A gender analysis of the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe

By

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ABSTRACT

Literature has been increasingly exploring the field of transitional justice, and the significance of transitional justice mechanisms in post-conflict contexts. However, most of the literature neglects the gendered experiences of armed conflict which has resulted in the exclusion of gender sensitivity in the creation and implementation of transitional justice mechanisms. This study examines the potential of transitional justice mechanisms in delivering justice for women in post-conflict contexts, using Zimbabwean women ex-combatants as a case study. It examines how the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe has helped or hindered advances in gender justice for women ex-combatants. Using a qualitative research approach, the study was conducted through one-on-one interviews and the use of secondary sources such as archives, journal articles and books with the objective of understanding the experiences of women ex-combatants in the transitional context in a manner that identifies the contextual factors affecting the advancement of gender justice through the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe. The study will help engage in a discussion on how to improve transitional justice mechanisms in a gender sensitive manner that will allow women to define justice in their own context.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation, for the degree Master of Political Science at the University of Pretoria is my original work. All the information previously produced by any other person has been acknowledged.

Signature…… Date……

ETHICS STATEMENT

I, Nontando Ndhlovu have obtained, for this research, the applicable research ethics approval and declare that I have observed the ethical standards required in terms of the University of Pretoria's Code of Ethics for researchers and the Policy Guidelines for responsible research.

Signature…… Date……

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC – African National Congress

DDR – Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration

GPA – Global Political Agreement

ICC – International Criminal Court

ICTR – International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

MCDWA – Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs

MDC – Movement for Democratic Change

NDP – National Democratic Party

NPRC - National Peace and Reconciliation Commission

ONHRI – Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration

RSF – Rhodesian Security Forces

SADC – Southern African Development Community

SRANC – Southern Rhodesian African National Congress

SSR – Security Sector Reform

SWAPO – South West Africa People's Organisation

TRC – Truth and Reconciliation Commission

UDI – Unilateral Declaration of Independence

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

ZANLA – Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

ZANU – Zimbabwe African National Union

ZANU-PF – Zimbabwe African Union-Patriotic Front

ZAPU – Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZIPRA – Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

ZNLWVA – Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Existing literature points to the significant contribution of transitional justice mechanisms in delivering justice in post-conflict societies. However, most of this literature neglects the gender dimension of violent conflict, resulting in a gender insensitive transitional justice process. Although some of the literature on transitional justice acknowledges the need to investigate and address gender concerns, their focus is mainly on adding gender to transitional justice rather than integrating a gendered approach within the framework. Bell and O'Rourke (2007) argue that feminist notions of justice should not be merely fitted into operational transitional justice, but rather the focus should be on the reconceptualisation of transitional justice to improve the manner gender-based violations that occur as a result of conflict are handled.

This study explored the extent to which transitional justice mechanisms are a viable tool in ensuring justice for women in post-conflict contexts, using women ex-combatants in Zimbabwe as a case study. The study uses a gendered perspective to analyse the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe. The study was guided by the following central research question: How has the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe helped or hindered advances in gender justice for women ex-combatants? The central objective was to understand the experiences of women ex-combatants in the transitional context, in a manner that identifies the contextual factors affecting the advancement of gender justice through the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe, with the goal of identifying strategies and mechanisms needed to enhance gender and transitional justice in this context.

The case study was limited to the city of Bulawayo due to accessibility, financial constraints and limitations of time on the study period. The study was carried using a qualitative approach. The research problem is explored using the theoretical lens of intersectionality, situated within feminism. This theoretical paradigm challenges the gender neutrality of the transitional justice framework and the dominance of masculinities in transitional contexts. Intersectionality gives awareness to how gendered forms of exclusions and inequality intersect with other social categories forming structural identities of class, sexuality, gender or ethnicity (Ni Aolain and Rooney, 2007:340). Issues of representation, exclusion and identity in post-conflict contexts are explored through intersectionality. The paradigm allows for an

examination of how the gendered experiences of women ex-combatants in the Zimbabwean liberation struggle intersect with other forms of inequality they have experienced in the post-conflict context.

