as there is need to assess the grievances, if the conflict resolution is going to be successful. To the researcher's knowledge, there is a very limited number of studies that have focused on evaluating the ex-combatants' view in relation to compensation as part of the package of the DDR process.

There is a need to compare theory learnt with practical issues on the ground. The study will provide guidance to policy makers, planners and the Ministry of War Veterans' Affairs to assess what is expected of them compared to what they deliver.

1.7 Literature review

1.7.1 Overview of DDR programmes in Africa

Africa portrays a critical situation in relation to its DDR programmes. In 2013, 500,000 individuals in a variety of no state militias, national armies and para-military groups elected to undergo DDR programmes across Africa as a result of

previous war and armed conflicts (Zena, 2013). Central to these armed conflicts were liberation movements. These were pitted either against a racist and authoritarian government – most common in parts of Southern Africa, such as South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe – or against rebel groups that had support from other governments or domestic sources of sustenance – something that is common in Central, Northern and West Africa, for instance Cote d'Ivore, Sudan and Libya (Lamb, 2013).

From a general point of view, in Africa DDR programmes had been very complicated to deal with, to such an extent that not even the first step of disarmament was achieved. For example, following the 2011 anti-Gadhafi revolution, efforts to initiate DDR programmes were proving difficult at the very first step of disarmament. Libyan authorities estimated that 150,000 combatants needed to be disarmed, and many judged this issue to be among the most difficult challenges of the post-Gadhafi transition (Zena, 2013). This could be attributed to the lack of trust among different militias as witnessed in the case of South Sudan. Another case is that of Cote d'Ivore where the DDR was facing problems with claims that up to 100,000 combatants needed to be demobilised. In addition, after the 2012 armed attacks that killed civilians, UN peace keepers and government troops indicated that militants remained armed. This was an indication that disarmament was yet to be accomplished, even after the 2011 election. These and other cases are discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

However, despite challenges witnessed in other cases, Africa has recorded positive outcomes from its DDR initiatives, even though the initiatives or programmes are still far from over. Zena (2013) notes that the peace arrangements in Burundi and Liberia were arguably more effective than the programme in the DRC. The clarity of the DDR framework in the negotiated settlement was an important head-start which included timeframes, technical plans, the composition of the reformed security forces (including a balanced representation of senior officers and ethnic groups) and a commitment by authorities to satisfy basic provisions for the disarmed and to work toward longer-term reintegration (Pugel, 2006).

1.8 The research methodology

This section explains the research methodology of the current study. In particular, the study is aligned to the interpretivist research paradigm; hence, it employed a qualitative case study approach for its data collection.The study used a qualitative design as its guideline; this approach is useful in this study because it assists in obtaining information through the use of various techniques, such as face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions.

1.9 Thesis outline

- **Chapter 1: Introduction:** this chapter introduced the research. It delineated the research problem and objectives. It also explained in brief the research methodology.
- **Chapter 2: Literature review:** this chapter presents a literature review on DDR. It, furthermore,presents and evaluates case studies on DDR programmes implemented in Africa, including that in Namibia.
- **Chapter 3: Research methodology:** this chapter explains the research methodology for data collection. The research made use of a qualitative case study design for its data collection. Interviews and document analysis were used for data collection. Data gathered, as described in this chapter, were used to evaluate the research questions in order to meet the research objectives of this study.
- **Chapter 4: Presentation and analysis of data:** this chapter presents the findings from the data collected. The researcher employed content analysis with coding in the data analysis.
- **Chapter 5: Summary and conclusions:** this chapter presents the overall conclusion of the research. It evaluates what was done to address the research questions and meet the research objectives. The research limitations and recommendations are also included.

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the research. The continued demonstrations by ex-combatants and their children demanding government compensation or support were identified as this study's research problem. In other words, the complaints from ex-combatants suggested that they felt as if they were not adequately compensated for their role in the liberation struggle.

Accordingly, the study sought to explore the expectations, views and opinions of the war veterans regarding the DDR process in terms of compensation. This was done with the aim to provide a good understanding of former combatant's needs, as well as their views regarding their expectations in relation to reintegration. A case study research methodology was used to meet the research objectives.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the literature reviewed regarding the DDR programme or initiatives. Zena (2013) noted that despite the growing need for DDR, previous DDR programmes in Africa had encountered many challenges and bore mixed results. Irrespective of the encountered challenges and subsequent failures in some of the DDR initiatives, experiences from these DDR initiatives still play a critical role as a source of guidance to those who are implementing DDR programmes.

This chapter evaluates and analyses how the elements that constitute or define DDR have been evolving, given the changing nature of issues that threaten peace. It goes on to evaluate the implementation of the DDR programme within the African context. An analysis of Namibia's implementation of its DDR programmes is also included.

2.2.1Definitions of DDR and related terms

Literature suggests a constant shift in what constitutes a DDR programme and itsexpectations due to the ever-changing complexities in conflicts (Muggah& O'Donnell, 2015; Zena, 2013). Muggah and O'Donnell (2015)note that DDR is no longer the preserve of peace-keeping forces alone, but is routinely included in wider peace-building activities, counter-insurgency and stability operations, in tandem with counter-terrorism and anti-crime measures. On the other hand, Zena (2013) is of the opinion that the success of a DDR programme may be contingent upon the progress of a peace settlement, a political transition or a security sector reform effort, but this does not mean that DDR should be designed to achieve these ends directly or compensate for their shortcomings. While both of these arguments are correct, this study argues that the scopes and

dimensions of a DDR programme are mainly influenced by the circumstantial factors that help to shape the context in which the programmes are being applied. As such, this study concedes that DDR is a process aimed at helping with a smooth transition and mitigation of the impact of setbacks and other obstacles as part of a broader political effort (Zena, 2013). The following terms aligned to DDR are used:

- **Disarmament** is defined by the United Nations (1990) as the collection, documentation, control and disposal of small arms, ammunition, explosives and light and heavy weapons of combatants and often also of the civilian population. It also includes the development of responsible arms management programmes.
- **Demobilisation** is defined by the United Nations (1990) as a formal, controlled discharge of active combatants from armed forces or other armed groups. The first stage of demobilisation may extend from the processing of individual combatants in temporary centres to the massing of troops in camps designated for this purpose, such as cantonment sites, encampments, assembly areas or barracks (United Nations, 1990).
- **Reinsertion** is defined by the United Nations (1990) as support packages provided to the demobilised combatants to help cover their basic needs, such as transition, safety allowances, food, clothes, shelter, medical services, short term education, training, employment and tools.
- **Reintegration:** The United Nations (1990) identifies reintegration as a process by which an ex-combatant acquires civilian status and gains sustainable employment and income. It is essentially a social and economic process with an open time frame, primarily taking place in communities at the local level. It is part of the general development of a country and it is a national responsibility which often necessitates long-term external assistance.
- **Veterans:** According to the Veterans' Act, Act No.2 of 2008, a veteran is any person who (a) was a member of the liberation forces; (b) consistently and persistently participated or engaged in any political, diplomatic or underground activity in furtherance of the liberation struggle; (c) owing to his or her participation in the liberation struggle

was convicted, whether in Namibia or elsewhere, of any offence closely connected to the struggle, and sentenced to imprisonment. It does not include a person who deserted during the liberation struggle, unless that person subsequently re-joined the struggle (Amagulu, 2012).

2.2.2 The signing of a negotiated peace agreement that provides the Framework for DDR

Peace agreements do not always contain clear DDR provisions. In Afghanistan, the Born Agreement of 2001 only made vague references to demobilisation, while the Compact of 2006 included a succinct provision for the disbandment of armed groups. In Haiti there was no agreement at all, while in Cote d'Ivoire and in DRC there were multiple agreements with conflicting provisions for DDR making a complex scenario (Colleta, Schojorlien, & Berts, 2008).This precondition, which recommends that a negotiated peace agreement be signed, assumes that all warring parties are signatories to the peace agreement. However, in a majority of the cases examined by the UN all parties were not included in the peace process.

2.2 3 Trust in the peace process

While the trust in the overall peace process of the parties to the conflict is extremely difficult to evaluate, it is a key prerequisite for a successful traditional DDR. It may take time for parties to trust each other and, hence, they may wish to hold on to the military means that have brought them to the negotiating table, and in so doing, delaying the DDR (Lamb, 2011).

2.2.4 Willingness of the parties to the conflict to engage in DDR

The political will of the warring parties to engage in DDR is crucial to a successful process(Lamb, 2011). If the parties are not willing to be at peace with each other the peace process becomes almost impossible.

2.2.5 A minimum guarantee of security

Without a minimum guarantee of security, armed groups and individuals are unlikely to disarm. Many combatants will, therefore, be reluctant to relinquish a weapon which they perceive to be their guarantee of security (Lamb, 2011). For example, in Sudan despite the presence of two peace-keeping missions, the security situation in some parts of the country remains unstable due to armed conflicts.

2.2.6 DDR practices and challenges

2.2.6.1 Disarmament

The first part is disarmament where the armed forces are disarmed. This is done when there is a call for the armed forces to surrender their weapons. It comprises the assembly of combatants, the collection and documentation of weapons and the verification and certification of disarmed soldiers to assess their eligibility for further assistance and benefits (Lamb, 2011). The short-term aim is to enhance security by reducing the number of weapons owned by individuals and to restore trust among warring parties. In the long term, the process is intended to prevent the circulation of small arms in particular and their proliferation to other countries through the black market(Knight & Ozerdem, 2004). This is a crucial stage as the forces need to be convicted. The keeping of weapons has a negative impact on the peace process in terms of crime and possible war eruptions. During this process an arms and armament committee should be established to monitor the process.

The disarmament of combatants may take the form of a unilateral disarmament of one group, a bilateral disarmament of two opposing groups or multiple disarmament of a number of armed groups (Metsola, 1996). The disarmament process may follow one of the three approaches:

- A consensual approach in which all conflicting parties agree to hand in their weapons;
- A coercive approach in which one or more parties are forced to disarm;
- A compelling approach on a 'carrots and sticks' philosophy.

2.2.6.2 Demobilisation

Demobilisation is the process that usually starts with the opening of a reception centre, which provides a first home for returning combatants, and it continues by preparing former combatants for, and helping them with, their re-entry into civilian life. During this stage soldiers are usually cantoned in demobilisation sites or camps.

Combatants are usually separated from their commanders and eventually transported to their home towns or new living quarters (Preston, Smith, & Kefford, 2008). Sometimes, certain fighters are exempted from this practice and integrated into the regular armed force in order to sustain a functioning military body.

2.2.6.3 Reintegration

Reintegration is the process where combatants arrive home and have to readjust to civilian life. While some fighters are respectfully welcomed back as heroes, others are eyed suspiciously and rejected by host communities (Njata, 2012). A primary objective in this phase is the absorption of former fighters by the labour market, so that they gain access to income-generating activities and join their communities' social networks. These not only replace the jobs and salaries they have lost, but also ensure that veterans develop a sense of belonging and well-being in their new civilian environment.

In this endeavour, reintegration measures include different forms of support, which can roughly be divided into three categories: economic assistance, education and psychosocial support.

- Economic assistance is financial assistance commonly awarded in the form of single payments, monthly rents or a number of instalments. The amount varies from one country to another and one support programme to another.
- Education is assistance given to those lacking skills and who need them. Some might need basic education, some vocational training, some university education and some assistance to obtain employment.
- Psychological support is meant to foster the social and psychological well-being of ex-combatants in their daily lives, and also to nurture their ability to build social relationships, pursue careers and relate to their communities (Schaucer, 2006).

2.2.6.4 Challenges faced by the DDR practice

Challenges have been found in different places when implementing DDR practices. In Burundi there has been continued conflict as one of the rebel movements has not respected the agreement; hence, there is resistance to disarm because of mistrust between parties. These lacks of trust lead to inaccurate numbers of armed forces being communicated by the parties (United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2005). In the Democratic Republic of Congo the disarmament was not done well; so much so, that now the civilians are armed, and there are no financial resources for disarmament, due to the unfavourable economic environment (United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2005). In Zimbabwe there was inaccurate information on the strength of the forces; the most skilled, white, military forces resigned and the combatants were not completely accepted by the communities, especially the female ex-combatants. Therefore, the private sector did not want to employ them. Another challenge was psychological issues affecting the ex-combatants from which they had to heal by themselves (United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2005).

2.3 Expectations by war veterans before, during, and after the struggle

When people are recruited to join war, there are promises made to them to convince them to go. Some are convinced by a payment and are known as

mercenaries or soldiers of fortune. Some of the people are convinced, and hence they become part of the cause and hence they do it because they need to 'liberate their country'. At this point their goal is to liberate their country and hope to receive the reward of a better lifewhen the country isfree. At the point of recruitment the better life is not properly defined but it is left to the recruited person's imagination. As they progress in war, these goals may change, as they are sometimes exposed to resources, such as minerals and other proceeds they may receive. When they come back home after the war is over, they have to redefine the 'good life' or 'better' life as reality dawns to them. They may realise that going to war was not enough: they still need qualifications, hard work and capital for conducting business, pay for health care, taxes, school and all the other things they have associated with 'colonialism'. At this stage these combatants may feel cheated and only used to assist those who obtained high positions in the new government (Red Cross Society, 1977).For example, Mukwahepo in Namhila (2013) complained about how they were treated as useful freedom fighters in the time of exile but became useless in an independent Namibia. This sentiment is held because many former combatants, including main figures, were being left out by their comrades in 1990 in the formation of the new Namibia government.

2.6 General perceptions of the war veterans regarding government efforts

Combatants in post-conflict settings can be roughly divided into three categories. A significant proportion of armed actors forms the first group that will voluntarily self-demobilise once a viable peace framework seems to be in place. The second group will harbour deeper ties and vested interests in the military, while the third group is the hard core who hesitates to disarm, fearing exposure and being made vulnerable in an insecure, uncertain and volatile environment (Colletta &Muggah, 2009). In Burundi, many combatants did not have much interest to be professional militants; therefore, they were willing to become part of DDR process (Ulvin, 2007). In many DDR programmes, about 20 percent of former combatants who were demobilised never claimed transitional or reintegration benefits. In Sierra Leone and Liberia, surveys indicate that 10-15

percent of ex-combatants opted not to participate in DDR at all. Therefore, it appears to be a secondary concern for those who demobilised on their own to become part, or beneficiaries of, a DDR programme (Pugel, 2007).

The second group is typical of senior officers in rank, to whom demobilisation means loss of influence and authority. They obtained their profit through illicit taxation or trafficking of minerals and commodities for their role as leaders of the militia or the armed forces. Some of these combatants may face prosecution or investigation for war crimes and, therefore, have strong incentives to remain armed and active. Such die-hard combatants are not interested in promises of skills training or reintegration assistance (Colletta & Muggah).

The third group is made up of the hard core combatants. They lack suitable income-earning alternatives, so may worry that disarmament would be the end of their livelihood; however, they do not have motive or interest to remain combatants. Banholzer (2014), furthermore, notes that the length that an individual combatant stays or is forced to stay with an armed group appears to affect the DDR process. For example, rebels who had stayed more than a year in the RENAMO base camp in Mozambique, displayed more anti-social and aggressive behaviour than combatants who had spent a shorter period in the camp. Hence, this group of combatants would likely need psychological help to reject militancy. Consequently, they would benefit more from the DDR programmes (Banholzer, 2014).

2.7 The evolution of DDR programmes

Muggah and O'Donnell (2015) suggest that, over the past three decades, the DDR elements have grown from that of playing the role of preserving peace-keeping forces alone to routinely include wider peace-building activities, counter-insurgency and stability operations, including counter-terrorism and anti-crime measures. This could align to what Zena (2013) terms as measures of a successful DDR programme, which

> May be contingent upon the progress of a peace settlement, a political transition, or a security sector reform effort, but this does not mean that DDR should be designed to directly achieve these ends or compensate for their shortcomings.

Nevertheless, the requirements of the first forms of DDR programmes differ slightly from the current requirements as a result of dynamic challenges that threaten peace. Muggah and O'Donnell (2015) note that the DDR programmes have been changing in scope and depth. These changes can be traced back, and grouped into three categories, namely the DDR first wave, a second generation of DDR and the next generation DDR.

2.7.1 DDR first wave

The first wave of DDR initiatives was implemented to solve problems resulting from international and civil wars. In the late 1990s, DDR was promoted by peace, security and development communities, especially amongst representatives of the United Nations agencies, the World Bank and a number of bilateral aid agencies (Muggah& O'Donnell, 2015). During the first wave,among others, DDR was to abolish military control and power among senior military personnel and soldiers or rebels who would, in turn, receive reintegration assistance where possible. This could also include pensions and, in some instances, some members would re-apply and occupy newly formed security forces. Colletta, et al.(1996, in Muggah and O'Donnell, 2015) are of the opinion that the first wave DDR initiatives had had positive impacts in El Salvador, Guatemala, Namibia, Mozambique and South Africa, based on the fact that they contributed in preventing the recurrence of armed conflicts.

However, the first wave DDR presented cases where it did not prove a success, due to several factors. For instance, DDR schemes in Cambodia, Haiti and the Philippines in the 1990s failed to collect sizeable numbers of weapons or demobilise fighting forces, much less stem a return to political violence in the short-term (Muggah, 2005; 2009 in Muggah& O'Donnell, 2015).

2.7.2 A second generation of DDR

The United Nations indicate that a second generation of DDR had arrived by 2010 as a result of the growing edifice of security sectors and peace-building scholars(Al-Qaisi, 2013, in Muggahand O'Donnell, 2015). DDR programmes expanded in scope from focusing on demobilising and reintegrating ex-combatants to building conditions for sustainable peace. This would include reconciliation measures between former soldiers and communities and promoting their economic livelihoods.

The birth of the second generation of DDR was motivated by wars in West and Central Africa, the Balkans and Southeast Asia that had resulted from erstwhile soldiers, rebels and civilians who necessitated internal conflicts even after the war. Lamb (2013) explains the reason for moving from the traditional DDR process, and points out that the traditional DDR process was focusing mainly on armed combatants only, but this approach did not guarantee peace and stability. As a result, DDR practitioners moved to the next level that went beyond demobilisation and collecting of weapons. It became obvious that employing disarmament and demobilisation elements only were not enough and that the risks for failure to bring lasting peace and stability were there. Hence, the DDR practitioners devised a new approach, termed the second generation DDR, as a response to a challenging context in which the UN was working alongside national governments, civil societies and international partners to maintain the peace process and contribute to stabilisation (Lamb, Alusal, Broodryk, Mthembu-Salter & Stern, 2011).