In chapter two, the study will illustrate how a conversation about the experiences of women ex-combatants in the transitional context requires an understanding of the roles and encounters of women during the liberation war in Zimbabwe. Using literature on gender and war, the study captures the significant lived realities of women who participated in the anti-colonial armed struggle in Zimbabwe. This is to help understand how gender frames the experiences of armed conflict. Although the active involvement of women in the liberation struggle challenged the notion that women were unable to dominate in masculine and militarized, this did not exempt them from gender injustices. Their participation was structured by both agency and victimisation. Gender was used as the central axis of the injustices they experienced, yet they persevered as combatants, political activists, military ammunition transporters, cooks and nurses. Recognising that women were victims and also had human agency as social actors during the liberation war, makes visible their contribution towards the success of the armed struggle, in a manner that validates the effect of their complex experiences on their lives.

An analysis of the gendered experiences and effects of warfare on women allows an understanding of the significance of adopting a gender perspective in the transitional justice framework and the processes that formulate and design transitional justice mechanisms. For the different experiences of armed conflict by women and men to be considered, an inclusion of a gendered perspective in the transitional justice framework is required. This will allow gender-specific needs to be acknowledged and addressed.

In chapter three, the study uses literature on gender in transitional justice to demonstrate the tendency of transitional justice mechanisms in disregarding the gender experiences of women in armed conflict. The study shows the implications of the absence of women in platforms that implement policies that frame transitional mechanisms, and how this reinforces gender stereotypes that become impediments to gender-equality. Platforms such as peace negotiations are identified as pivotal for women to exert influence in formulating gender-sensitive and transformational transitional justice mechanisms. The study situates gender in the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe. It details the effects of the absence of women and gender-sensitivity in the Lancaster House peace negotiations that ended the liberation war. This was a platform that determined the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe. It is shown how the absence of a clear gender policy in post-conflict processes undermines the potential of transitional justice mechanisms in delivering gender justice for women.

In chapter four, using themes generated from the data analysis process which was guided by the research questions and objectives, and the intersectionality theoretical framework, the study presents and interprets the research findings. It reveals how the political and socio-economic position of women ex-combatants post-independence was negatively impacted by the absence of gender-sensitivity in the peace talks held at Lancaster House in 1979. The negotiated settlement had no gender provisions. Regardless, the post-independent administration formulated policies and legislations to advance gender justice. Yet women ex-combatants were not identified as a unique social group.

It was necessary for women ex-combatants to be given a platform to communicate their post-conflict needs according to their own terms as a group. Their needs and understanding of gender justice/equality were determined by their encounters in the liberation struggle. Therefore, it was imperative for the government to represent the needs of different women in the design of gender policies and legislations. Such an approach avoids falling into the trap of universalising the needs of women. Further, the research findings will show how gender, social class and ethnicity intersect to structure the complex political and socio-economic experiences of women ex-combatants in the transitional context.

Chapter five concludes the study and gives a summary of the dissertation and major findings. The research objectives and findings are used to give recommendations by identifying areas in which the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe can improve to advance gender justice for women ex-combatants.

1.2 The Research Problem

Transitional justice has been given increasing attention by scholars and policy makers. Although various transitional justice institutions have been addressed and given value in the literature, there have been some questions around the political significance of transitional justice mechanisms and their capacity to deliver justice for past abuses, and particularly in a way that addresses gender justice. Although peace-building initiatives have been developed in the African continent because of the various mechanisms of transitional justice, human rights violations experienced by women continue to be disregarded (Bell and O'Rourke, 2007). There is a need for more inclusive participation of women in the formulation and implementation of transitional justice mechanisms that does not deny women the opportunity to define justice in their context. The absence of a gendered approach in transitional justice perpetuates inequality and the exclusion of women in post-conflict processes.

This study examines the potential of transitional justice mechanisms in seeking gender justice for women in post-conflict societies, specifically women ex-combatants in the context of Zimbabwe. It does so by analysing the following: How has the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe helped or hindered advances in gender justice for women ex-combatants? The term gender justice is used to refer to "equal access to civil, political, economic, and social rights" (ICTJ Program Report: Gender Justice, 2019). Gender justice in the transitional context focuses on equal access to those rights and redress for past human rights abuses, whereby the transitional justice framework does not re-establish gender stereotypes between men and women, but instead challenge those inequalities (ICTJ Program Report: Gender Justice, 2019).

An ex-combatant according to Nilsson (2005:16) is a former member of an armed force "...who has taken direct part in the hostilities on behalf of the warring parties. The individual must also either have been discharged from or have voluntarily left the military group he or she was serving in". The study focuses on women ex-combatants who were directly involved in the Zimbabwe War of Liberation from 1963-1979. The rationale of the study is to aid policy makers in post-conflict societies to appreciate gender dynamics and structural violence towards women in periods of transition, heightening the need for gender sensitivity in transitional justice.

1.3 Research Questions

Central research question: How has the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe helped or hindered advances in gender justice for women ex-combatants?

The research seeks to answer the following sub-questions:

- Have women ex-combatants experienced gender justice, in the form of changing patterns of gender inequality and equal access to redress, since independence?
- What has the effect of current transitional justice interventions in Zimbabwe been for women ex-combatants?
- What are the implications of this for the Transitional Justice Framework in Zimbabwe?

1.4 Research Objectives

Central research objective: To analyze the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe using a gendered perspective.

- To understand the experiences of women ex-combatants in the Zimbabwe transitional context.
- To identify the contextual factors affecting the advancement of gender justice through the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe.
- To identify strategies and mechanisms that can enhance gender justice using the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study brings to the fore the experiences and needs of women ex-combatants in post-conflict contexts. This is important in that in exposing the related consequences of the absence of women in the transitional justice discourse it will heighten the chances of transitional justice mechanisms that are gender sensitive. It is hoped that the study will aid policy-makers in Zimbabwe to develop a model that includes women in the process of formulating and establishing key transitional justice mechanisms. The study may be useful in encouraging women in Zimbabwe and other post-conflict societies to challenge the dominance of masculinities and their priorities in the transitional context, evidenced by the absence and precarious position of women in peace negotiations. This will help advance gender justice enabling women to define justice in their context as women have a different notion of what and where justice is required. The study' contribution to literature will be to challenge the existing transitional justice literature that ignores the necessity of addressing gender justice as a core part of transitional justice intervention and add to the small, but growing literature on women's experiences during periods of transition by examining the case of Zimbabwean women ex-combatants.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

1.6.1 Feminist perspectives on Transitional Justice

Feminism is concerned with the inferior position of women in society and the discrimination they encounter based on their sex (Freedman, 2001:1). Feminists challenge the political, social, economic or cultural and legal systems, to establish equal rights for women and put an end of their marginalisation (Freedman, 2001:2). Feminist theory attempts to understand gender differences and gender inequalities, focusing on promoting the rights of women in society. According to Madsen (2000:200), "feminism deals with women and their status in society and asks questions about oppression, consciousness and gender". Weldon (2012:94) suggests that feminism "is politics directed at changing existing power relation between

women and men in society. These power relations structure all areas of life…they determine who does what and for whom, what we are and what we might become." There are various strands of feminism, yet gender is their analytical category.

Feminists argue that sensitivity to gender and women should be included in transitional justice and in the processes that establish transitional justice mechanisms. They question the ability they argue that women "deserve to participate in peace processes on an equal basis with men" (Bell and O'Rourke, 2007:30). This is informed by the reality that women have individual gender experiences of conflict, consequently in the transitional phase they will have gender-specific needs that are likely to be addressed if women participate in the negotiation process (Bell and O'Rourke, 2007:30). Feminists have also observed the gendered nature of negotiation processes as the agenda usually prioritizes the distribution of territory and political power (Ni Aolain, 2006:846). In such a context, matters that concern gender are usually in the bottom of the priority hierarchy or are not addressed at all hence neglecting the important needs of women in the process (Chinkin and Paradine, 2001:127). In other words, the presence of women might encourage gender sensitivity and align it with the agenda of negotiation processes. Therefore, feminists are advocating for reforms to the processes that establish transitional justice mechanisms by including women as part of the major players. However, "the increased participation of women does not equate in a simple way with a feminist reshaping of either peace processes or transitional justice mechanisms" (Bell and O'Rourke, 2007:34).