There were concerns that the widening of peace-keeping mandates, and by extension DDR, would set unrealistic expectations of what could reasonably be achieved; especially, given the timeframe, numerous DDR programmes in several countries, budget constraints and the likelihood of new DDR programmes that might spring up in conflict-prone countries (UN, 2010).

Over the subsequent decade, the DDR programme began adapting in line with the evolution of global peace, security and development agendas. When the mandates of the United Nations, peace support operations began expanding in

the late 1990s and early 2000s, the policies and practices of DDR unsurprisingly changed alongside them. The second generation of DDR programmes shifted from the old, former agenda of focusing on combatants who were part of military structures. The second generation DDR programmes moved away from an exclusive focus on military structures towards the larger communities that were affected by the armed violence. This shift enabled DDR programmes to assist and include more beneficiaries who were excluded from traditional DDR programmes.

The second generation DDR approach enabled many activities that were not possible to be implemented if the prerequisite conditions of the DDR programmes were not met. The second generation programmes were locally driven, designed and implemented by using a locally evidence-based approach (UN, 2010).

2.7.3 Next generation DDR

DDR programmes were commonly associated with members who participated voluntarily, based on set or prescribed agreements. However, the next generation DDR was inserted with forceful elements in its implementation. Muggah and O'Donnell, (2015, p. 4)give the example of the DRC, stating that

> "the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), where some 20,000 members of the Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda, or FDLR, were repatriated to their home country between 2000 and 2010".

Muggah and O'Donnell (2015), furthermore, state that

> "There, a new kind of forceful DDR was initiated in the context of 'robust peacekeeping' operations in 2012 to neutralise the remaining, approximately 2,000 hard-core FDLR fighters who continued to ravage the Eastern Congo".

This sentiment has also been supported by the UN (2014a, in Muggah&O'Donnell, 2015) and Joselow (2015).

2.8 Key factors for the successful outcome of DDR

Curtis and Dzinesa (2013) claim that there are two main factors that determine the successful outcome of DDR, namely political will, which is a fundamental precondition on which to build DDR, and the second is a genuine commitment of parties to the process. These two elements are vital to the process of DDR.

2.9 DDR actors and approaches

Curtis and Dzinesa, (2013)list a number of actors in DDR. Among them are different global, regional and local actors who are involved in DDR in Africa. The multilateral agencies and donor organisations believe that DDR is part of their overall framework for liberal reform.

The World Bank is one of the actors, and limits its support to the two components of DDR, namely demobilisation and reintegration. This is because the World Bank mandate prevents it from becoming involved in military operations. Another actor is the United States of America International Development (USAID). They too are involved in two elements of DDR and, as per their mandate, are not involved in foreign militaries.

Several other actors are sub-regional organisations, the African Union (AU), as well as local actors, such as civil organisations which include non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and cultural, traditional, as well religious organisations(Curtis &Dzinesa,2013).

2.4 Non-government assistance

The United Nations is usually the main support for DDR process in order to ensure that peace prevails. There are other organisations that come in, such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs). A number of reasons lend support to the view that the conditions are right for greater NGO influence. Nussio (2010)

notes that the military as DDR actors are not the right organs to interact with civil society. NGOs, on the contrary, seem to have a favourable advantage in responding to conflicts at the local level. In addition, NGOs have gradually become chief providers of public welfare and sources of employment. In many countries, NGOs fill important short-term gaps in the national administration by providing essential services, particularly in the fields of health and education. Even UNDP, originally known for its strong emphasis on cooperation with state-actors, has started to involve NGOs in project execution.

Furthermore, NGOs have the advantage of being in the area years before the outbreak of the conflict or the violence. They have knowledge of the local society and culture; something that is lacked by the outside actors who choose to become involved in the conflict. Finally, the inclusion of local level NGOs, in the multi-layered system of governance of a United Nations administered territory, contributes to the development of self-rule and democracy building at the local level, which is particularly important in the context of post-war societies.

Conflict management specialists have claimed that international approaches to post-conflict peace building have focused too often on the national level elites. The increasing integration of local NGOs and officials in the international administrational system would strengthen a bottom-up approach (Lamb, 2011).

2.5 Government assistance

At the time of Independence the new Namibian government was a liberation movement that was transitioning into a government. They had many challenges in building the government and most of the officials and leaders did not have experience running a government. This means there were issues in which the government was not in a position to assist. Generally, it is common for newly created governments emerging from war that there might be no record keeping, nor budget or proper planning. It is, therefore, not easy to keep track of government expenditure and other services (Preston, Smith & Kefford, 2008). Government assistance to the combatants can only be accounted for after a couple of years after independence.

2.10 Beneficiaries of DDR programmes

As per the UN's Operational Guide to the Integrated Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration Standards, there are usually different types of beneficiaries, namely those regarded as either direct beneficiaries or indirect beneficiaries. It is particularly important to understand the different beneficiaries as they play different roles in the DDR programme. These can also influence the progress or activities of the DDR programme (United Nation, 2014).

- **Direct beneficiaries:** these include ex-combatants who actively participated in the war and those who played a supporting role, such as cookers, porters, messengers, women and children who voluntarily joined the war or were abducted to join the war or to become sex slaves. The DDR approach has become broader, and more beneficiaries are being added to include dependents - the spouses, children and other dependents of ex-combatants.

  Zena (2013) notes that post-conflict combatants could be differentiated into three different sub-sets. The first group constitutes combatants who harbour no deep commitment to a career as a militant and would eagerly participate in a DDR programme once a viable peace framework is in place. The second group of combatants has deeper ties and interests in the military. They are typically senior in rank, and demobilisation represents a substantial sacrifice of influence and authority. This group profited from their roles in the conflict, with some involved in illegal activities that could see them being investigated for war crimes; therefore, this category is less likely to participate in DDR activities. Typical examples include the DRC militants who remained armed. The third subset of combatants exists between self-demobilisers and the hard-core. This category comprises ex-combatants who have no interest in remaining in the military but they are hesitant to disarm as they have fears regarding security, and have no alternative sources of income. Zena (2013) argues that if this category is properly organised, DDR programmes could possibly have a bigger impact.

- **Indirect beneficiaries:** these are communities where ex-combatants resettle and, as a result, they may benefit from a DDR programme, especially when the programme takes place within the community setting. They can benefit from incentives in kind or in monetary form that the ex-combatants might receive. If infrastructures have to be put in place, these will also benefit the community at large.

Zena (2013) continues that DDR programmes need to be designed and implemented with clear and unambiguous, eligibility criteria. A careful screening process needs to be carried out to determine who can participate in a DDR programme. While it is important to exclude non-combatants, it is very important that the process does not discriminate against women, children and vulnerable groups. Female ex-combatants, supporters and dependents should also become beneficiaries of the DDR process. For example, female combatants who participated in the battlefield may find it difficult to be recruited into the regular army; therefore, they should receive assistance specifically designed for their needs and aspirations (Ulvin, 2015). The Namibia Veterans' Act, 2008 is contrary to some of the UN IDDRS operational guidelines and Zena's (2013) views in this context.

The DDR programme is a delicate process that needs to be treated with sensitivity. Therefore, DDR programmes should be implemented in such a way that they cannot be regarded as discriminatory, something that could cause tension between the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (United Nations, 2010).

2.11A general overview of DDR programmes

2.11.1 Early DDR initiatives

Shaw (1984, in Banholzer, 2014) claims to have traced evidence of a crude DDR process back to the ancient Roman Empire, stating that during the period of the ancient Roman Empire, the Romans used crude forms of DDR to assist the soldiers returning from war. The programme included the distribution of farmland to former soldiers and their re-recruitment into the army (Banholzer,

2014). Furthermore, Lamb (2013) supports Shaw's (1984) evidence that the DDR process is an old, peace-stabilising mechanism, which has been in existence for centuries. Lamb (2013) claims to have found evidence of DDR programmes at the beginning of the 20th century; it appears to be a programme involving the former soldiers of the Second Boer War in South Africa in 1902 and the two World Wars.

Lamb (2013), furthermore, claims that America also employed DDR programmes in the reintegration of American soldiers who had returned from the war in Vietnam. They were assisted to return to civilian life by using DDR initiatives similar to the ones used to assist German soldiers of the two World Wars. However, the American DDR programme was reported to be well designed and better implemented in comparison to the German DDR programme. Based on lessons learned from previous DDR programmes, America avoided the mistakes made in the DDR programmes for the German soldiers of the Second World War. The mistakes made were that many women, who had taken up work in the war industries, were pushed out of employment; the reduction of unemployment came at the cost of an inflation that, having spiralled out of control in the hyper-inflation of 1923, led to a painful stabilisation with substantial unemployment in its wake. The new republic, by comparison, proved fairly generous in caring for disabled veterans by providing them with occupational training and free medical care and pensions, and by granting particular protection through the reservation of some jobs for the severely disabled. However, this eventually led to the creation of expectations that the republic could not fulfil, especially in the wake of inflation. Widespread dissatisfaction was the result, as veterans complained about the lack of recognition, and the public rejected veterans' demands as excessive(Schumann, (2014).

Furthermore, Colletta and Muggah (2009) note that after the Cold War, many armed conflicts were accompanied by a DDR process as a pre-requisite for peace. Moreover, the DDR process became an international standard in bringing peace and security to countries emerging from violent conflicts. The United Nations agencies took the preceding role amongst the international security and development actors (Colletta & Muggah, 2009; Colletta, Schojorlien & Berts, 2008; Lamb, 2013; Muggah& Krause, 2009).

2.11.2 An overview of DDR programmes in Africa

In 2013 there were approximately 500,000 individuals in a variety of non-state militias, national armies and paramilitary groups who were slated to undergo DDR programmes across Africa as a result of previous wars and armed conflicts (Zena, 2013). Central to these armed conflicts were liberation movements mostly pitted against a racist and authoritarian government (most common in parts of Southern Africa with reference to South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe) or against rebel groups that had support from other governments or domestic sources of sustenance that were common in Central, Northern and West Africa, for instance Cote d'Ivore, Sudan, Libya (Lamb, 2013).

DDR programmes targeting post-armed conflicts as a result of domestic sources of sustenance have proved difficult to manage, with notable reference to the South Sudan and DRC, due to several circumstantial factors. However, when one looks at the aims of maintaining peace and stability, DDR programmes targeting regions of post-militant conflict that were pitted against a racist and authoritarian government, for instance in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, have contributed to maintain peace and stability within the region. It should be noted that DDR programmes have not been designed to address conflict drivers, such as political and economic power imbalances that fuel grievances, illicit trafficking that empowers or motivates violent actors, or governance weaknesses that tempt spoilers and prompt communities to turn directly to self-defence. Nevertheless, the fact that requirements or the scope of DDR programmes has been widening cannot go unnoticed (Muggah & O'Donnell, 2015; Stephanie, 2007).

The DDR process involves roughly the three steps of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration. In some cases in Africa, not even the first step of disarmament has been achieved. For example, in Libya, following the 2011, anti-Gadhafi revolution, efforts to initiate a DDR programme are still proving difficult at the very first step, namely disarmament. In 2013, Libyan authorities

estimated that 150,000 combatants needed to be disarmed and many judged this issue to be among the most difficult challenges of the post-Gadhafi transition (Zena, 2013). Another case is that of Cote d'Ivore where a DDR programme faced complications as revealed by claims that up to 100,000 combatants needed to be demobilised. The 2012 armed attacks that killed civilians, UN peace keepers and government troops indicated that militants remained armed – an indication that disarmament was yet to be achieved even after the 2011 election.

However, Africa has recorded positive outcomes from its DDR initiatives, even though the initiatives or programmes were far from problem-free. Zena (2013)notes that the peace arrangements in Burundi and Liberia were arguably more effective than the programme in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). In Burundi the clarity of the DDR framework in the negotiated settlement was an important head start which included time for a balanced representation of senior officers and ethnic groups and a commitment by authorities to satisfy basic provisions for the disarmed, as well as to work towards longer-term reintegration (Pugel, 2006; Zena, 2013).

The next section gives an overview of the DDR programme of South Sudan.

2.11.3 DDR programmes: A case of South Sudan

This section reviews DDR initiatives in South Sudan with the aim to establish how the processes of DDR were managed. The case of South Sudan is an eye-opener into establishing the possible consequences of poorly managed DDR programmes; as such it can be considered as a learning platform for other African countries (Preston, Smith & Kefford, 2008).

DDR programmes for South Sudan were initiated following the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that was signed between the Sudanese People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) and the Government of Sudan (GoS) in 2005. The protocol on security that was part of the agreement was aimed at managing the reintegration of ex-combatants. According to the security protocol, the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and the SPLM/A were to cease fighting and work together, as an Interim National DDR Coordination Council was established to

oversee the Interim DDR programme in Sudan and South Sudan. The objectives of the DDR programme were to prepare ex-combatants socio-politically and psychologically to fit into civilian life; support and promote harmonious co-existence between ex-combatants and the local communities; support self-help projects to ensure economic self-reliance among ex-combatants; promote the needs of other groups associated with ex-combatants, such as children and women, among others; reduce the proliferation of small and light weapons and educate the host communities about the values of personal hygiene, malaria and HIV/AIDS preventive measures, among other things (Turyamureeba, 2014).

While the responsible authorities had made a tremendous step in Burundi of predefining the scope of their DDR initiatives, the majority of these objectives were only partially fulfilled. Among other factors leading to the failure to fulfil the objectives set for the DDR programme was the little attention that was paid to the detailed specificities or the complexity of the environment under which the programme was implemented; government negotiators never saw DDR as a critical issue requiring urgent attention. Turyamureeba (2014) notes that close to half of the DDR target was demobilised and that less than a quarter of the target was reintegrated. This resulted in the resurgence of an armed conflict and the subsequent outbreak of violence as the government became unpopular. Among other factors, Turyamureeba (2014) found the following as central to the poor management of DDR in South Sudan:

- **Political will, tensions and funding:** With the role of evaluating DDR candidates, the SPLA demobilised some ex-combatants, but at the same time recruited youthful forces due to fear of threats from Sudan, despite the pressure by the donors to reduce the size of the army. Poor funding from donors and South Sudan, following disturbances in the main source of income (oil production), also negatively affected the conduct of DDR programmes.
- **The effect of a miserable economy:** Following a ceasefire, ex-combatants were of the opinion that it was their turn to be rewarded for their efforts. However, they were not aware of the fact that the government did not have enough resources following its poor economic performance.

- **The reintegration package: too little, too late:** It was noted that packages in the DDR programme were inadequate and sharply differed from the expectations of the ex-combatants. Ideally, the reintegration package should include three broad categories: psychological, social and economic support. Economic reintegration support should involve formal education, vocational training, as well as employment creation and self-help livelihood projects. Social reintegration support should involve community sensitisation, a reconciliation process, life skills and psychological support. These should be preceded by the reinsertion package, the support that ex-combatants receive upon their demobilisation, as they await the comprehensive reintegration package. On the other hand, ex-combatants, those who passed the evaluations and received something from reintegration, felt that the offered packages did not change much of their lives. Ex-combatants were expecting to receive fees for their children, land (especially around Juba County), a loan scheme, clean water, medical care and a special health insurance scheme for the wounded heroes, among others (Turyamureeba, 2014).
- **Inclusion, participation and an individualised approach:** It is generally expected that when deciding on the packages to come with DDR, specifically the reintegration element, stakeholders at the grassroots levels should be included. This was not the case in South Sudan as many ex-combatants had missed out. One of the reasons leading to their missing out on DDR programmes was an ineffective communication system that saw the use of radio announcements which mostly reached urban and semi-urban areas.
- **The nature of the implementation environment**: The nature of the post-conflict environment is one of the key factors that determine the success of peace-building initiatives, such as DDR of ex-combatants or any weapons-reduction programme. In particular to South Sudan, the interim period was characterised by grave accusations between warring parties due to unresolved border issues, among other factors. Furthermore, ethnic tensions in South Sudan suffocated the DDR programme.
- **Other problems**: Ex-SPLA women members were frequently marginalised by their families when they returned with offspring, but lacked a dowry. In

some cases, cultural and/or religious norms hindered reintegration by providing communities with justification to stigmatise ex-belligerents. (United Nations, 2007).

2.11.4. An overview of DDR programmes in Southern Africa

This section analyses DDR activities in Southern African countries. It focuses on case studies regarding DDR activities by South Africa and Namibia, the research focus of this study. As noted by Zena (2013), the way conflicts end has significant implications for subsequent disarmament. Accordingly, the way the Namibian conflict ended shares some similarities with those of fellow Southern African countries, namely South Africa and Zimbabwe. In addition, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe share the near similar characteristic of having experienced armed conflicts as a result of racist and authoritarian governments.

Nevertheless, DDR programmes in Southern Africa have had diverse results with some being innovative and remarkably successful. Others have been glaringly ineffective, with the result that many ex-combatants have been unable to secure employment and/or make the necessary social and psychological adjustments to make a successful transition to civilian life (Lamb, 2013).

2.11.5 DDR: The case of South Africa

2.11.5.1 South Africa's historic background

South Africans suffered oppression from fellow countrymen and -women following racial policies of segregation by the minority which gave birth to an apartheid regime in 1948.The African National Congress (ANC) was found in 1961, with the aim of fighting oppression and the apartheid regime. The ANC political movement formed an armed wing, called Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).Another group, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) a breakaway from the ANC, was formed; it established its own military wing, named Poqo that was later named renamed the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), to fight the

apartheid government as well. The ANC worked together with similar movements in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

In 1991, after decades of conflict, nineteen parties agreed to come together to negotiate a peace process for the abolishment of the apartheid rule and establish democracy. The peace agreement was achieved in 1993. The parties set the election date and agreed to the integration of various armed forces to form the South African National Defence Force (SANDF). The integration of MK and APLA was characterised by dissatisfaction over ranks and conditions of service, as some were forced to work without uniforms; there were other issues, such as salaries, as they were receiving lower salaries when compared to their white counterparts (Lamb, 2013). Lamb (2013) argues that many MK and APLA combatants were discouraged and/or prevented from pursuing military careers. They subsequently chose to benefit from demobilisation packages.