There has been international prominence given concerning the significance of the participation of women, through Resolution 1325 adopted by the United Nations Security Council, the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi, and the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of Liberia and the Lome Agreement in Sierra Leone (Bell and O'Rourke, 2007:32-33). However, it has been contested that the experiences of sexual violence by women has been the focus of reforms marginalising other significant aspects of how women experience conflict and the post-conflict context (Ni Aolain and Turner, 2007). Here there is an exclusion of the day-to-day experiences of women, their political and socio-economic issues (Bell et.al, 2004:321). In essence, feminists recognize the process of transitional justice needs and its mechanisms has to be more sensitive to the various needs of women. However, their larger goal is the "political project of securing substantial material gains for women in transition" (Bell and O'Rourke, 2007:44).

Criticisms against the theoretical framework of feminism have stated that it assumes that women have universal experiences. In view of this, feminist scholars have become conscious

of the limitations of using gender as the sole category of analysis. It has been observed that the social world has been constructed in such way that "the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations…" are themselves "a central category of analysis" (McCall, 2005:1771). This research paradigm is known as intersectionality. Feminist intersectionality theory introduces an intersectional analysis of women, rather than using gender as the single category of analysis it uses gender as the central axis of analysis.

1.6.2 Intersectionality

In her essay *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine , Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics,* Crenshaw (1989:139) introduced the term intersectionality when she was exploring the marginalisation of African-American women by "antidiscrimination laws and … feminist theory and antiracist politics". Further, Crenshaw (1991) *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color* uses intersectionality to uncover the manner in which the vulnerabilities of African-American women have been excluded by social movements and other organisations that battle against gender-based violence. Crenshaw (1989) and (1991) uses intersectionality to account for institutionalized structures of oppression for example through legal frameworks, she also demonstrated how feminism and antiracism can operate as platforms that produce and legitimize exclusion. Crenshaw (1989:139) makes an example of how antidiscrimination law, feminism and antiracial politics tend to treat the contours of race and sex "as mutually exclusive categories of experience and analysis" hence disregarding the specific forms of discrimination suffered by African-American women. Race and sex are interdependent systems of oppression. Therefore, intersectionality argues that antidiscrimination laws, feminist theory and antiracist politics must account for the significant differences within the identity categories of race and sex rather than universalising the experiences of women. Intersectionality accounts for interlocking and intersecting structural identities such as but not exclusive to gender, class, race, sex, ethnicity or age (Yuval-Davis, 2006; Collins, 1986; Crenshaw, 1989). Intersectionality helps recognize that although there are universal experiences shared by women, their race, class, ethnicity and sexual orientation shape how they experience structures of power. Therefore, it seeks to investigate systems of privilege and underprivilege within an identity category. Crenshaw; (1991:1245) maintains that intersectionality demonstrates "the need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed". In other words, intersectionality

demonstrates the existence of structural differences within social groups, and how these differences can potentially result in specific type of exclusions.

Although intersectionality initially emerged to account for the erasure of African-American women' marginalisation in antidiscrimination law, the theory has been used to interrogate other structures of power. Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays and Tomlinson (2013:304) notes that intersectional analysis should be understood "functioning as a condition of possibility for agents to move intersectionality to other social contexts and group formations". Conceptualising intersectionality requires an understanding of the significance of the framework when applied in multiple disciplines. Roberts and Jesudason (2013:313) demonstrate the ability of the intersectionality theory to create common and mutual interests among social and political entities. They use the intersecting identities of race, gender and disability in genetic technologies to elaborate how intersectionality "can help forge alliances between reproductive justice, racial justice, women's' rights, and disability rights activists to develop strategies to address reproductive genetic technologies" (Roberts and Jesudason, 2013:313). Their case study helps to illustrate how the intersectional analysis of the differences and commonalities within identity categories is significant in obliterating discrimination and systems of privilege.

Anthias and Yuva-Davis (1983:62) in challenging the notion of 'sister hood' in Britain and "the implicit assumption that there exists a commonality of interests and/or goals amongst all women", they use intersectionality. Although they don't explicitly state that they are using intersectionality as a theory, they however apply an intersectional analysis in their argument that in 'every' feminist challenge there is always an ethnic dimension. Anthias and Yuva-Davis (1983:62) argue that when addressing women's struggles, black feminism tends to place emphasis on the discrimination of women based on the structural identities of race, gender and class (triple oppression), in the process undermining the structural location identity of ethnicity. Against this background they maintain that the triple oppression thesis is theoretically and politically insufficient to account for ethnic experiences. Anthias and Yuva-Davis (1983) also suggest that the intersection of identity categories should not be analyzed from the vantage of black versus white feminism because this risks distinguishing racism as an issue that affects 'only' black women. Their position is that this disregards the political experiences of non-British and non-black women as "black feminism can be too wide or too narrow a category for specific feminist struggles" (Anthias and Yuva-Davis, 1983:63). As a result, they use the conceptual category of ethnic divisions to challenge racism and to analyze the intersection of racism and ethnicity while simultaneously accounting for the interlock

between ethnic, gender and class divisions. Anthias and Yuva-Davis (1983) through their analysis conclude that a valid construction of sisterhood among feminists in Britain will require recognition that struggles of race, class, ethnic and gender divisions are not homogenous, rather every woman has her own particular experience.

Some scholars have criticized intersectionality on the grounds that the theory is subjective because of its focus mostly on issues that concern Black women. They have argued that framework does not account for the intersectional marginalisation of Black men by the criminal justice system (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays and Tomlinson, 2013:304). In using intersectionality to engage Black men, Butler (2013:485) argues that they should be treated as a specific identity category distinct from "Black women and other men" when addressing issues of racial justice. Butler (2013) uses the phrase "Black male exceptionalism" to articulate how African-American men are structured along an axis of discrimination and marginalisation that is situated at the bottom in the hierarchy of racial discrimination and inequality. Therefore, Butler (2013:485) proposes that African-American men should be given particular considerations that address their distinctive situations and challenges because they are "exceptionally burdened and marginalized". However, his suggestion is not that Black men are important more than Black women but he uses intersectionality to draw attention to the need of civil rights interventions in cases of racial justice to be framed in a manner that recognizes how the intersection of race and gender structures the discrimination experienced by Black men. Butler (2013:486) argues that his intention is to uncover the intersectional identities of Black men without undermining or erasing the challenges faced by Black women.

Intersectionality has been applied in different disciplines and social and political contexts. The above examples demonstrate how intersectionality has been used to highlight and uncover the often invisible dynamics of social relations of power. The significance of the theory lies not only in its interrogation of "the inter-locking ways in which social structures produce and entrench power and marginalization" but also "by drawing attention to the ways that existing paradigms that produce knowledge and politics often function to normalize these dynamics" (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays and Tomlinson, 2013:312).

1.6.3 Intersectionality and Transitional Justice

In transitional justice, intersectionality has been used to analyse the post-conflict gendered experiences of women in relation to socio-economic inequality (Rooney, 2011:2). Feminists have questioned the potential of transitional justice in empowering and improving the precarious position of women while simultaneously addressing past human rights violations

(Valji, 2007; Nesiah, 2006). Otherwise stated, analysing the transitional justice framework using intersectionality sheds light on the experiences of women post-conflict. Regardless, the examination takes into consideration how the structural dimensions of race, gender, class, ethnicity and others, also shape what happens to women in societies that are in transition. It accounts for the diversity of women's lives and how this structures the inequalities they experience in the post-conflict context. According to Rooney (2011:6) in the transitional justice framework, "intersectionality provides critical conceptual tools for investigating how women distinctly experience discursive invisibility and actual exclusion and why women's lives are inadequately considered when the opportunity for radical societal change occurs".

Intersectionality was useful for my research as it allowed critical questions to be raised on the gender neutrality of the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe on women ex-combatants. Also, it helped with the examination of the consequences of the absence of gender sensitivity in the Lancaster House Agreement and the lack thereof of including political and socio-economic matters concerning women ex-combatants in the transitional contexts as they were directly affected by the conflict. The intersectionality paradigm helped investigate how the gender inequality that the women ex-combatants fought for in the liberation struggle interlocks with other dimensions of inequality that they have experienced in the transitional national context.