2.11.5.2 Demobilisation in South Africa

According to Lamb (2013), South Africa's official demobilisation started in April 1995. The ex-combatants, mainly from MK and APLA who were members of the SANDF but did not want or were unable due to physical challenges to serve in the full-time force, were asked to retire voluntarily from the army. By doing this the ex-combatants were given different packages. These included gratuities ranging from R12,734.00(US$3,499) to a maximum of R40,657.00 (US$11,156), two weeks of voluntary counselling and eighteen months of vocational training through the Department of Defence's Service Corps (SC).

The SC programme targeted to train close to 22,000 personnel between 1995 and 2001; however, this target was not met as most ex-combatants went back to their impoverished communities. One of the reasons for abandoning the training included poor planning which did not take into consideration the ex-combatant's existing skills and aspirations; furthermore, the training programmes were equipping ex-combatants with irrelevant skills or less marketable skills; tension existed between administrators who were MK soldiers from the SC Head Office and regional office administrators who were former SADF and TVBC soldiers. Lastly, the military culture within the SC undermined the culture of learning.

In addition, the South African parliament passed the Demobilisation Act for some SANDF members who could not be integrated because of their age, level of education, health or individuals who chose not to continue in the employment of the military because of dissatisfaction with their ranks after placement in the SANDF (Lamb, 2013). Also in 1996 the Special Pension Act No. 69 of 1996 (which specifically targeted MK and APLA military veterans) was enacted to provide a modest pension to those former combatants who were 35 years or older on the commencement date of the Act, with monthly payments ranging from R500.00 to R5,000.00, depending on the age of the beneficiary (Lamb, 2013). While these were positive initiatives, research shows that these activities did not cater for, or reach out to, all the relevant ex-combatant.

2.11.5.3. Reintegration

Lamb (2013) claims that until 2008 both government and the ANC largely disregarded the plight of ex-combatants, despite rhetorical references to the heroes of the struggle in political speeches,. It was President Jacob Zuma who, upon entering office, created a military department and promulgated a Military Veterans' Act, which was enacted in 2011 and implemented in 2012. These moves were made in part to address challenges faced by ex-combatants. Lamb (2013) identifies five studies that were conducted between the years 1993 and 2006 on ex-combatants. It was noted that common problems faced by ex-combatants were a result of the poor management of DDR programmes, among them demobilisation and reintegration. These problems included failure to find employment due to poor education and/or no skills, as well as a lack of work experience; some ex-combatants suffered from psychological problems; many ex-combatants were experiencing major difficulties integrating into civilian life and perceived themselves as having been wished away as former superiors. Their respective communities tended to distance themselves from the people who not so long ago they urged into armed action.

It was also noted that some ex-combatants were dependent on family members to provide them with money, food and shelter or were engaged in *ad hoc,*informal

sector activities, such as hawking, while some regularly abused alcohol. Another study reports high numbers of ex-combatants living with HIV/AIDS, with one in eight reportedly suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (Lamb, 2013).

2.11.6 An overview of the DDR process in Namibia

2.11.6.1 Namibia's historical background before and after its independence

Between 1884 and 1915 Namibia, then known as South West Africa (SWA), was a German colony. After the end of the First World War, the League of Nations tasked South Africa to administer Namibia to enable the Namibian people to exercise their right of self-determination. However, South Africa governed Namibia as its fifth province in conflict with the provisions of the UN mandate of trusteeship. There were no equal rights, and justice and democracy in Namibia for the black majority under South Africa control were limited (Ekandjo, 2013; 2014, Lamb, 2013, Shityuwete, 1990).

Ekandjo (2014) and Shityuwete (1990) maintain that the afore-mentioned situation forced the Namibian people to revolt against the abuse of their human rights by South Africa's apartheid government. This also led to the formation of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and the creation of SWAPO's military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) to fight for Namibian self-determination (Shityuwete, 1990).In response, South Africa militarised the administration of Namibia and created a counter-insurgency force, named the South West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF) to counteract SWAPO insurgence.

In 1966, the UN revoked South Africa's mandate to rule Namibia and put Namibia under UN control in 1967.The UN created a body known as the UN Council for Namibia. This body was tasked to bring independence to Namibia until the time of self-determination. The Council was charged with governing

Namibia but it could not do so as it had no access to the territory, let alone control over the budget, civil service and security forces; hence, it was reduced tothe role of assisting refugees and exiles (Dzinesa, 2008; Lamb, 2011).

In 1960the UN recognised SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, and created a body called the United Nations' Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG). South Africa generally accepted the deployment of UNTAG, but disagreed with certain conditions. After prolonged negotiations, South Africa, Angola and Cuba signed an agreement in New York on 22 December 1988 that was to bring peace to the entire region at last. The agreement laid down the timetable for the withdrawal of the forces of the signatory states and enabled the UN to implement its plan for independence for Namibia (Dzinesa, 2006; Ekandjo, 2014; Lamb, 2013).

2.11.6.2 Namibia's DDR process in context

Dzinesa (2006) claims that as per Resolution 435, UNTAG's main task was to oversee the peace process. Another function of UNTAG was to implement the DDR programme by monitoring the dismantling of the South African military presence and the confinement of SWAPO forces, as well as to monitor the orderly conduct of the process of independence.

The UN played the main role in facilitating the return of Namibian refugees who were scattered all over the world. Reception centres were established to receive and register returnees and provide them with material assistance. By the end of the process, about 45,000 Namibians had been brought back from exile. These returnees did not spend a long time in reception centres due, in large part, to the assistance provided and to the resilient Namibian family structures which rapidly reabsorbed the returnees. On 21 March 1990, Namibia gained independence (Dzinesa, 2006; Lamb, 2013).

Despite the fact that the process of the Namibian DDR went smoothly with few flaws, Dzinesa(2006) and Lamb (2013) claim that the reintegration programme was omitted from Namibia's DDR programme because both the UN and the new Namibian government assumed that the ex-combatants would reintegrate into

the community on their own accord. They argued that the process of Namibia's DDR programme was a success; however, the omission of the reintegration process undermined this. Soon after Namibia was declared an independent state in March 1990, the ex-combatants started to express their dissatisfaction due to the lack of employment opportunities. They started to express their grievances through public demonstrations and protest actions.

In her bibliography, a decorated war heroin, Mukwahepo's (Namhila, 2013), sentiments suggest the absence of the reintegration process and difficult times to come as she was quoted saying:

> In 1995, SWAPO sent me an invitation to attend the celebration of Heroes Day at Omugulugwoombashe, Omugulugwoombashe was SWAPO base where the first crossfire took place between SWAPO and South African forces".

Mukwahepo narrates her story in her own words as follows:

> "I was presented with a medal of honour. I felt good and I was proud. At this celebration, I met many comrades who were together with me in exile. I was very happy, and wished that the day and the ceremony would go on forever. However, as of course nothing lasts forever, the day came to an end and people departed for their homes. I too returned home to Onengali yaKaluvi with my medal of honour. My heart and soul was filled with the pride of recognition. Upon my return to my village, my fellow community members congratulated me for the recognition bestowed upon me by our SWAPO government. People greeted me with admiration and respect, saying 'Mukwahepo', you are a hero of our struggle.
>
> "But when I got back to my container, although my children looked at me with joy for their meme had been awarded a heroic medal- they were hungry and expected their hero to have brought them food I had returned home with a shiny medal, but I still did not have anything to cook for my children. I was a recognised national hero with an empty stomach. In 1991, I had registered with the government pension fund to receive a pension payout. Then in 1995, not long after I was awarded my medal, I started

> receiving a monthly income of N$120, although it was only paid out every fourth month" (Namhila, 2013, p. 133-134).

Mukwahepo's story is similar to the story of Simeon Kaambo Shixungileni, a former commander of PLAN of SWAPO, as explained by his son. His views are related to sentiments highlighted in *Mukwahepo*'s bibliography. Simeon's son was quoted saying:

> "Yes my father was poor and hungry but not that hunger that one feels in their stomach but the hunger that he could not support his family because of his age and ailing health".

Subsequently, the Namibian government was urged by community activists to carry out a fair and balanced reintegration programme. It was argued that the government had a social responsibility to its citizens. This call was prompted by the fact that the Cabinet was at first reluctant to consider pensions and cash payments for former combatants (Jauch, 2012). Jauch (2012) argued that the reintegration process, especially the compensation programme, was flawed and did not serve its purpose. Furthermore, Jauch (2012) states that the beneficiaries of this programme were now former freedom fighters who did not need assistance as they had well-paid jobs. This included the majority of cabinet members, as well as highly paid managers at parastatals and municipalities.

The early omission of a reintegration process led to mass demonstrations, protests and disillusioned sentiments echoed by former soldiers and community activists regarding the poorly designed and implemented DDR approach. The former freedom fighters and their children had been staging demonstrations, demanding jobs and other social and financial benefits to which they thought that they were entitled.

2.11.6.3The progress of Namibia's reintegration programme

In Namibia, twenty five years after Independence, the issue of a DDR programme, specifically the reintegration element, is a burning issue which refuses to die. The ex-combatants, famously known as 'freedom fighters' during

the liberation struggle, and their dependants have been staging demonstrations and protests demanding jobs, as well as compensation for their contribution to the liberation struggle.

First it was the demonstrations and protests by ex-combatants themselves until 2007 when the government started to engage in a dialogue with them. However, soon after the adult ex-combatants had stopped their protests, their children, including those of deceased ex-combatants, took to the streets in mass demonstrations, demanding to be granted veteran status as well.

A pocket-sized number of SWATF and KOEVOET former soldiers had been meeting, issuing ultimatum statements demanding the same treatment, in order to be recognised as war veterans as well. They were stating that they too had been affected and that they felt that they too were war veterans; hence, they deserved to be treated equally. However, the government refused to grant them war veteran status, by saying that they had fought on the wrong side, with the enemy of the Namibian nation. All three groups, namely the freedom fighters, their dependants and ex-SWATF/KOEVOET and their families, continued to demand jobs and other social and financial benefits which they felt that they were owed by the state (Isaacs, 2007; Sibanda, 2008; Weidlich, 2007).

2.11.6.4The benefits offered to ex-combatants under the government reintegration programme

Since Independence, the Namibian government has taken the following initiatives to address the plight of war veterans:

- The first initiative to assist veterans was the handing over of animals for animal husbandry purposes to some veterans. It is unfortunate that this programme did not benefit as many veterans as planned.

- War veterans were given a pension of R120.00 which started around 1995 and was paid every four months, according to Mukwahepo (2013). This amount was increased to R150.00 per month around 2000 and, in 2004, it was again increased to R1, 000.00 per month.

- The second intervention was the creation of the Development Brigade (DBC) with the aim to empower veterans with skills development through training in the fields of agriculture and construction.
- Then there was the introduction of the Social Integration Programme for Ex-Combatants (SIPE). The SIPE was created to contribute to the reintegration of ex-combatants into civil society by providing them with self-employment opportunities. This programme targeted the 12,000 able-bodied, ex-combatants who had the potential to become economically active and who were registered by the Committee of Deputy Ministers.
- The fourth intervention was the creation of the Peace Project. The Peace Project was born out of recommendations in the report of the Committee of Deputy Ministers in 1996. The purpose of this project was to integrate veterans into a number of public offices, such as the defense and police forces, the correctional services and state-owned enterprises. It was through this exercise that the Special Field Force, which is now under the Ministry of Safety and Security, was established, and many ex-combatants, both PLAN and SWATF, were recruited to serve there.

  On the other hand, ex-combatants with specific qualifications were integrated into the civil service. It is encouraging to note that all the ex-combatants that had been absorbed into different institutions still continue to benefit from these initiatives and their lives have improved considerably.
- Then the establishment of the War Veterans' Subvention Act which was promulgated in 1999 through which the War Veterans' Trust Fund was created. The objective of the War Veterans' Trust Fund was to pay a monthly subvention to war veterans and the dependants of deceased war veterans. Due to the lack of data on veterans, only a small proportion of the ex-fighters benefited from this fund.
- The government also provided houses to some elderly and disabled PLAN fighters and former Robben Islanders. By 2010, ninety six (96) houses had been built; the programme was continuing and extended to other categories of veterans. The programme had managed to build about 2,000 houses by 2015 (Shinovene, 2015).

- According to Nakale (2014) the Ministry of War Veterans' Affairs registered about 26,000 war veterans who received one-off payments of N$50,000.00 or N$20,000.00, depending on the years they contributed to the liberation struggle. Another 10,303 war veterans, who were unemployed, retired or physically handicapped and veterans whose annual wage was about N$20,000.00 per annum, received a monthly grant of N$2,200.00 each. About 8,217 projects for the funding of studies and investments into SMEs for individual war veterans were approved and funded.
- Nakale (2014) further claims that about 793 veterans and dependents of living and deceased veterans had been granted education grants and 61 beneficiaries had graduated. Nakale (2014) also claims that the Ministry gave funeral assistance to 277 deceased veterans and had erected 243 tombstones on the graves of the deceased war veterans by 2015.

However, despite the Ministry having provided the above-listed assistance, ex-PLAN fighters and their dependents continued to air their grievances that the government had failed to recognise them and take care of their wellbeing. This information was reported in thelocal media, documenting the plight of the ex-combatants. Meanwhile the Ministry's website has also been reporting on the progress of their activities as per the mandate to address the plight of ex-combatants (Haufiku, 2014; New Era, 2016).

2.11.6.5Registration process

The Ministry of Veterans' Affairs has gone through changes, and is now the Directorate of Veterans' Affairs in the office of the Vice-President since President Hage Geingob took over the government on 21 March 2015. The Ministry of Veterans' Affairs has outlined the process of registration of the veterans (Ministry of Veterans' Affairs, 2013; Movagovna, 2016). The process is outlined as follows:

Registration of prospective veterans

The entry point for the Ministry to channel its support programmes to veterans and dependents of veterans is registration. There are two main reasons for registration. The first reason is to enable the Ministry to capture and process the data of applicants so that prospective veterans are accorded veteran status by the Veterans' Board. The second reason is to enable the government to establish the number of veterans and their dependents in the country and where they live, as well as their living conditions.

According to Movagovna (2016), the government reported that during the 2015/16 financial year, the directorate was allocated N$861 million to implement three programmes, namely the veterans' welfare and development, liberation struggle heritage and coordination and support services. During the 2014/15 financial year, it reported having spent an amount of N$844 million, resulting in an execution rate of 98 percent.

Furthermore, about 21,112 applications were considered by the vetting committee, and the Veterans' Board approved 1,442 and disapproved 2,758 applications. This brings the total number of registered veterans since 2009 to 26,124.

Approval of prospective veterans

Before the prospective veterans can begin benefitting from the various programmes and projects of the Ministry, they have to be accorded the status of veterans of the national liberation struggle as per the Veterans' Act (No 2 of 2008). The approval of prospective veterans and dependents of veterans is done by the Veterans' Board, a body that is also entrusted to, amongst others, administer the Veterans' Fund and approve benefits given to the veterans.

Provision of financial assistance to veterans

Financial assistance is aimed to improve the economic well-being of the veterans and dependents of veterans of the national liberation struggle. The financial assistance is provided in two packages: a once-off gratuity of fifty and twenty

thousand Namibian dollars (N$50,000.00or N$20,000.00), additional to this is the monthly subvention of two thousand Namibian dollars (N$ 2,000.00).

A lump sum is paid to all registered veterans of the liberation struggle, regardless of their employment status. Veterans who began participating in the activities of the liberation struggle between 1959 and 1987 received a lump sum payment of fifty thousand (N$50,000.00) while veterans who began their liberation struggle activities between 1988 and 1989 were paid a lump sum of twenty thousand (N$20,000.00) Namibian dollars.

A monthly subvention of two thousand Namibian dollars (N$2,000.00) is paid to unemployed veterans and to veterans whose monthly earnings are below the tax threshold. Of the twenty seven thousand registered veterans, 6,896 are eligible to receive the monthly subvention.

Provision of psycho-social support

Another mandate of the Ministry is to provide psycho-social support. The war of the national liberation struggle has left many veterans with various psycho-social problems. Some veterans are either suffering from the post-traumatic effects of the war or are disabled. Moreover, veterans who are still fit to be employed find it difficult to secure meaningful employment in the post-colonial Namibia due to the fact that many have limited educational training.

To care for the psycho-social needs of the veterans, the Ministry provides psychological counselling services and medical assistance. The Ministry has reported providing the following services between 2014 and 2015:

- Medical and social health assessment of seven hundred and twenty (720) veterans. Of these veterans, six hundred (600) underwent medical examinations. The exercise made it possible for the Ministry to determine the number of veterans in need of medical assistance and the type of medical assistance they needed;

- Twenty-five (25) wheelchairs, forty-six (46) crutches, thirty-four(34) prosthetic devices, thirty-three (33) prosthetic socks and nine (9) pairs of spectacles were distribute to the veterans;
- A stakeholders' workshop on counseling services to share information that would enable the Ministry to work out a programme for counseling and create a referral system of veterans between the Ministry of Veterans Affairs (MoVA) and stakeholders was conducted.

In terms of the provision of counseling services, veterans will receive psycho-social counseling, spiritual counseling (self-healing and recovery), family (adoption) counseling, psycho-social rehabilitation and social reintegration into family and society.

Assistance for formal and non-formal education

Currently the Ministry is also committed to support the ex-combatants. The educational benefit assists all eligible veterans to attain acceptable levels of social and economic development. The educational and training grant is being paid to eligible veterans and dependants of veterans to pursue academic or vocational training at higher learning institutions in Namibia and within the SADC region.

The amount of the grant to be allocated is paid as per local rates (Namibian dollars) and determined by the following points: registration and tuition (100 percent as per the quote), accommodation and meals (40 percent of total costs), local transport (20 percent of the total costs), books (50 percent of total costs) and travelling expenses (100 percent of the cheapest mode of transport).The Ministry has reported to have provided study grants to two hundred and sixty four (264) veterans and their dependants studying at local tertiary and vocational training institutions between 2014 and 2015.

Construction of houses for veterans

Another mandate of the Ministry by the government is to provide housing for the war veterans. The provision of proper housing is one of the initiatives taken by the Ministry to ensure that veterans are integrated in the country's socio-economic mainstream.

There are three categories of veterans who are eligible for the housing benefit. These are the veterans who are old, disabled and those who are seriously ill. The houses provided by the Ministry consist of three bedrooms, a sitting room, a kitchen, bathroom, toilet and a veranda. The Ministry ensures that water and electricity are installed in all houses constructed for veterans.