1.7 Research Methodology

This section outlines the research methodology. It describes the research process by providing the method that was adopted for the study. The section includes the research approach and design, the selection of the sample, methods of data collection, the research data analysis process, the ethical considerations and the limitations of the study.

1.7.1 Research approach and design

In order to meet the research objectives, a qualitative research approach was adopted. A qualitative research approach focuses on recording the quality of a phenomenon (Walliman, 2011:71). This is usually a phenomenon that cannot be measured or quantified hence it is abstract. According to Moriarty (2011:2), qualitative research seeks to understand "the social world of research participants by learning about their social and material circumstances, their experiences, perspectives and histories". The study used a qualitative research because this reinforces an understanding of how the women ex-combatants have experienced the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe and what meaning they have given to their reality.

As a result, this qualitative research uses a constructivist worldview as the research will strongly rely on the views of the participants and the meaning they have constructed for their experiences. Also, this research will use a descriptive case study research method. In a case study the research is context specific (Creswell, 2014:11).The research is a case study as it focuses on analysing the effects of the transitional justice framework in advancing gender justice for women ex-combatants particularly in the context of Zimbabwe. A descriptive case study describes a phenomenon taking into account the context in which it occurred and the experiences of the sample population, also the collection of data is guided by a theory (Yin, 1993:22).

1.7.2 Qualities of qualitative research

In qualitative research the primary instrument for data collection and analysis is the researcher. In other words qualitative research is carried out in the natural setting, for example the researcher goes to the people, institutions, and sites that are being studied (Mohajan, 2018:16-17). There are different forms of qualitative research yet they share the following attributes:

- The researcher has the opportunity of collecting data directly from the participants through direct encounters with individuals, through one to one interviews or group interviews or by observation.
- A researcher is an integral part of the research process. The issue is not one of minimising the influence of the researcher, but of knowing how the researcher was involved in data collection and analysis in order to assess better the information they provide.
- It seeks to establish a holistic perspective of a given situation.
- A researcher is responsible to obtain true information and to ensure the participants' ethical treatment.
- If focuses on discovery and understanding which requires flexibility in the research design. (Mohajan, 2018: 17).

1.7.3 Justification of using qualitative research

As reported by Mohajan (2018:2), qualitative research stresses on describing and interpreting a phenomena from the perspective of the participants. Mohajan (2015:18) states in qualitative research that there is less emphasis on the number of participants "who think and behave in certain ways" rather the focus is on "explaining why people think and behave in certain ways". In addition, Mohajan provides the following as the strengths of qualitative research:

- It can play the important role of suggesting possible relationships, causes, effects, and dynamic processes.
- It allows people to open up and allows for new evidence that was not initially considered.
- Because of close researcher involvement, the researcher gains an insider's view of the field, which allows the researcher to find issues that are often missed by the scientific, more positivistic enquiries.
- It provides a holistic interpretation of the detailed processes that have, and shapes people's lives.
- It provides a rich picture of social phenomena and in its specific context reveals critical incidents. (Mohajan, 2015:18).

I also used qualitative research for my study because I wanted to understand the experiences, perspectives and meanings that women ex-combatants give to their encounters of gender justice in the transitional context. Using qualitative research helped me to understand the above mentioned from the standpoint of women ex-combatants.

1.7.4 Qualitative research case study

The case in a study according to Miles and Huberman (1994:25) "is a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context…in effect, your unit of analysis". My research study analysed how the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe has hindered or advanced gender justice for women ex-combatants. In this regard, the case will be the gender justice experiences of women ex-combatants in the transitional context. Yin (2003) differentiates between various types of studies; they are categorized as descriptive, explanatory, or exploratory. My research study uses a descriptive case study; this type of a case study describes a phenomenon in its natural setting/ context where it happened (Yin, 2003). A qualitative case study allows the researcher to address the "how" and "why" kind of questions whilst taking into account the influence of the context on a phenomenon (Baxter and Jack, 2010:556). The benefit of using a case study is that although it is contextual in nature, it also illustrates a common problem.