The Ministry has developed four house designs from which each eligible veteran can choose. The houses can be constructed at places of the veterans' choice, provided that the area chosen is habitable. Between 2014 and 2015 the Ministry has done the following:

- They conducted a veterans' housing needs assessment in all 13 regions to identify veterans that were in need of housing assistance. This assessment was carried out on one hundred and sixty six (166) veteran housing applicants. Eighty-nine (89) veterans were recommended and seventy-seven (77) were not recommended for housing. Of the veterans recommended, seventy-seven (77) were recommended for the construction of houses and twelve were for the renovation of existing houses.
- They verified the construction sites of veterans' houses to ensure that veteran houses were not built at sites prone to floods. The verification of construction sites took place in twelve regions, excluding the Kunene region. To this effect, thirty-eight (38) sites earmarked for the construction of veterans' houses were verified and found suitable.
- Each house was built at the cost of four hundred and eighty-five thousand Namibian dollars(N$485,000.00).

Individual income generating projects for veterans

In addition to the financial assistance provided to veterans, the Ministry is also funding individual projects for veterans. The projects are funded for an amount not more than two hundred thousand Namibian dollars (N$200,000.00). The funding of individual projects for veterans is meant to provide capital incentives to veterans aspiring to engage in economic activities that could help them to generate income for themselves and their families, as well as to assist government to attain the national development objectives set out in Vision 2030. This means that individual projects undertaken by veterans are expected to contribute ultimately to the country's economic growth and reduce the unemployment rate in the country.

Between 2014 and 2015 the Ministry received 600 applications from veterans. Due to a limited budget allocation, the Ministry only funded seventy-two (72) individual projects. As a result of this funding, some veterans are currently engaged in income-generating projects that are expected to improve their livelihood, contribute to economic growth and reduce unemployment.

Funeral support

According to Movagovna (2016), war veterans are also entitled to the provision of a funeral and a tombstone grant to ensure that registered veterans of the liberation struggle are accorded a respectable and dignified burial.

2. 12. Conceptual and theoretical framework

2.12.1 The United Nation's theoretical view of DDR

The researcher used the Operational Guide to the Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards (IDDRS) as the research framework as a guideline in this study.

The UN is the leading institution in solving global challenges; it proposed an operational guideline for DDR. Such an instrument can be used to guide a

country's DDR practices. This study makes an inquiry of the UN's operational guidelines for DDR in an attempt to align Namibia's DDR practices with the UN's envisioned best practices. This theory was considered because the UN is heavily involved in peacekeeping operations and some DDR initiatives that give a better idea of what constitutes DDR (UN, 2014). The UN (2014) notes that DDR initiatives often fail because "in the past, DDR programmes were often carried out in a disjointed, unintegrated way due to poor coordination, planning and support, and sometimes competition between and among peacekeeping operations, agencies, funds and programmes" (p. 24). The UN's operational guideline for DDR, as proposed in 2014, outlines the UN's approach to DDR, explains circumstances for DDR, and defines the participants and beneficiaries.

2.12.2 The scope of DDR according to the UN

The UN (2014) concedes that the DDR process should be done after a conflict, with the aim of promoting security and stability. As such, the DDR focuses on supporting high-risk groups so that they become stakeholders in the peace process. Hence, the DDR has to be planned, coordinated, linked to security issues, focus on disarmament, weapon control and management, and also look into "national capacity-building, reconstruction and development in order to achieve the sustainable reintegration of ex-combatants, encourage trust and confidence of communities receiving ex-combatants, and dealing with the root causes of conflict and be flexible and meet the needs of the country" (UN, 2014, p. 26). The UN's view of DDR adheres to some of the views proposed in the literature. However, efforts need to be made to understand the needs of the people of the relevant country and address root causes of the conflict.

The UN reckons that the DDR is a formal political process that should be initiated by the groups that were in a conflict. These groups have to support DDR initiatives, and the UN is available to provide support with DDR implementation. The UN (2014) proposes that the overarching principle guiding the DDR process is that it should be people-centred, flexible, transparent and accountable, nationally owned, integrated and well-planned.

2.12.3 Post-conflict stabilisation, building and recovery framework

The UN's operational guideline for DDR outlines the context under which a DDR should be implemented; it stipulates the transition from a conflict and discusses how other humanitarian activities should be embraced within the DDR, as well as outlines a recovery planning framework suitable for DDR (UN, 2014). While the UN acknowledges that contexts of DDR can vary from one case to the other, it, however, acknowledges the existence of general characteristics that are normally associated with environments ready for a DDR programme. Situations warranting a DDR are characterised by countries with "weak governance institutions, lack social services and cohesion, have poor or malfunctioning economies, and are confronted with insecurity and lawlessness, including high levels of human rights abuse" (UN, 2014, p. 33). Focus should be on the political, social and economic environment and its overall security.

In addition to specifying the context for DDR, the UN emphasises the need to pick out DDR initiatives within the whole transition. The UN identifies the DDR process and specifies steps to be followed as shown in Figure2.1.

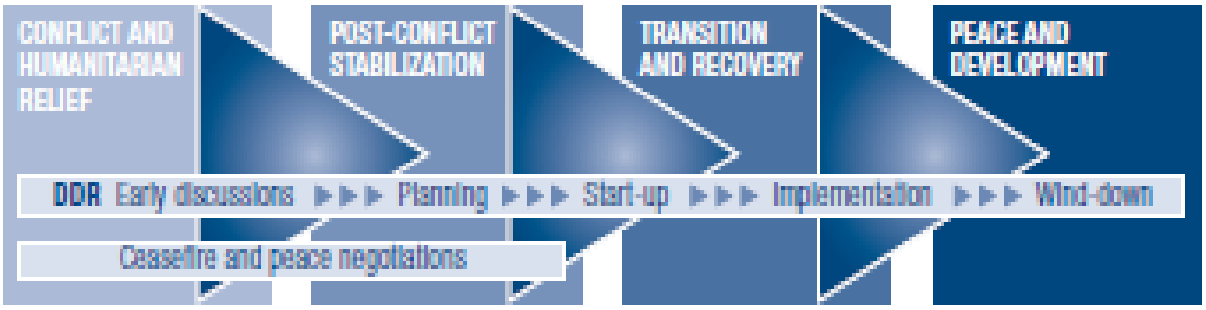


Figure 2.1: Implementing DDR during transition (UN, 2014, p. 37).

The UN states, furthermore, that the DDR process should be linked to current humanitarian programmes and security reforms that are within the context.

These can come in the form of humanitarian assistance, peace-building and recover initiatives.

2.12.4 Participants, beneficiaries and partners

In addition to describing the scope of a DDR programme and the elements that encompass it, the UN also indicates the need to identify the participants, beneficiaries and partners. Thus, the groups to benefit from the DDR programme should be clearly defined. An eligibility criterion should guide the evaluation of those eligible to benefit from the DDR programme.

Furthermore, the roles of local, national and international partners should be well defined within the DDR programme (UN, 2014). The UN recommends a well-monitored screening process based on detailed cross-examination of candidates. The UN (2014) also suggests that armed forces and groups, abductees, dependants; civilian returnees and communities should benefit from the DDR.

2.13 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the development of DDR programmes in selected countries. It looked at how the scope and expected requirements of DDR programmes have evolved with time. The chapter, furthermore, looked at the beneficiaries of DDR which included direct and indirect beneficiaries. It also looked at the organs that initiate DDR programmes.

An overview of DDR programmes in Africa was presented. The overview established that African countries had recorded both successes and failures in their implementation of DDR programmes. In particular, the lack of resources, conflicts and poor planning were among the factors that saw some DDR initiatives fail. An example of a failed DDR programme in South Sudan was reviewed.

In addition, the chapter also conducted a review of DDR programmes in Southern Africa. It was noted that there was a marked difference between consequences of failure to manage DDR programmes properly. While failure to manage DDR programmes led to instability and conflicts in part of Africa, the Southern African context, including Namibia, has yet to experience conflicts due to poor management of DDR programmes.

Nevertheless, cases reviewed, for instance South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, show that compensation for ex-combatants grew and changed with time, following complaints or demonstrations. For instance, Namibia had temporarily halted the reintegration process and it took them close to two decades to establish a war veterans' association, as well as the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs, to make provision for several packages. It was only after the election of President Zuma that South Africa established its War Veterans' Association and Ministry in 2011.

The study adopts the Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards (IDDRS) guidelines as the research framework as a point of reference to measure the success of the Namibia DDR programme.

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the research methodology that was employed in this study. It aligns with the interpretivist research paradigm; hence, it used a qualitative case study design for data collection.This approach was useful in this study for obtaining information through using various techniques, such as face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions.

3.2 Research design

A research design is a plan of how the research is going to be conducted, indicating who or what will be involved, and where and when the study will take place (Berg & Gall, 2001). Accordingly, this section identifies the unit of analysis and research instrument, as well as the steps or procedures that were followed during data collection and analysis.

3.3 Unit of analysis

This study identified former PLAN fighters or ex-combatants as its unit of analysis. Thus, the population of this study was the former freedom fighters now known as the veterans of the Namibia liberation struggle, living in the Windhoek district; however, in cases where the researcher felt that it was important for this study to interview an important key informant who lived outside of Windhoek, the research process was flexible enough to consider such cases.

A population is any group of individuals that have one or more characteristics that are of interest to the researcher in common (Best & Khan, 1993). Another definition by Polit and Beck (2004) refers to a research population as the entire group or unit of analysis, whom the researcher is interested in for research purposes.

The target population refers to all the objects from which one would be likely to generalise the findings of the study. The target population of this study were men and women of all age groups who were former freedom fighters per the definition of the Namibia Veterans' Act. Windhoek is the capital of Namibia and this city was selected because it seems to accommodate people from different backgrounds.

3.4 Sample size and sampling method

Dukes (1984) recommends the sampling of 3-10 subjects. This study had a sample of 20 ex-combatants, which included key informants, who fought in the Namibia liberation struggle and were disarmed, demobilised and reintegrated within the period of 1989 to 2015. The key informants were activists and leaders of civil organisations.

The study used purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Purposive sampling is used in qualitative research and is entirely governed by the need to develop additional theories in social science. In purposive sampling, the researcher selects a sample that could be judged to be representative of the total population. This judgement is made on the basis of available information or the researcher's knowledge of the population. Purposive sampling is less complicated and more economical (in terms of time and financial expenses) than probability sampling (Du Plooy, 2002).

Saunders (2007) explains that snowball sampling is a technique that involves finding other potential respondents who have the required characteristics. This meant that the researcher identified the first five war veterans from the War Veterans' Association and those known to her; they, in turn, identified other war veterans until a sample of 20 people was reached.

The researcher approached the office of the Veterans' Association, as well as the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs, explained the purpose of this study and asked for permission to access the data base of the registered war veterans in order to interview them regarding the subject under discussion. After the first five had been chosen from the data base, the researcher asked them to refer her to other ex-combatants known to them.

3.5 The research instrument

This research used triangulation for data collection to gather data with thick descriptions. researchgate.net (2016) defines triangulation as a way of using more than one approach to the investigation of a research question in order to enhance confidence in the ensuing findings which involves different types of samples as well as methods of data collection. Neuman (1997) describes triangulation as a process to capture different dimensions of the same phenomenon. Furthermore, triangulation is described as a method used by qualitative researchers to check and establish the validity of their research by analysing research question from multiple perspectives to arrive at consistency across data sources or approaches.

Interviews, observations and document analysis were used to collect data. Face-to-face and semi-structured interviews were used because previous studies indicated that former combatants might not feel comfortable to discuss and air their opinions in the presence of others; however, they appeared to be more open and ready to give their opinions in the absence of people they trusted (Jomo, 2006; Namibia Human Rights Society, 2006; Sibeene, 2006; Weidlich, 2006). Furthermore, Cresswell (2003) states that face-to-face interviews provide rich data and offer the opportunity to establish rapport between researcher and participant.

3.6 Procedure for data collection

The interviews were conducted by the researcher. Participants were first contacted to set-up an appointment with the interviewer. Interviews were conducted at the site selected by the interviewee or at any other location to the convenience of the interviewee. This method was selected to allow participants to express their views, feelings, emotions and experience regarding the reintegration process. Furthermore, by using interviews as a data collection method it also enabled the researcher to observe the body language of the participants and probe for further elaboration of answers.

Since the study employed snowball and purposive sampling, respondents did not sign a consent form and the researcher did not experience resentment from the respondents, nor did any respondent withdrew from the research. All the respondents indicated their willingness to participate in the study and could refer the researcher to other respondents in the same category. Some participants suggested that the researcher go to the army barracks to approach more war veterans for interviews. Some suggested being interviewed in groups; however, due to limited time available, that could not happen.

A note book was used instead of a tape recorder because respondents were uncomfortable with being recorded. Before the commencement of the interview, the researcher introduced herself, stated the purpose of the interview and assured participants that the information obtained would be strictly confidential. The researcher sought permission to take notes during the interview. To facilitate the research process, a letter was obtained from the University of Witwatersrand (See Appendix).

3.7 Data analysis and interpretation

Data analysis is the aspect of qualitative research that differentiates it from quantitative research. The first step is to explore the data. This aspect is known as exploratory analysis in qualitative research where the researcher writes down ideas and thinks about how to organise the data in text segments or themes (Cresswell, 2008).

Neuman (1997) points out that qualitative data can be stored in a variety of formats, but the primary format of storing qualitative data is in text format, for example, data such as field notes, transcribed interviews and other documents, for instance, personal dairies. The text-based data in this study are unstructured, open-ended and non-quantitative.

The first requirement of analysis is to organise the data by bringing some order to give structure to the research. On this basis, data were analysed and organised to give meaning to the findings. Open coding was employed during data analysis to data which were gathered from individual subjects to establish

emerging themes. Open coding means labelling concepts, as well as defining and developing categories based on their properties and dimensions. It is used to analyse qualitative data(Research Rundowns, 2009).

The researcher chose to use the open coding method in order to identify the concepts emerging from the raw data and later group them into conceptual categories. The rationale behind this was to build a descriptive, multi-dimensional, preliminary framework for later analysis. Another important aspect for choosing an open coding method was because the concepts built directly from the raw data; therefore, the process itself ensured the validity of the work.

Cross-case data analysis was done next, where similarities and differences between findings from different subjects/cases/participants were compared. Cross-case data analysis is a method used in qualitative research. Neuman (1997) explains cross-case analysis as a research method that can mobilise knowledge from individual case studies. In this study, the researcher employed this method by studying the bibliographies of the Namibia war veterans.

3.7 Validity and reliability

3.7.1 Validity

Sarantakos (1998) and Kvale (1996) state that validity means the trustworthiness of the statement and the ability to produce findings that are in agreement with theoretical or conceptual values. Accordingly, the study relied on multiple sources of information during data collection to ensure the trustworthiness of the research findings. Different participants were engaged and different sources of data were considered to enhance the credibility of the study's findings. These included interviews, document analysis and observations. Furthermore, in-depth interviews were conducted by using probing questions in order to enable respondents to give elaborated answers and make them think in-depth about the subject. The research participants were also invited to comment

on previous taken notes during the data collection and after the data had been analysed to ensure validity.

3.7.2 Reliability

Reliability is the extent to which a study procedure produces similar results under constant conditions on all occasions (Bell, 1996; Yin, 2003). A data collection protocol was adhered to ensure a precise approach to data collection. Furthermore, the author maintained honesty in the conducting of the study and reporting of findings. The study employed a qualitative approach; hence, validity and reliability were ensured by triangulation. This was achieved by doing field observations during the data collection and content analysis by reading bibliographies of the war veterans, for example, the bibliography of Mukwahepo, *Woman, soldier, mother*, by Namhila (2013).

3.8 Ethical considerations

According to Polit and Beck (2010), researchers must deal with ethical issues when their intended research involves human beings. The researcher followed the University's procedures and applied for ethical clearance from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) to conduct the research and data collection.

Participants were assured of confidentiality and anonymity through a written pledge. The names of the participants will not be revealed or mentioned due to the sensitivity of the subject. Saunders (2007), argues that, in order to retain the value of qualitative research while safeguarding the right and confidence of the subjects, the researcher must use pseudonyms to protect the anonymity of the respondents involved. All raw data and individual responses are stored securely by the researcher and will not be divulged to anyone, nor will the reporting of findings be done in a manner that allows for an easy identification of participants. Furthermore, subsequent use of data will not be done without permission (Saunders, 2007).

3.9 Delimitations of the study

The study looked at the issues concerning the DDR practice in Namibia, as per the Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards (IDDRS) set out by the United Nations on the basis of lessons learned from DDR in various cases. The study took note that at the time of Namibia's imitation of DDR in 1989 to 1990, the first two components were implemented to a certain extent, leaving the reintegration process unattended. With the reintegration yet to be completed, the currently available IDDRS suggest that Namibia has to adhere to the new standards in relation to reintegration (United Nations, 2014).

The study looked at what was done after the former combatants had returned from exile to integrate them into civilian life, and what their expectations were compared to reality. It assessed whether their expectations were feasible or not, and if their expectations were feasible, why these were not met. The study did not look at other economic issues that did not directly concern the war veterans, also known as former freedom fighters (United Nations, 2014). The question of the former SWATF and the South West Africa Police Counter Insurgency Unit (KOEVOET) troops of the apartheid-era SADF were not addressed in this study.

3. 10 Summary

This chapter discussed the type of study conducted and the research methods used during the study. The population was identified and the sample, selected from the total population according to purposive and snowball sampling, was described. The research instrument and the site of data collection (the Khomas Region in Windhoek) were explained. Data coding and presentation by means of computerised programmes, as well as the analysis of data done by the researcher, were discussed.

CHAPTER 4
FINDINGS REGARDING THE PERSPECTIVES ABOUT THE REINTEGRATION PROCESS BY FORMER FREEDOM FIGHTERS 25 YEARS AFTER INDEPENDENCE

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore the expectations, views and opinions of the war veterans regarding the DDR process in terms of compensation. This chapter explains the contributions to the aims of the study as it presents the findings from data collected by using the research methodology described in the previous chapter.

Data are presented, starting with the biographic data of the participants. This is followed by an outline of findings about what ex-combatants had received, as well as their expectations.

4.2 Biographic data

Twenty (20) ex-combatants participated in this study. The majority of participants were male ex-combatants. Of the total participants,15% were females while male participants constituted 85%,as shown in Figure 1.All participants were born between 1955 and 1965. The majority (5) of the participants were born in 1957, followed by 3 who were born in 1960. Figure 1 shows the date-of-birth distribution across participants.

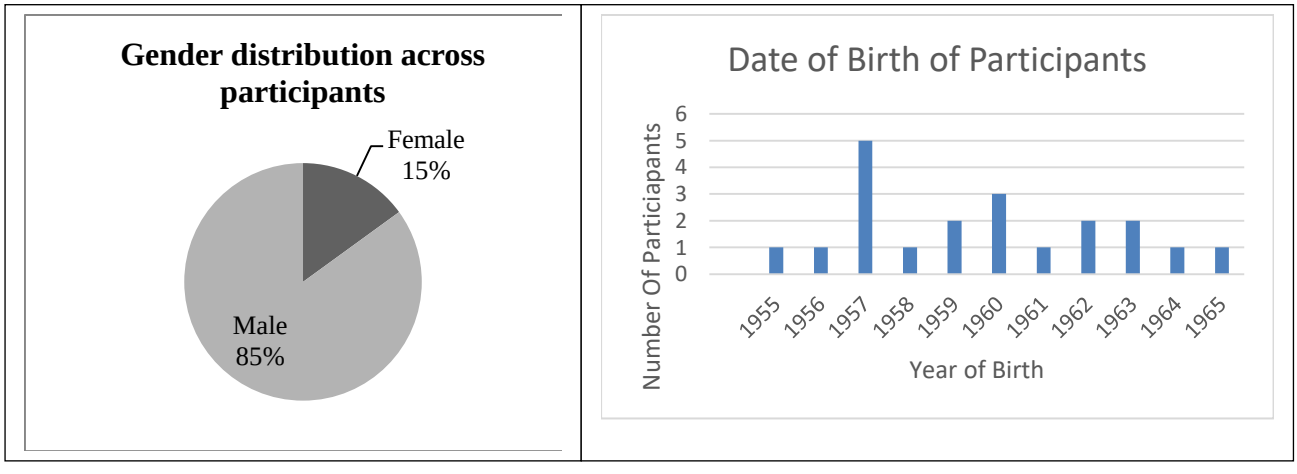


Figure 1: Gender and age distribution across participants

In addition, the collected data showed that ex-combatants had joined the liberation war at ages ranging between 15 and 22 years. While those who were born in 1955 went to war at the age of 22, the average age of those who were born after 1955 and joined the liberation struggle was constantly dropping to its lowest of 15 years in 1965. Figure 2 shows these findings.

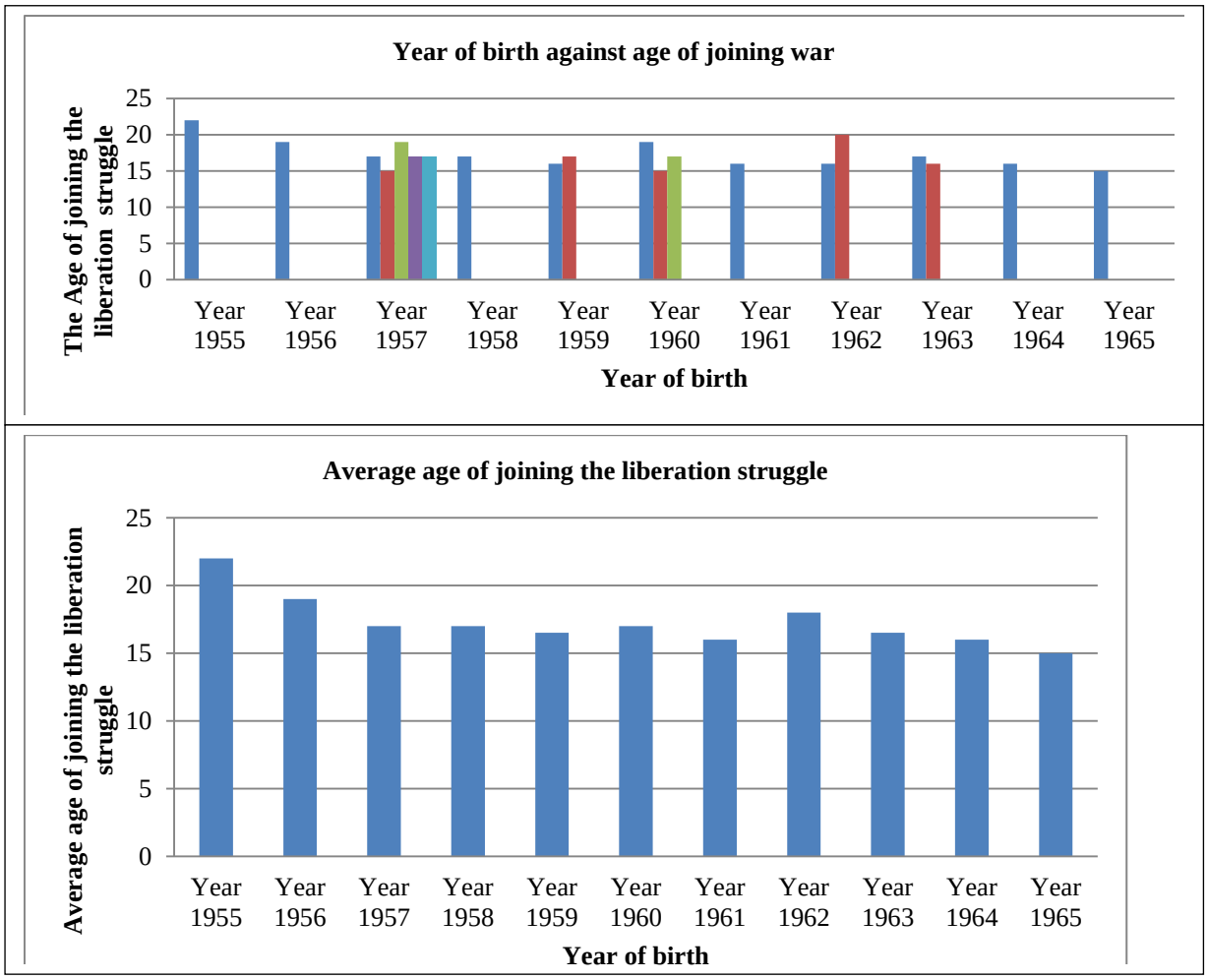


Figure 2: Average age of joining the liberation struggle

Given that most ex-combatants joined the liberation struggle when they were still young, it is interesting to note that the majority (65%) of them were still going through their secondary education at the time they joined. Of the participants,25% had working contracts at the time of joining the liberation struggle while 10% of the total participants were neither working nor learning. Figure 3 presents these findings.

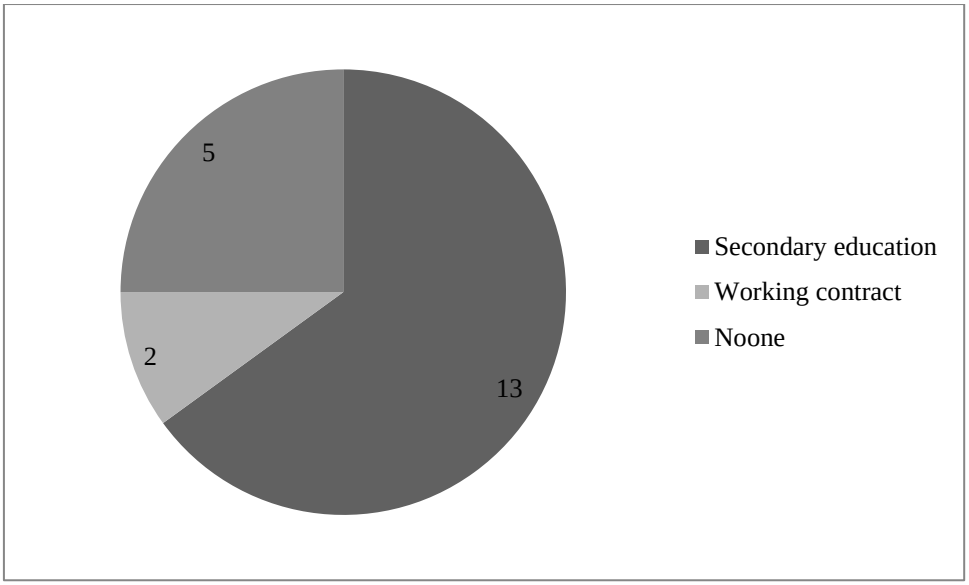


Figure 3: Occupations and qualifications of ex-combatants prior to joining the liberation struggle

4.3 Factors for joining the liberation struggle

Data regarding factors that motivated ex-combatants to join the liberation struggle were collected. The data were gathered through interviews and document analysis. Through content analysis and subsequent coding, the emerging motivational factors that appeared to reflect a similar motivational force were grouped together and given an umbrella term.

The emerging themes that appeared to motivate the ex-combatants were categorised into oppression and fighting for equal rights, SWAPO's mobilisation and unifying force against the apartheid regime, the belief of invisibility and winds of change. These motivational factors are discussed below.

4.3.1 Oppression and fight for equal rights

The then ruling apartheid regime oppressed the native Namibians through its minority rule and discrimination. This resulted in the locals being exposed to harsh treatment.

As a result, Namibians believed that once they had liberated the country, all the Namibian people would have their human rights and dignity restored. For instance, some Namibians did not like the inferior Bantu education offered in black schools; hence, they felt that liberating Namibia would give them a better education.

4.4.2 SWAPO's mobilisation and unifying force against the apartheid regime

Findings from data collected suggest that SWAPO's mobilisation campaigns encouraged men and women to take up arms to fight against the colonial occupation in Namibia. SWAPO came in as a unifying force, uniting the once divided Namibians against one enemy – the apartheid regime. As such, SWAPO diverted attention from tribal fights and disputes over livestock, land and valuable assets. The spirit of unity of SWAPO as a unifying force to mobilise all the indigenous groups in Namibia was inspired by the forefathers under the leadership of their kings and chiefs, such as king Mandume Ndemufayo, King Nehale Lya Mpingana and Ipumbu yaShilongo, who fought in northern Namibia to stop German, Portuguese and South African forces from occupying Namibia; other chiefs fought in central and southern Namibia, notably chief Hendrik Witbooi, Jakob Murenga and chief Hosea Kutako.

4.4.3 The belief of invisibility

There was a general belief that freedom fighters were trained, cooked by means of magic and became invisible in such a way that if the enemy wanted to attack them, they would disappear. Therefore, some felt convinced by this belief and went to join the liberation struggle.

They thought that one day they would receive training and attain the magical powers of disappearance. They could thus fight the enemy who would not be able to harm them, since they would be invisible.

4.4.4 Winds of change

The winds of change also motivated Namibians to join the liberation struggle. Thus, the winds of change sweeping across Africa and that saw many countries liberated, inspired some ex-combatants. Interviews indicated that they used to attend secret meetings where the politics of Africa was discussed; this included the politics of Namibia that was still under occupation. They also listened to the radio broadcasts in Namibia which, among other issues, spread the message of how other African countries were being liberated from their colonialisers. One ex-combatant expressed how motivated they were at the time to fight for their independence by stating that:

> "There was no need to ask others to fight for us, as we were brave enough to do so ourselves, but we gratefully accepted the assistance of other countries to enable us to liberate our beloved country." – Respondent X018

4.5 War experiences and the feelings after war

This section presents findings regarding ex-combatants' experiences in war and how they felt in terms of their contribution to Namibia. It was interesting to note during data collection that ex-combatants were enthusiastic and open to tell their stories about how they had fought the war and what were their victories and setbacks.

The stories of former freedom fighters were a mix of happy and sad moments. It is these stories that distinguish former freedom fighters from other Namibia ex-soldiers who were involved in the Namibia liberation war, as theirs was a self-sacrificing and voluntarily contribution to a national cause.

4.6 Facing imminent death on the battle front

The liberation war was fought by both men and women. During the data collection, two women respondents narrated stories of how they participated in

the war battles in the front lines along with their male counterparts. They told how many of them died while fighting. They vividly remembered one big battle, called 'Omatemba battle'. They said that that battle was very significant in the history of PLAN battles because many of their comrades lost their lives when many women freedom fighters died in the battle. It was a battle that was fought on 26 January 1981. They claimed that they were about sixty women soldiers in that battle but at the end of the offensive only twenty-six of them had survived and thirty-four had been sacrificed. Some of the ex-combatants told how they miraculously survived the Cassinga Camp attack in 1978, the Omatemba battle in 1982 and the well-known battles of Quito Cunavale, Mavinga and Cahama that took place in 1987.

The women ex-combatants were proud of having participated in the front lines of the battle. When they returned home after Independence, it seemed that no-body who knew them, knew that they were women combatants who shared trenches along with their male counterparts.

4.7 Feeling of achievement

Findings from the data collected suggest that ex-combatants were very proud of having participated in the liberation struggle, and for them Namibia's independence was an indication that they had fulfilled their country's mission. According to the ex-combatants, the participation in the liberation struggle was a requirement for many former freedom fighters, and a goal that they had set themselves, because the country had to be liberated from the yoke of colonialism. The young people had to take part in this process, and it was these young people of the time who had to emancipate Namibia, its land and its people.

Some of the former freedom fighters expressed their lack of regret for participating in the liberation struggle. They were prepared to die to allow their motherland to be independent from colonial domination so that their future generations would live in peace and tranquility. They hoped that their contribution had made a difference in bringing about the sovereignty of Namibia

in the world-wide community of nations. However, despite the feeling of having accomplished their mission, there was one aspect that they did not appreciate and that was the reintegration process.

One ex-combatant explained his feelings about Namibia's independence:

> "It pleased me when I saw the hoisting of the Namibian flag on 21st March 1990 at Independence Stadium in Windhoek. It was a good night for me. I said to myself that the mission was fulfilled, although I was very much aware that this was political independence and there was still a second phase of economic independence to come. To achieve this, the country had to prepare the groundwork: first, to achieve political emancipation; second, to have political stability and peaceful coexistence. With these in place would come the ability to attract honest investors who could help the economy grow".

4.8 Challenges facing the ex-combatants

4.8.1 The forgotten ones

Some of the former freedom fighters felt that they had been forgotten. It was indicated that some well-known commanders who commanded the war in the front line had since been forgotten after the demobilisation, and were living in abject poverty. To support this sentiment, they gave an example of how the government had been conferring medals, but the heroic actions of many known former ex-combatants were still to be recognised.

In addition, there was a feeling among other ex-combatants that, when the SWAPO leadership took over the new government, they forgot about them to the extent that some ex-combatants were denied the status of being war veterans; SWAPO's view at the time was that no-one was invited to join the liberation struggle against their will (Namibia Human Rights Society, 2006; Namibia Sun, 2014). One ex-combatant, with a face full of scars from shrapnel, demoralised by his vulnerable condition, remarked that:

> "If we will ever have another war many of us we will not participate our former colleague in leadership are treating us unfairly".

These remarks by ex-combatants and Anonymous (2007, August 6) show that some ex-combatants were not satisfied with the manner in which they were being treated but suffered in silence. The war veterans' bibliographies and interviews with the media indicated a different picture which showed the inequality and poverty among the war veterans of different categories.

There was a category of war veterans who had been ordinary foot soldiers and a group of elite veterans who had been political prisoners, political leaders or commanders. Others played a crucial role in diplomacy by negotiating self-determination for Namibia, and mobilising resources for the liberation movement. The stories of the former category were about the difficult battles they had fought where some of their fellow soldiers had sacrificed their lives; after independence, instead of having a better life, they were facing challenges, such as poverty and negligence by the government under the leadership of politicians who had spent their youth fighting against inequality and injustice. The latter, on the other hand, were silent on challenges, such as poverty. Their stories were more about self-glory and how they had fought relentlessly to liberate the country.

4.8.2 Physiological challenges after the war

The ex-combatants were still finding it difficult to forget all the violence of war: the fighting, the deaths of comrades, the fear of battles and the loneliness of being separated from their families. They spoke about how they had many dreams and nightmares about the struggle for independence. They talked about their fear of being betrayed, feelings of mistrust of their own comrades and the Cubans. When they returned from war, at first they mistrusted their families because they did not know who their enemies were and who their friends; they mistrusted almost everybody, for example, the UN at the implementation of Resolution 435, since at one time the UN had given South Africa permission to attack PLAN fighters (Shipanga, 2012).

Reports of their fellow comrades' deaths after the war haunted them, because ofa lack of clarity on the causes of their deaths. They did not know whether the deaths were natural or as a result of fighting. Culturally, people, especially those of the Awambo culture, cry when someone has passed away. This was not really practised during the war, especially in the front lines. When a comrade had died, especially on the battlefield, it gave morale and determination to the rest of the comrades to fight even harder to defeat the enemy. The deaths of their comrades reminded them that they had to continue fighting to the last PLAN combatant. They never thought of giving up, because giving up the liberation struggle would have been a betrayal of their sacrifices. They had the conviction that it was very important to follow in the footsteps of their forefathers, and emulate the bravery that enabled them to give their precious lives to the struggle for the emancipation of Namibia.

4.8.3 Lack of equal job opportunities

After the independence celebrations in 1990, some ex-combatants were employed while others could not find any employment. This put a huge burden on the relatives who were supporting the returning ex-combatants. One ex-combatant stated that when they went to war in their youth as boys and girls and returned as grownups, some of them had added to their families. Hence, on their return, their families started treating them as outcasts.

> "They started to question us, why some of our former PLAN fighters and colleagues were given employment but some did not. We also noted that some of our former colleagues have started to avoid us when we meet or want to see them in their offices. We would be told that we have to make appointments if wanted to see them".

One ex combatants exclaimed:

> "Imagine your age mate, neighbor, a school mate before you went into exile, you left on the same day, trained as soldiers together and spent years in exile, fight in the same battle front lines and you were repatriated the same date but now you are unemployed but he is employed and holding

a high rank in the force. This was painful and impossible to explain to our families".

These claims agree with Mukwahepo's life, the first Namibian woman to join SWAPO in exile and to be trained as a soldier. She indicated that since Independence she had been jobless and without an income. She went further to state that not only did she have no income, she also survived everyday like a bird, not knowing where her next meal would come from. These sentiments did not agree with most ex-combatants' hopes and views that the new government was going to take care of its people after the war.

On the other hand, those who secured jobs did not secure these soon after the war, and even those with jobs were paid relatively low salaries. One cx-combatant started working for remuneration in 1990; the majority of them started between 1996 and 1997, after mass demonstrations where they demanded employment. The lowest paid employee was receiving N$300.00 and the highest paid was earning N$1200.00 per month. One respondent had been earning N$300.00 from 1990 until 1997 when he started to earn N$800.00 per month. Since 1990, he had been working as a constable in the police and he was promoted to the rank of a sergeant only three years ago. He told the researcher that there were many others in his situation, and all of them were about to retire the following year, 2017. Respondent X010 wanted the researcher to meet all these former fighters; however, due to time constraints this was not possible.

4.8.4 Alcohol abuse

Alcoholism is another serious problem that affected the ex-combatants. Most of the ex-combatants interviewed stated that many of their former colleagues became alcoholics. Alcoholism, they claimed, escalated because of the lack of economic opportunities, poor living standards and unemployment.

According to the former freedom fighters, when some of them realised that their hope of securing employment was unrealisable, they started abusing alcohol. They also became hopeless and suicidal. They claimed to know many of their

former colleagues who had committed suicide due to the poor economic positions in which they found themselves. They somehow felt betrayed by the system, which aimed to bring equality, fairness and prosperity to all the Namibian people, something for which they had fought. Their families also started to disrespect them and regarded them as failures. They questioned how it was possible that their former colleagues were employed and prospering, while, on the other hand, they remained at home as beggars. Namibia has since been recording a high rate of suicide, a phenomenon with causes that are yet to be found.

4.8.5 Poverty and negligence of ex-combatants' children

Some of the ex-combatants were of the opinion that the issue of the 'children of liberation struggle', also known as 'struggle kids', was a result of the delayed or poor implementation of the reintegration programme. They claimed that many children were the victims of their parents' poverty, the former freedom fighters who could not afford to look after their children due to their unemployment and low income.

Another factor that the government failed to address was taking care of the children of their fallen comrades during the war. This also included a lack of guidance and counseling that saw some children lacking discipline as a result of the abnormal environments in which they were living at the refugee camps. This is also confirmed in Mukwahepo's bibliography:

> "The unemployed father of these two children tried hard to get money to pay for their school fees, uniform and books. He was helpful. I could see how poverty was holding him back from fulfilling his fatherly role. He did not have a house of his own, but lived with his young brother. I can tell you from experience that it is the crying shame for adults in our society not to have their own dwelling place. I could really feel his frustration when he said that he was tired of being a dependent. His young brother was responsible for all his basic needs. His situation was unbearable".

4.8.6 The Namibia war veterans' perception regarding compensation

The ex-combatants expressed different views regarding their expectations of compensation. The majority of ex-combatants felt that they deserved to be compensated as former freedom fighters, while some felt that to be compensated for their contribution to the liberation struggle was impossible, because that would never be enough.

The Namibian freedom fighters were split into two groups about the use of the term 'compensation'. The majority of the ex-combatants felt that they deserved to be compensated for their contribution to liberating Namibia from colonial rule. But there were those who felt that the term, 'compensation', was not appropriate because the money they were receiving would never be enough for what they had done to bring freedom to their country. They thought that it was good that the government was giving ex-combatants some cash funds, but it should not be regarded as 'compensation' as per the dictionary meaning of the word. According to these ex-combatants, the payout should be regarded as assistance to the ex-combatants to enable them to reintegrate into civilian life.

The ex-combatants went further to elaborate how the perception of compensation started. This wasas close as this study could get to the bottom of information regarding the reasons why the ex-combatants started demanding compensation. The ex-combatants explained that it seemed as if they misunderstood the operational budget that was setup by the UN in order to implement Resolution 435. The ex-combatants explained that the UN estimated a budget and planned that each repatriated or displaced person from Namibia would cost about US$30,000 to be repatriated and reintegrated. This cost included the air transport of the refugees.

Respondent 018, therefore, suspected that people were misinformed about this amount of money and a rumour started to go around when they found themselves in a dire situation as a result of the poor planning and implementation of the reintegration programme. The study made some attempt to confirm and obtain clarification from the leader who organised the mass

demonstrations in 2006. Unfortunately she explained to the researcher that she was no longer giving interviews. Meanwhile this rumour of US$30,000.00 owed to ex-combatants continued to make its rounds. While the researcher was going around, she could overhear ex-combatants telling each other about the whereabouts of these funds and who was involved in the deviation of funds, a process that had deprived the intended owners by investing the money somewhere else.

The ex-combatants were then asked to state the challenges they faced in the integration process. They were also asked to rank these in a priority order, starting from the most pressing ones to the least pressing ones. Among the challenges listed were land, housing, low income, low savings, high cost of living, poor or a lack of education for themselves and their children, poor health or the lack of access to health facilities, a lack of information and poor customer care when they visited service providers.

4.8.7 Land ownership

Fourteen of the ex-combatants interviewed expressed their concern about land scarcity. The ex-combatants stated that one of the reasons they took up weapons to fight against the colonial rulers was to get back the land that was concentrated in a few of the minority white hands. However, 25 years after Independence, they still did not have land to settle on. They deplored the government for not doing enough to address the land issue and creating an enabling environment for ex-combatants to obtain land, both in communal and commercial areas. They stated that when they applied for land from their village headmen, the headmen sometimes did not welcome them and were hesitant to give them land; therefore, they faced discrimination in the allocation of land in their communities. In a meeting between the headmen and the Governor of the Omusati Region, the headmen complained about the war veterans as they were mostly the people causing conflict in the community because, since they were the ones who had liberated this country, they now felt that they were entitled to take any land they wanted(New Era, 2016).

Contrary to this view, the former combatants felt differently. Respondent X09 complained that they were facing many challenges in order to acquire land. They also felt that the community did not accept them very well. For example, if one made his or her own efforts to acquire land, he or she would face challenges from the community and sometimes from government as well. Either the government would question from which region in Namibia they originated or the community would claim that they were taking their land and then use their political power to chase them away. Respondent X09 is quoted saying:

> "The community do not like us, they discriminate us because of our status of being ex- combatants".

The prospect of owning land in commercial areas was also limited for the ex-combatants. In the first place, they could not afford to buy land in commercial areas, and, secondly, the government resettlement programme did not give any preferences to ex-combatants; hence, it was very difficult to meet the requirements to qualify for the government resettlement programme. Ex-combatants were made to compete with everyone else, and sometimes it was difficult to meet the resettlement criteria. The major conditions for one to secure a farm were that beneficiaries should be able to farm, as well as have a background in agriculture or other related activities on which the resettlement was based.

Even if the ex-combatants were to secure land, they faced the following challenges due to limited resources:

- They did not have the means to develop the given land to set up the necessary infrastructure and to buy agricultural equipment in order to develop the resettlement farms.
- They lacked capital to stock the farms.
- People were not allowed to bring in the animals they owned in communal areas from behind the red line (a line that disallows farmers from the former Bantustans, namely Caprivi, Kavango and Owamboland, to move livestock to commercial farms).
- The small pieces of land being allocated comprised 20 hectare per household. They felt that this policy was very discriminating because

those people who obtained land before Independence and the well-connected individuals were allowed to keep larger tracks of land, bigger than 20 hectares.

4.8.8 Housing and accommodation

Housing was a second challenge, according to the ranking. The ex-combatants, especially those with a low income, complained bitterly about the lack of housing. The researcher found that many of the ex-combatants were employed in the police and army. The army and police forces were some of the lowest paid sectors in the country. Most of the ex-combatants were accommodated in bases and police camps where they lived in small, crowded, single rooms, and they had to share bathrooms and a kitchen. This condition compromised their hygiene and privacy. The buildings were also dilapidated and needed renovation. These buildings would not even pass the lowest required standards for buildings that are suitable for dwelling by human beings.

Most of those who happened to have houses lived in poor suburbs, specifically in Katutura, an area that was reserved for blacks only during the colonial era. Those who either never secured government accommodation or who wanted to live on their own to maintain their privacy, opted to put up shacks made from iron sheets and all kinds materials at their disposal in the periphery of the town where, in some areas, they had no electricity, water and ablution facilities or they had to share these facilities with other households. Respondent X017, who spent his youth in exile in Tanzania, Zambia and Angola, had this to say:

> "Look where I live, yet I am the one who guards the houses of our political leaders, they have luxuries houses. These are people who we were together in the exile (liberation struggle) and they know me very well. When we are travelling with them or go to guard their houses they invite me in their houses and at their tables, but after that I return back here, look where I live. I am about to go on retirement next year. I do not even have a dream to own a house anymore because if I apply for housing they tell me that I am too old to qualify and I cannot afford to pay. I cannot even afford to buy

a plot let alone building a proper home. After I am retired I will go back to my rural village but what will happen to my children? They need to stay here in order to complete their school. Where will they live? They will continue to live in the shacks just like their father. I am not afraid to express my dissatisfaction. The system is unfair our comrades abandoned us after independence".

Some of the ex-combatants were unhappy because the reintegration programme was building houses foronly a selected few, targeting the ex-combatants who went into exile in 1960 to 1970 and those who became disabled due to the war.

How am I going to buy a house with my meagre salary? Now I do not own a house in town where I work, moreover, my house at my home village is not constructed to a proper standard since I do not have money to build it. I have to look after my eight children as first priority."

Respondent X010 said that:

"I wish if they could have given us all the compensation money paid in cash. The fifty thousand dollars that I received I used it to bring piped water into my house at village after that there was nothing left. About the N$200 000 for the income generating project I still have to receive it". I have been waiting for almost four years now".

He shrugged his shoulders and said

"I do not know when they will release my capital project. Even if I go there the staff is not helpful. They tell us that they are employed there based on the merits of their qualifications. They do not respect us and they do not understand what we went through. What can we do it's true we are not educated".

4.8.9 The education of ex-combatants

According to the Veterans 'Act, the veterans and their dependents could benefit from the veteran scholarship fund per the Veterans' Act. However, this was not the case as per the Veterans' Act.

When their children applied for scholarships, they were told to contact the Namibian Students' Fund administration. When they went there, they were told that they did not meet the criteria to receive assistance, despite the fact that their children had acceptance letters from institutions of higher learning from outside where they wanted to study fields, such as medicine.

4.8.10Employment opportunities

The ex-combatants noted that there had been many challenging factors in employing the former freedom fighters. Some ex-combatants believed that they would be employed very easily because they had been in exile. This viewpoint did not take into account the reality of the situation in which it was necessary to consider the number of returnees, their job experience and skills. The situation was not clear to some former freedom fighters that they would have to look for employment themselves. Hence, many ex-combatants thought the SWAPO leadership would secure employment for them. A former PLAN commander, respondent X013, expressed his disappointment and remarked that:

> "How could I be commanded by someone I used to give orders, I just left. However, I was lucky that my family had means to assist me to start off as a farmer. Some of my comrades were not lucky to have family who could support them; consequently, they have been living in abject poverty (PLAN, 2011).

Mukwahepo, one of the neglected ex-combatants in Namhila (2013, p. 131), states in her book about the story of her journey into exile and being the first woman soldier of SWAPO in exile, that:

> "I looked back, reflecting on how, in the refugee camps, SWAPO had looked after us so well, yet in an independent Namibia I was facing starvation".

All these sentiments were indications that the reintegration of former freedom fighters had been challenged by transparency.

4.9Payouts and capital for income generating projects

Following demonstrations by ex-combatants in 2006, the Namibian government offered to pay a package of fifty thousand (N$50,000.00) cash to each registered ex-combatant and a further N$200,000.00 was to be paid to individual ex-combatants as capital for income generating projects, should they come up with a feasible and viable business plan. Capital for projects was compulsory and failure to come up with a business proposal would see one forfeiting the N$200,000.00. All proposals were to be evaluated by the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs in order to assess whether the projects were feasible.

Some ex-combatants indicated that they had received payouts and capital for starting income-generating projects while others were still waiting to be paid for their capital projects. They claimed having waited for a period between about one and four years.

However, ex-combatants felt that N$50,000.00 was not enough to cover their needs. One of the interviewed ex-combatant asked, "What one can use for N$500,000.00 in current economy." They suggested that if, perhaps, this money was given at the beginning of the reintegration process in 1989 it could maybe have made a difference.

The inadequacy was also reflected in the failure of that amount to meet their costs. For instance, respondent X010 had to make a loan from a bank (micro lender) to add to the N$50,000.00 to finalise connecting his rural home with piped water. Another respondent, X07, indicated that the money lasted less than a month after its acquisition. The ex-combatant indicated that the money was used to finance the purchase of food for the people taking care of his homestead, paying their salaries, buying cattle food, paying salaries for those looking after his cattle, taking his children for shopping and the rest was spent on petrol. As such, this money did not contribute much to the wellbeing of ex-combatants.

When they were asked to give their views on the capital for starting income-generating projects, the ex-combatants appeared not to be impressed with this package. One ex-combatant deplored the government's approach regarding this package because the projects were being imposed on them. This ex-combatant respondent, X03, who lived in Windhoek with her husband who was also a former freedom fighter, stated that:

> "They opened a groceries shop at their village. However, since they did not have skills to run a shop the items they were selling were not in demand at the village hence, most of these items ended up expiring".

Moreover, they were working fulltime about 800 kilometers from where the shop was. There was no-one present to control the shop and in the end they had to close the shop. As such, ex-combatantX03 questioned the government's decision not to give cash for projects.

> "If we are given cash we may just as well build and renovate our houses".

In addition, there were cases where the money was sent to wrong recipients. For instance, one ex-combatant indicated that they had submitted their proposal to the Ministry for evaluation in 2012. After waiting for a long period and going back to the Ministry to enquire about his project, he was told that his project money had been sent to an unknown company, apparently a company different from the one from which he had obtained quotations to provide for the materials for his income generating project. He claimed that there were many of them who had the money for their capital projects paid into the accounts of this unknown, dubious company in 2012, and that the Ministry had failed to correct this mistake and release their capital funds. This left the ex-combatants suspecting foul play or corruption.

Ex-combatants were asked how they found the compensation package. All the ex-combatants were in agreement that compensation would never be enough and it was impossible to satisfy everybody. However, they felt that the cash lump sum was too small, should one take the current, economic situation in the world, Namibia included, into consideration. Some ex-combatants interjected that they did not regard themselves as having been compensated or reintegrated, and one

pointed to his dwelling which was built out of iron sheets and a cupboard. He again pointed to his surrounding area and said,

> "After my shack I have no piece of land left for me to make a garden or my children play in. If my neighbour's shack caught fire there is high probability the fire would spread to mine too".

However, one ex-combatant felt that it was impossible to compensate former freedom fighters because their contribution was too enormous to be converted into monetary terms. The government should just continue supporting war veterans by addressing their needs for the rest of their lives.

4.10 The process of reintegration

This section presents ex-combatant's experiences regarding the available supporting structures and programmes of reintegration. It goes on to outline their expectations and the challenges they faced.

None of the participants knew who was responsible for the reintegration. However, they felt that SWAPO was the one to take the responsibility of handling ex-combatants' affairs in the same way that they did during the war. It was felt that now SWAPO was in a good position to take care of its former freedom fighters as they had access to the country's resources, unlike when they depended on donations while in exile.

After further probes, one key informant, who was also an ex-combatant, informed the researcher that during the implementation of Resolution 435 it was thought that the churches could help in the process of reintegration. Churches helped to find the families of some returnees. Some of the returnees went straight to their homes, especially those who had joined not long ago. However, some of the returnees who had been in the war for ten to twenty years found it difficult to establish the whereabouts of their families. These people were accommodated in centres that were established by the churches, in conjunction with the United Nations. The churches and United Nations officials administered these centres. Some of the returnees stayed there for only one or

two days, while others stayed longer. The United Nations faced some difficulties as some of the returnees did not want to reintegrate with their families. Others had difficulties tracing their families, as mentioned above. The UN faced a dilemma, since it wanted the resolution to be implemented without delay.

Before leaving the repatriation centre every repatriated ex-combatant was given R10.00, one mattress, one blanket, one axe, a panga, two tins of fish and a 10 kg bag of maize meal to take home. While at home, they were to receive food rations for six months, and thereafter they had to survive on their own. The reintegration process did not work out well for all the ex-combatants because not all of them managed to secure employment in order to sustain themselves. Consequently, they started to stage demonstrations that forced the government to come up with several interventions. The last intervention was to give the ex-combatants money in cash and money for projects.

4.11 Integrating into the society

Reintegration was not something that happened overnight. It took time, since the Namibian people had been at war. Consequently, some people did not trust one another. Sometimes, sister fought against sister, and brother against brother. People called each other names, like puppets, collaborators, terrorists, and so on. Therefore, this situation needed patience and goodwill from both sides to unite 'terrorists' and 'collaborators' of the South African government.

In addition, disarming and reintegrating left ex-combatants insecure after being used to the life of carrying a gun. One ex-combatantX018 stated that:

> "We were simply afraid to resume civilian life without my gun and ammunition there was very little to pack. What we had was hope because we had a lot of conversation among ourselves and we talked about economic development that would follow the victory of SWAPO".

He said "we had hope and hope kept us to soldier on despite many challenges before and after independence".

4.12 Reintegration, culture and the reconciliation policy

Reintegration meant many different things to individual, former freedom fighters. Some thought about their roots and where they had come from before they joined the liberation struggle. This attitude shaped the smooth process of reintegration, despite the challenges that came with the process of returning to civilian life after many years in the combat uniform. Respondent X018 stated that "it is the culture that tells you who you are, the way to behave and how to do things".

The ex-combatants believed that they were in the footsteps of their forebears and it was because of their bravery that the war was won. Almost every ex-combatant believed that it was this spirit that kept them going, despite all the challenges that confronted them during the war. It can thus be concluded that cultural influences played a big role in the disciplining of former PLAN fighters.
In addition, the National reconciliation policy was claimed to have eased the social integration among ex-combatants. An ex-combatant, X018, stated that:

> "National reconciliation policy helped us as Namibians to put our differences aside. It was this policy that made it possible to keep everything on track and the reintegration went without as well as had been planned".

4.13 Poor record of ex-combatants in exile

The study found that there was poor recording of ex-combatants in exile or the liberation movement did not want to avail or release their records while in exile. This can be confirmed by the fact that the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs is now engaged in a process to verify or establish what had happened to the deceased and missing combatants by asking their families what had happened to their missing relatives. The question remains: how will they know whether these people were in the care of the liberation movement? The liberation movement must answer these questions. Some members of the Namibia community activists expressed such sentiments. A former freedom fighter wrote in the local newspaper, asking how the family would know what had happened to their

relatives, if all that they knew was that their relatives had left to join the liberation movement in exile, never to return. The stories of some destitute ex-combatants who were found in Angola had been reported in the local media.

When asked how the records of most of the ex-combatants while in exile were kept, the respondents stated that SWAPO had a good method and strictly recorded every combatant's movement. They said everyone's movement from each point was recorded and some said they were involved in these activities. This sentiment was different from Mwange's sentiment (Dzinesa, 2006) where it was claimed that SWAPO conducted poor record keeping while in exile. This contradictory view can be an issue of context. It all depends where these ex-combatants were stationed while in exile.

Respondent X02 stated that the documents containing the records of the ex-combatants were transported back from Angola to Namibia but were never accessed. It seemed people were no longer interested in them. They seemed to be more interested in the materials that were donated by the international donor communities that were supporting SWAPO (Namibian Sun, 2015; New Era, 2015).

CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the research results in relation to the literature review presented in Chapter 2.

The findings suggest that the demobilisation and disarmament in Namibia was successfully accomplished, as previous studies have indicated. However, just like in any other country where the DDR was carried out, Namibia's reintegration seems to have suffered the same setbacks and has remained a challenge that is far from over. The study findings indicate that the Namibian government had no intention or plan in place for a programme to address the reintegration process soon after Independence.

5.2 A perspective about the general state of inequality and poverty in Namibia

Namibia has one of highest degrees of income inequality in the world. Twenty-six years after Independence the country is still highly fragmented and it seems this status quo is far from over.

The root cause of inequality in Namibia is the economic system that has been adopted after Independence, based on market-driven, economic policies. It is a state of affairs which is deeply rooted and can be traced back to the colonial era where the economic policies were the cause of imbalances. The Namibia government is challenged to make significant changes in order to address these imbalances (Jauch, Edwards, & Cupido, 2009).

Namibia has a high per capita GDP and this status hides one of the world's most unequal income distributions, as shown by Namibia's Gini coefficient of 0.5972. However, Namibia's Gini coefficient has improved significantly over the years, that is, from 0.70 (out of 1) in 1993/1994 to 0.63 in 2003/2004, and further to 0.597 in the 2009/2010 National Household Income and Expenditure Survey.

This implies that the distribution of income is becoming fairer over the years even though is not steady (Schmidt, 2009; Jauch, 2009;Hamilton, 2015;Human Development Reports, 2015).

According to Jauch (2009), Namibia's Gini Coefficient stood at 0.70 in 1990. This indicates that it has since been decreased with 10%. However, it can be argued that the living standards of only a few individuals have improved, creating a small group of black elite. The majority of people remain in poverty. The Gini coefficient is a measure used to measure inequality. It ranges from 0% which represents prefect equality and 1% which represents prefect inequality. Prefect inequality is where one person has all the income in society and everyone else has nothing. The UNDP defines the Gini coefficient as "Income Gini coefficient. This is a measure of deviation in the distribution of income among individuals or households within a country from a perfectly equal distribution. A value of 0 represents absolute equality and a value of 100 represents absolute inequality (Hamilton, 2015; Human Development Reports, 2015; Institute of Public Policy Research, 2009; Schmidt, 2009; World Bank, 2013; World Development Indicators 2013).

NHIES in Schmidt (2009) reported that about 36% household in Namibia had no access to electricity, while 43% of households did not have access to water, 34% households did not have access to sanitation, while school enrolment stood at 81%; however, there had been a drop in enrolment of 5.7% in rural areas. The National Planning Commission (2015) revealed that there was a negative correlation between poverty and educational attainment. The people who were better educated had a high income and thus were less likely to be poor. The study also found that in poverty stricken areas there was a high premature mortality, including high levels of infant mortality, a reflection of a high level of ill-health. The National Planning Commission report findings were the same as those by Jauch (2009) which pointed to gender, race and regional, ethnic, educational and class dimensions of inequality. Namibia has t the highest GDP per capita compared to neighbouring countries, like Botswana; however, at the same time it is the country that has the highest levels of inequality.

Jauch, Edwards and Cupido, (2009)argue that the economic progress of Namibia is contradicting; the country is classified as a medium income, developing country with a per capita of income estimated as US$2000; however, it scores low on

other indices of development. Namibia ranks 127 out of 177 countries on the 2006 Human Development Index (World Bank, 2007). Although, Namibia's economy has been reported at global level as a growing economy, at home it has failed to reduce poverty and the unemployment rate stands at 29%. Therefore, the research concludes that Namibia's economy has been positively growing in the past years, but this growth has failed to narrow the income gap, and the poor are becoming poorer and the rich richer.

This status quo can be also a contributing factor to fact that the war veterans have remained displeased with their living conditions. The UNDP report (2015) warns that the more inequality there is in a country, the greater the loss in human development there will be.

5.3 Reintegration process

The assistance that was given to former freedom fighters was mainly given to a few retirees of SWAPO; however, it did not make much impact on their lives, since it was not done on the basis of their basic needs but it seemed to be only a kind of token of appreciation to the elderly who were in exile. It was also not done on a long term basis.

This view is deduced from the story of Mukwahepo where she explained how they were given cattle which were kept for them by SWAPO in the Okavango Region, one of the 14 political regions in Namibia. She continued that when she went to receive her cattle, she met with other SWAPO elders who also came to fetch their cattle. The researcher tried to find out from where these donated cattle were coming, and was informed by some respondents that the cattle belonged to SWAPO and most of them were captured from UNITA by SWAPO during the war in Angola.

5.4 The lack of plans and delays in the implementation of the reintegration programme

The study established that all the reintegration programmes that were implemented by the government were implemented as a response to protests by former freedom fighters against their poor living conditions; however, as soon as the ex-combatants' protests ended, the government became relaxed again and did little to address the reintegration programme effectively. This scenario went on until 2006 when protests spread widely across the country and the government was warned that the country was under security threat. This time even the former freedom fighters, who were employed in security sectors and other establishments, were sharing the same sentiment as those unemployed or retired ex-freedom fighters, namely that they deserved to be rewarded for their contribution to the liberation struggle. It was clear that all the former freedom fighters were secretly supporting the protestors who demanded to be assisted by reintegration programmes.

During this period a local human rights activist warned the government to take note of the security treat these protests were posing to the government. This activist gave an example that in the corridors of security establishments security personnel, who were standing in groups of two or three, were discussing the compensation for having liberated the country that was owed to them by the government (Phil ya Nangoloh, 2006)

Another factor that indicates that the government was not ready to provide assistance to former freedom fighters was the sentiments that were expressed by some of the politicians, namely that former freedom fighters were volunteers and were not forced to join SWAPO, neither were they invited to join; consequently, the government owed them nothing. Additional to this was the reluctance of the cabinet to approve compensation packages for the ex-combatants.

5.5 The government's commitment to the reintegration process

The study took note that the government was doing everything to help the veterans to reintegrate but some of the benefits, especially the capital projects, were not community driven, and, therefore, might not be sustainable. The study found that many of the war veterans had submitted business plans for

the sake of not forfeiting these benefits, since they could not access them without business plans. The research found that many ex-combatants bought cars and equipment in order to start a business, irrespective of their age, lack of skills to engage in such business and other circumstances, such as being employed fulltime which made it impossible for them to run a business. It was also established that many cars that were bought were in disrepair and the owners did not have funds for repairs. The respondents also complained about old veterans being forced to engage in projects, despite their old age, as some are already in their nineties.

5.6 Lack of records and poor recordkeeping of former freedom fighters during the liberation struggle

The study found that there was either a poor recording system or unwillingness from the liberation movement to make use of the records of the former freedom fighters once they were back in the country. This situation made it difficult for a reintegration programme, as the government had to rely on the more recently collected data that had been collected during the registration of former ex-combatants since 2006.

The study also found that politicians had been using rhetoric and the icons of the liberation struggle when it benefitted them to advance their own political agendas, but failed to take care of the former fighters. This was the case with one of the former, second commanders of SWAPO at Omughuuluwombase who was imprisoned at Robben Island. In her autobiography, Mukwahepo, the first woman to join SWAPO and the first woman soldier of SWAPO, told a similar story. The family of the former commander claimed that the government had failed to take care of him. They claimed that he died a broken man. The government, however, had never failed to invite him to attend national events where rhetorical speeches were made. They actually just went there to be paraded and then came back to their home village where they continued to live in abject poverty.

This was the same situation with Mukwahepo. She was invited to share the podium with politicians at political rallies; however, afterwards she would go back to her village to live in a container and later-on in a house that was built for her in the village in a flood-prone area. Meanwhile, the politicians went back to Windhoek and forgot about these liberation icons, just to remember them again when these events came around again. She narrated how she was disappointed that her own comrades had forgotten about her, although they had said that they would give her a silver medal, 'but on an empty stomach'.

The lack of records of SWAPO freedom fighters also contributed to some of the ex-combatants' failure to be called for employment opportunities. As a result, comrades instead started to recruit their own families.

5.7 Low income and lack of savings

The research study also found that many former freedom fighters were reluctant to go on retirement because of their low income and a lack of savings; therefore, they would rather try to extend their retirement age to work longer. The disadvantage of this practice is that the public service will be inundated with an aging work force that sometimes does not have applicable skills besides their liberation credentials.

The second disadvantage of an aging work force is that there would be no posts available in the public service and this will block the youth from entering the government work pool, a situation that will contribute to unemployment and a high wage bill that has to pay an unproductive work force. The third disadvantage is that the government will be deprived of young, skilled graduates who could enter the labour market.

5.8 Lack of land and poor housing

The study found that the former freedom fighters lacked land. The study also established that the lack of land had pitted the ex-combatants against each

other and against community members. The ex-combatants felt that they were not accepted and welcomed in their communities, while the community members felt that the former freedom fighters exhibited a sense of entitlement for having liberated the country.

Veterans were also facing challenges regarding housing in urban areas due to the high price of land and housing in urban areas. In the rural areas, they might have a piece of land but lacked financial means to develop the land and put up proper housing structures; therefore, they lacked proper housing in urban and rural areas. The majority of them would retire to their home villages where they would live in poor housing structures with no basic facilities, such as running water and sanitation.

5.9 Alcohol abuse and suicide among former freedom fighters

The study found that after years of waiting, hoping to be assisted with integration into civilian life and these hopes being dashed, they turned to abusing alcohol and some ended up committing suicide due to frustration. Namibia has been experiencing a high rate of suicide in recent years.

5.10 Ex-combatants shun psychological counselling

The Ministry of Veterans' Affairs put in place counselling services. However, when asked about this service, some of the respondents expressed a lack of confidence regarding some of the service suppliers. This was also confirmed by the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs. *New Era* (2015) claims that the war veterans did not want to be counselled by young social workers. Respondent X018 referred to a local pastor as a counsellor involved with war veterans. He disapproved this involvement, questioning the capacity of this counsellor. Conversely, I found it very ironical that the veterans were more relaxed and could share with the researcher some sensitive information. It appeared that the study was actually a kind of counselling in the form of sharing sensitive

information regarding events that occurred during the war, something that the former freedom fighters would not feel comfortable to share easily, taking into consideration the sensitivity of the information.

The shunning of psychological counselling by ex-combatants can be because they would first try to filter the background of the person with whom they were sharing their sensitive experience; they needed to trust that the particular counsellor would not divulge their sensitive experiences to others. For example, one respondent shared with the researcher how some of his colleagues had mysteriously disappeared and another respondent shared the story of some 12 rules that were introduced in the movement as a measure of discipline but at the end of the day many innocent lives were lost. According to the respondents, the 12 rules were controversial. One of the rules was that no fighter should lose any of his military items; this led to many fighters being killed by fellow comrades. It could be a cap, gun or water container or arriving late at assembly after dispersing in different directions, when they had to retreat after skirmishes with an enemy. For these offences they would be sentenced to die by firing squad. Another, painful rule was that, if they were told to be at a meeting point at an exact time, they should be there. Failing to arrive on time (no matter what circumstance occurred while they were retreating from the enemy) would an offense and there would be no consideration of mercy; they would be killed by firing squad. One of the respondents,X01, narrated how one of the victims of these rules was executed by firing squad.

The worst for the fighters was the fact that those who had to carry out the shooting were randomly selected. Refusing to carry out the order meant they too would have the same fate. He vividly told the story and ended by saying that:

> "Until today that picture, that memory, of my comrade dying getting killed by firing squad refuses to leave my mind".

This respondent was traumatised by the incident and needed counselling. On this basis, indeed, the ex-combatants were in need of counselling. However, this subject is very sensitive, as it can undo the national policy of

reconciliation. It is the view of the researcher that an amnesty, perhaps, needs to be in place to bring a solution, if counselling of ex-combatants should be a success.

5.11 Children of the Liberation Struggle (CLS)

The former freedom fighters were divided on the CLS issue. While some felt that the demands of the CLS were genuine, some thought that the CLS were just Namibian children, the same as all other Namibian children. The study found that the ones, who supported the CLS issue, were the ones who had been actively involved in the front line and had witnessed the death of some of their comrades who, they said, were the fathers and mothers of the CLS. They deplored the way the issue of orphans and vulnerable children in exile was handled. They claimed that some of these children were just dumped on their relatives whom they did not know and who did not have the means to take care of their needs.

Respondent X011 said:

> "Just imagine a child who grew up in East German for all her childhood just to be dump in a rural village deep down in the bush in northern Namibia. Obviously this child will suffer from culture shock and that is what has happened".

The CLS continued to camp out, demanding to be given jobs and to be given veteran status. Respondent X09 stated that the CLS could qualify to be war veterans because they were their children born in exile and if the war did not come to an end, they too would have ended up becoming fighters, like their parents.

5.12 The reintegration programme viewed as a compensation programme

The study established that the Namibia government did not take into full account all of the UN IDDRS operational guidelines, such as the demands to

consider that the members of former SWATF and KOEVOET were also veteran combatants and, as a result, should be beneficiaries of the reintegration programme as well. The UN approach to DDR clearly specifies that beneficiaries of the DDR should include armed forces from conflicting groups, abductees, dependants, civilian returnees and communities. Focus seems to be on selected ex-combatants and abductees.

Furthermore, Namibia's DDR programme appears to lack grassroots support from affected stakeholders due to conflict regarding expected compensation, something that does not align with the UN approach to DDR. For instance, some former freedom fighters felt that the term 'compensation' was not the right term to be used and preferred the term 'reintegration programme'. Those who felt strongly that they should be compensated were those who had spent their entire lives on the frontlines, contrary to those who had had the opportunity to study while in exile. These conflicting views suggest that the DDR process was not clearly defined right from the start, as recommended by the UN's approach to DDR.

The term 'compensation' is very tricky in this situation, because the study found that, on one hand, it can be the proper term because, as per the Namibia Veterans' Act of 2008, the reintegration programme was strictly designed to assist mainly those ex-combatants, prisoners of war on Robben Island who fought to liberate the country, and supporters of the SWAPO movement who provided immense support by providing information orbeing engaged in activities that promoted the liberation struggle agenda. The Act strictly forbids compensation for those ex-combatants who had fought alongside the South African forces of the apartheid regime or anyone who was perceived to be against Namibia's freedom.

However, it's the opinion of the research that the war veterans is a broad term that cannot be defined and confined to one group, in this case the former freedom fighter. In other post-war countries the war veterans' term is used in reference to all ex-soldiers irrespective whether they were fighting on the right or wrong side. In other countries reintegration benefited both groups of war veterans. Furthermore, several studies states that implementation of DDR

programme are done according in the context of the conflict. Therefore, the discrimination of SWATF and Koevoet ex- soldiers by the War Veterans Act is a context issue. However, in the spirit of National Reconciliation Policy this Act can be revisited.

5.13 Greed combined by the sense of entitlement

The study also found that the well-off veterans, regarded to be amongst the privileged today, had also benefitted from this programme by claiming to be amongst the historically disadvantaged. While these people were silent regarding the demands of the former freedom fighters at the beginning, they became the largest number of beneficiaries of the programme. Jauch (2013) deplores this act by saying that:

> "The initial idea was to secure the livelihood of those war veterans who continued to experience hardships. However, the definition of war veterans and the modalities of identifying and rewarding them were controversial and allowed certain people to claim while excluding others, for example, some of those children raised in exile not born there. It is a well-known fact that highly paid public officials are amongst those who claimed the war veterans' pay-outs. This includes the majority of Cabinet members as well as highly paid managers at parastatals and municipalities. They are certainly not amongst the needy Namibians who should have been the beneficiaries. While the well-off veterans may claim to be amongst the 'historically disadvantaged', they must certainly be regarded to be amongst the privileged today. It is a sad indictment of the greediness amongst Namibia's elite that they are now hiding behind the argument of legality to justifying their pay-outs. In general, we seem to have almost completely forgotten the meaning of social justice and solidarity in building a new society. An elite that usurps public resources for personal benefit leaves very little for those who are in need. The question of war veterans and their plight should not be seen in isolation but must be placed in the context of widespread

poverty and exclusion in Namibia today. Redistribution in favour of the poor should be the focus".

In summary, the pay-outs benefitted all the former freedom fighters, irrespective their socio-economic status. The discrepancy is that the well-paid and elite former combatants were the first to receive their pay-outs and it is alleged that some of them managed to obtain assistance for their capital projects in cash form. If this is a fact, there is a need for transparency in the distribution of compensation for ex-combatants.

5.14 A reintegration programme not inclusive of all ex combatants

The fact that only those who were on the side of the liberation struggle benefitted from this fund tends to give the impression that it was more a compensation than reintegration assistance programme as is commonly done for the ex-combatants of a post-war country. Moreover, the UN IDDRS guidelines compel that all the ex-combatants, irrespective the side on which they had been fighting, should qualify in terms of DDR.

Another important point to note is that the reintegration process must benefit the community where it is taking place, in order to avoid jealousy among the community members. The impact of the Namibian reintegration approach is yet to be noticed within the communities where the ex-combatants live. The challenge now is that the reintegration has been taking place for 26 years since Independence. The study observed that poverty affected almost everyone, irrespective their status. Hence, assisting just a group of ex-combatants or veterans as per the Namibia Veterans' Act is likely to become problematic for the government in the future, if the basic needs of all the community members are not addressed. The process is also likely to cause jealousy among the community members. However, the current approach and the policy of inclusivity by the Head of State, accompanied by the slogan that no-one should "feel left out", can address this situation.

The study found that the current reintegration process was not a complete reintegration programme for ex-combatants because both sides of former

combatants did not benefit from this process. Furthermore, the study found the Veterans' Act of 2008 to be discriminative and operating contrary to the National Reconciliation Policy that was declared at Namibia's independence. According to the Namibian Veterans' Act of 2008, a veteran is defined as a person who had been a member of the liberation struggle forces and who consistently and persistently participated in the political, diplomatic or underground activities in support of liberation struggle activities. This leaves out other ex-combatants. This Act does not consider the international guidelines of DDR standards, despite the fact that Namibia is a member of the UN council and has been participating in the international peacekeeping operations across the world.

The findings also suggest that the Namibian government has ignored the DDR international standards that were developed by the UN, and has opted to use the traditional approach. Another determining factor for Namibia's reintegration programme is the context factor that the war, that took place in Namibia, was a war that was fought to remove the colonial forces. This is unlike situations where an internal war was raging – something that is currently more common in cases where DDR has been applied. As a result, due to this context factor, the reintegration programme was designed and implemented to help only one group of ex-combatants, namely those of PLAN of SWAPO, who used to be freedom fighters. However, this approach is biased and unfair, when one considers the policy of National Reconciliation that was adopted and declared by the Founding President at Namibia's independence.

Moreover, some well-known former South Africa collaborators and soldiers have since joined the ruling SWAPO party and have become Members of Parliament and ministers. Consequently, to discriminate against the ordinary, former SWATF and KOEVOET soldiers is unfair. Furthermore, this selective reintegration approach suggests that the compensation approach is politically motivated rather than being a nation building and peace-building process.

One cannot but wonder why ex-combatants, fighting on the side of the enemy of Namibia who used to be foot soldiers and are currently unemployed, would receive only reintegration assistance, but a former collaborator, who has since

joined the ruling SWAPO party, can now become a parliamentarian or a cabinet minister on a SWAPO party ticket. This leaves one to ponder why an ordinary, former combatant cannot be forgiven, while a former ex-soldier of the South Africa Defence or a diehard supporter of the South African apartheid regime, who has turned politician, has been forgiven and welcomed into the ranks of the elite of the ruling party, a former liberation movement. This sentiment was quoted by the local media in a random survey to elucidate the general view of the population regarding the issue of ex-combatants who had fought on the enemy side. Respondent X01 in this survey was quoted in the *Namibia Sun*, 2016, in response to the issue of ex SWATF/KOEVOET that

> "They are not asking for government's money, they are asking for their own money – money that is due to them. What I heard is that former South African soldiers were given money which was handed over to the incoming (SWAPO) government (then) by the former administration. So if that money was not given to them, they should just get paid like the current veterans. We are all Namibians, so when they get compensated they will not go and spend the money in South Africa. They will but form local businesses and we will all benefit. After all, some puppets in the former South African administration – including chiefs and those that served in the cabinet – are living well and have received veteran status from the Namibian government, when we know for sure that they were puppets. So, Jabulani has a case. He has seen his masters getting recognition".

Jabulani is the leader of the former SWATF and KOEVOET demanding to be included in the reintegration programme.

Another respondent, X02, stated the following:

> "Of course they fought; they should get the money for the sake of harmony and democracy. They can get less than what other recognized veterans are getting but they should get something".

However, there were also those who shared the same sentiment of the politicians of the ruling party concerning the former liberation movement. Quoted as follows:

Respondent X03:

> "Shoprite employees cannot demand remuneration from Pick n Pay. Those people should go and claim their money and recognition from the South African government. It is not a problem if they are getting paid or getting recognized but they should demand compensation from their masters. The Namibian government should only consider its own veterans not former KOEVOETs".

Respondent 04:

> "Those guys were employed by the South African government and they were fighting against SWAPO. The Namibian government is a SWAPO-led government. Why should the SWAPO-led government compensate them? They should go and get paid by whoever they were working for".

Respondent 05:

> "Who should give them money? Whose government should pay them? They were fighting against SWAPO. Why should they get paid? If they are asking compensation from the South African government then I'll have no objection".

Respondent 04:

> "The former South African soldiers are asking recognition from the wrong people. Why can't they simply ask their former bosses to recognize them and compensate them?"

The study takes note that this approach did not only discriminate against the ex-combatants who had fought on the side of the enemy but also disadvantaged their dependents as their parents were unable to support them. The policy of reconciliation is introduced for peace-building and to ensure

peace and stability; however, if one section of the participants in the war feels that they were treated unfairly, it can become a threat to peace and stability. This is currently the situation as the former SWATF and KOEVOET members are protesting and camping out in the Namibian capital, Windhoek, demanding to be given veteran status.

The SWAFT and KOEVOET members seemed to understand their position when their spokesperson stated that Namibians should understand that they had never claimed to be veterans of the liberation struggle because they could never be. SWAPO was fighting for the liberation struggle; they were not. They just wanted to be recognised as war veterans (New Era, 2016). Again the leader of the former SWATF/KOEVOET was quoted in the media, saying that:

> "Our demands are 100 percent genuine. In 1990 when Namibia got independence, people (SWATF/KOEVOET) were scared of SWAPO. Some of us were supposed to go and work for the South African Defence Force but the Founding Father President Sam Nujoma said Namibia is for all of us, we are brothers and sisters. The following year we were called to go and work for the Namibia Defence Force. Of course our demands are genuine. A veteran is not only someone that fought in a liberation struggle, a veteran is a former soldier. I know the Namibian Veteran Act has excluded us. I call it a draconic law. Members of parliament are supposed to make laws for all citizens but it is not the same case as with our MPs".

The issue of SWATF/KOEVOET ex-combatants is a subject that needs to be studied on its own. This study was limited to veterans who had been given recognition by the Namibia Veterans' Act, 2008. Hence, I leave it to other researchers with an interest in DDR to study it further.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusions

As it has been stated earlier in Chapter One, the purpose of the study was to explore the expectations, views and opinions of the war veterans regarding the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) process in terms of compensation, with the aim to provide a better understanding of former combatants' needs and views regarding their expectations in relation to their reintegration into society. This study employed the term 'compensation' which is a term used by the ex-combatants when demanding recognition within the reintegration programme for the contributions they had made to the liberation struggle as PLAN soldiers.

The study sought to understand how the former combatants had been briefed by their commanders during the demobilisation process. It is generally assumed that when the war veterans were inspired to join the liberation struggle, they had expectations to come back home as heroes and heroines and would enjoy a share of the country's resources in the event that they had won the war. The study attempted to find answers regarding the hopes, expectations and dreams of the war veterans about a liberated Namibia.

In addition, the researcher believes that the on-going processes of DDR in other countries acted as an eye-opener to the ex-combatants in such a way that they felt that they had to be compensated or the government should at least attend to their needs regarding compensation for their war efforts. Consequently, the study sought to evaluate their expectations against reality and how to bridge the gap between the two.

The research addressed the following sub-objectives: to examine the DDR practices as they were implemented in Namibia; to establish the main players or initiators of Namibia's DDR processes; to establish the expectations of ex-combatants in relation to the DDR processes; to establish the challenges faced by

the war veterans of the Namibian liberation struggle; to determine the challenges faced by the Namibian government in the reintegration of ex-combatants, as well as to assist the Namibian government to address the plight of the ex-combatants.

In order to meet the objectives highlighted above, the research needed to answer the following research questions to gain the perspectives of war veterans. The key questions were concerned with the ex-combatants' expectations regarding the DDR processes; the current challenges faced by ex-combatants; the extent to which the DDR programme was implemented in Namibia. The sub-questions were concerned with the main players or initiators in Namibia's DDR process and the challenges faced by the Namibian government in assisting war veterans.

This was important, because often studies fail to consider the views of the former fighters and tend to focus on how the reintegration process was conducted. For example, work had been done mainly with the aim to establish how many ex-combatants were given skills training but failed to investigate how they felt about what was being done for them.

The study to a large extent addressed the research questions. This process started with a review of relevant literature which revealed that DDR had become an important tool for peace stabilisation in post-war countries. It also revealed that DDR was an old tool used after all wars, but that recently it had been improved to adapt to the current situation. It also revealed that DDR was not a template that could be applied to any DDR situation but that context factors played an important role in determining how a DDR process could be implemented in different countries. In Southern Africa countries, DDR was characterised by the context factors of the war to end apartheid, while, in Angola, its DDR was determined by the context factor that one warring party had won the war, resulting in the defeat of the other.

One of the main findings of this study confirms that the challenges regarding the reintegration of war veteran are far from over. The fact that war veterans are still not happy with the current process is an indication that they will continue demanding more from the government. If these demands are not properly handled, they will impact negatively on the country's economy. A

good example of this is the case of Zimbabwe. It is well-documented in literature that one of the factors that contributed to the collapse of the economy of Zimbabwe was the large amount of cash pay-out to the former liberation war veterans (Kairiza, 2012).

Furthermore, another finding of this study is that the Veterans' Act of 2008 is discriminative and operating contrary to the National Reconciliation Policy that was declared at Namibia's independence. According to the Namibian Veterans' Act of 2008, a veteran is defined as a person who had been a member of the liberation struggle forces and who consistently and persistently participated in the political, diplomatic or underground activities in support of the liberation struggle. This excludes other ex-combatants. This Act does not consider the international guidelines of DDR standards, despite the fact that Namibia is a member of the UN council and has been participating in international peacekeeping operations across the world.

Based on the findings of the study, it can be concluded that the challenge of the Namibian government was that it had had no plans to implement a reintegration programme and was wishing that this challenge would go away on its own. However, when the government was faced with this challenge, it responded positively and started to address the plight of the freedom fighters by creating the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs. The study concludes that the context factors determined the unfolding of events. Since this was a national war to liberate the country from apartheid laws, the freedom fighters had no interest in conducting violent uprisings, but instead opted to engage their government and negotiate peaceful. It is imperative to note that the basic needs of former freedom fighters, especially those with low income, need to be taken seriously and that the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs needs to improve its service delivery and customer service.

The study included the actors and beneficiaries of the DDR programme, namely, former freedom fighters, the government, the United Nations, civil societies, children of the liberation struggle, former KOEVOET/SWATF, communities where the war was taking place, counsellors and pastors of whom some were playing an active role while others had been dominant.

6.2 Recommendations

The study recommends the following interventions:

- The government is to continue with the lump sum pay-outs to freedom fighters as part of their reintegration programme. Although no monetary value will equal their sacrifices, this is a small way of showing gratitude for what they had done for Namibia.
- The government needs to broaden the reintegration programme to be inclusive and to be extended to all ex-combatants.
- The study recommends that the decision and/or law makers should be advised, and become aware, of the current UN operational guidelines of DDR standards. This will help them to realise that DDR is a stabilising process and, therefore, it needs to be inclusive, if peace and stability are to be maintained. They also need to acquaint themselves with the new DDR approaches which will contribute to the peacebuilding that has been adopted after Independence.
- The registration process and approval of veterans' benefits need an overhaul to ensure transparency and efficiency.
- Capital project benefits need to be re-evaluated, as the current status does not address the basic needs of the war veterans.
- The government needs to consider housing for low-income veterans, irrespective of their age.
- The government needs to regulate housing and rental prices, as well as land in urban and rural areas, as a matter of urgency.
- A process to start looking into the plight of the relatives of freedom fighters, who had sacrificed their lives in the liberation struggle, should be implemented, as the findings of this study clearly indicate that some of the demonstrating struggle kids were indeed children of those fallen fighters.
- The government needs to consider an exit strategy for the employed veterans, who are holding lower paid positions, to be promoted to a

certain level before they are to go on retirement. This will help to boost their retirement funds and will encourage them to retire because it appears that they are afraid to go on retirement where they will receive only a small pension.

In conclusion, the study takes note of the point of view of some sectors of the society that it is a fact that some ex-combatants fought alongside the enemy; however, the fact that the country has adopted the National Reconciliation Policy means that the past has been buried and wrong-doing has been forgiven. Moreover, Namibia being a member of the mother body, the United Nations, ought to follow the IDDRS as guideline for DDR implementation. Therefore, the reintegration process should be inclusive. This approach is not only affecting the former SWATF and KOEVOET soldiers, but their dependents are also affected and trapped in vicious poverty.

The issue of the reintegration of ex-combatants, in general, has not been addressed as yet, since the current approach is only targeting the former freedom fighters and excluding their children and those who were fighting on the wrong side,as it is known.

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APPENDIX A

Research Questions

1. Age category

2. How old were you when you joined the liberation struggle?
3. How were you recruited?
4. What motivated you to join the liberation struggle?
5. What were you doing at the time?
6. How long did you stay in exile?
7. Did you get any qualifications or skills in while in exile?
8. Did you leave any dependents, when you left?
9. Did you have any kids in Exile?
10. Did you return at independence or later?
11. Explain the return process – who welcomed you? Where did you go
12. Did you get any financial assistance upon arrival?
13. How did you go back to civilian life?
14. When did you start working for remuneration?
15. How many dependents did you have at the time you were repatriated?
16. If yes, how many dependants were going to primary, secondary and tertiary school?

17. Who paid or pays for their education?
18. What is your employment status?

Employed	SELF-MPLOYED	Unemployed	Disabled due to war	Pensioner	Others

19. Income status
    1.1. What was your basic salary when you started working, mark the appropriate column.

1.2. What is your current basic salary, mark the appropriate column.

20. How will you define a Namibian War Veteran?
21. Who do you think should qualify as a Namibian War Veteran?
22. What qualifies for one to become a Namibian War Veteran?
23. Do you think Namibian War Veterans are in categories, if yes, what categories?
24. What is your experience with Namibia Liberation Struggle, please explain?
25. What is your experience when you were repatriated from exile, and how have life been since you were repatriated?
26. In your own opinion, how much in terms of remuneration should be paid to War Veteran in Namibia?
27. Do you think the compensation should be conferred according to the categories of the roles they played in the liberation struggle?
28. Do you think there is a category that needs to be compensated more than others? If yes, tell me why?
29. What is your view on the Namibian War Veterans Compensation package?
30. Are you satisfied/dissatisfied with the compensation, if yes/no, why?
31. Do you think that Namibian War Veterans are entitled to compensation, if yes tell me why?
32. Do you think the Namibian Government and particularly the Ministry of War Veteran Affairs has addressed the Namibian War Veteran Compensation issue in efficiently?
33. In your opinion do you think the issue of compensation of War Veterans should have been handled differently?

In your view, was the Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation and Integration correctly done, if yes/no, explain?

34. In your own opinion, who was supposed to carry out the above task, UN or Namibian Government or other actors?

35. On the issue of Struggle Kids or children of Liberation Struggle, Do you believe we have struggle Kids? How should they be treated?
36. Do you think they too, must be compensated? If yes/no, why?
37. Which Ministry do you think is responsible for the Struggle Kids? The Ministry of War Veterans or Ministry of Youths, Sport and Culture, please explain?
38. Do you think the Government has now found a lasting solution to the plight of Namibian War Veterans?
39. For How long a Namibian War Veteran, be assisted, once off or for life? If, yes, Why?

APPENDIX B

Profile of respondents

	Date of birth	Year Went in exile	Years in exile	Age at time	Current age	Education when left	Qualifications/skills	Employment status	Employment year	Salary on employment	Current salary	Dependents on return	Sex
1	1962	1980-1989	9	20	56	Std 8	Military in battle front for 3yrs and 2yrs certificate	employed	1997	500.00	18000.00	1	F
2	1959	1976-1989	13	17	57	Form one	Military+ got injured and left to do a 2yrs diploma	employed	1990	800.00	35000.00	1	M
3	1963	1979-1989-	11	16	53	Std 10	Military training, combant soldier and diploma in public management	employed	1995	600.00	18000.00	2	F
4	1957	1974-1989	15	17	59	Std 6	Military training and soldier for my whole stay in exile	employed	1990	1200	34000.00	1	m
5	1960	1977-1989	12	17	56	Form one	Soldier/ basic medical training to treat fellow soldier	employed	1990	800.00	34000.00	2	m
6	1960	1975-1989	14	15	56	none	Military training/element ary education in /Radio communication	employed	1990	300.00	22000.00	2	m
7	1956	1975-1989	14	19	60	Form two	Military training and soldier for my whole stay in exile	employed	1990	1200.00	34000.00	1	m
8	1957	1974-1989	15	17	59	none	Military training and soldier for my whole stay in exile	employed	1990	1200.00	34000.00	none	m
9	1957	1976-1989	14	19	59	none	Military/ basic medical aid	employed	1992	600.00	28000.00	none	m
10	1957	1976-1989	13	15	59	none	Military training and soldier for my whole stay in exile	employed	1997	300.00	8000.00	none	m
11	1957	1974-1989	15	17	59	none	Military training and soldier for my whole stay in exile	employed	1997	300.00	8000.00	1	m
12	1961	1977-1989	12	16	55	Std 5	Military training and soldier for my whole stay in exile	employed	1990	300.00	8000.00	1	m
13	1964	1980-1989	9	16	52	Std 8	Military training and soldier for my whole stay in exile	employed	1997	300.00	8000.00	none	m
14	1960	1979-1989	10	19	56	Form one	Military training in soviet and	employed	1990	300.00	8000.00	1	m

							soldier for my whole stay in exile						
15	1965	1980-1989	9	15	51	Std 7	Military training in soviet and soldier for my whole stay in exile	employed	1990	300.00	8000.00	3	m
16	1959	1975-1989	10	16	57	Contract labourer 3	Military training in soviet and soldier for my whole stay in exile	employed	1997	300.00	8000.00	1	m
17	1962	1978-1989	11	16	54	Form one	Military training and soldier for my whole stay in exile	employed	1997	600.00	8000.00	none	m
18	1958	1975-1989	14	17	58	Form one	Military training and soldier for my whole stay in exile	employed	1997	800.00	12000.00	none	m
19	1963	1980-1989	9	17	53	Std 8	Studied in West Africa/ teachers training	employed	1991	750.00	18000.00	1	F
20	1955	1977-1989	12	22	61	Contract labour	Military training, three years diploma/ combatant soldiers	Employed non-profitOrganisation	1990	800-00	12000 .00	3	m