1.7.5 Data collection method

The research used both primary and secondary methods of data collection. Primary data is when the researcher collects data first hand; secondary data is when the researcher uses data that has previously been collected by another researcher (Kothari, 2004:95). Primary data was collected through interviews. There are three major types of interviews; the structured

interview, the semi-structured interview and the unstructured interview (Coughlan, 2009:309). My research study used semi-structured interviews; these have a flexible interview schedule. Although a researcher has a predetermined interview schedule they accommodate unintended topics that may arise and also may use open ended questions to explore issues of concern to both the research study and interviewee (Tod, 2006 *cited* in Coughlan, 2009:310). The advantage of using interviews is that information is collected personally from the concerned sources therefore this helps ensure reliability and validity as it enables the researcher to acquire the direct views of the participants minimising the bias of the researcher, however the interview needs to be carried in a manner that the findings reflect the research objectives and answer the research questions (Kothari, 2004:98). The research study also used secondary data sources such as previous research material, articles, journals and books; these were used to acquire data that will assist in analysing the research findings and addressing questions.

During the interview data collection process, some interview participants evaded certain questions, in particular those that were about sexual violence during the liberation war and the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) process. This might have been that these were memories that had been supressed for reasons only known to them and therefore they did not want to revisit that part of their lives. Initially some of the women ex-combatants were fearful of giving much detail about their experiences in the transitional context as they thought this was going to put their lives at risk for revealing sensitive information concerning their post-conflict experiences in the leadership of the transitional government. Against this context, semi-structured interviews proved to be effective for the research study as this allowed me to explore other topics that were not initially on my interview schedule yet they were relevant to the research questions and objectives. What was apparent in the reaction of the interview participants was the existence of the politics of fear that might have been instilled by the state through is history of criminalizing and securitization of civilians. This is usually done by "identifying *a dangerous other…"* (Hammar, 2007:214). In such a political context, fear of being imprisoned, intimidated and even tortured is the main concern. I guaranteed participants anonymity and confidentiality in regards to their identity through the use of pseudonym in the report, however there were some who were comfortable with their real names being used for the research study.

1.7.6 Sample selection

The method of purposive sampling was used for the development of the study sample. Purposive sampling is a type of non-probability sampling technique, whereby the researcher deliberately selects a sample size from the population under study as a representative of the

whole (Kumar, 2011:178). The participants of the study are purposively selected with the idea that they can epitomize the entire population. The individuals selected in purposive sampling need to have knowledge or experience of the phenomenon in question (Palinkas *et al.,* 2013). My research study sample included women ex-combatants from both the former liberation armies of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA). The samples were selected with the principle that they are best positioned to provide the data needed for the research questions and objectives of the study. The women ex combatant were the unit of analysis in my research study; the unities of analysis are the people from which the researcher gathers data (Kumar, 2018:70-71). In the context of my research study women ex-combatants were the group of individuals who were the objective of the investigation. The study was conducted in the city of Bulawayo because it was more accessible in regards to financial constraints and time limit. The study conducted 10 interviews with women ex-combatants from Bulawayo. Although most former women ex-combatants were initially recruited from rural communities, there are some who migrated to the metropolitan city of Bulawayo after independence in search of economic opportunities. Ex-combatants who migrated are from neighbouring rural communities of Matebeleland , Midlands and some parts of Mashonaland. Against this background, it was possible to significantly carry out the study regardless of financial constraints.

Initially the study had proposed to conduct the interviews with women from both Harare and Bulawayo. The interviews with the women ex-combatants were to understand their gender justice experiences of the transitional justice framework in post-independence Zimbabwe. When I was conducting interviews with women ex-combatants age, ethnicity and class was used to analyse their responses in an attempt to understand in what ways the intersection of these structural identities have an effect on how they have experienced the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe.

1.7.7 Data analysis process

The data analysis process is not always distinct rather it is sometimes interconnected and takes place concurrently with the other research processes of data collection and report writing (Creswell, 2007). Thematic analysis was used to analyse data from personal interviews. According to Braun and Clarke (2006:78), thematic analysis is when the data sources are analysed by identifying main themes that would have emerged as a strategy to simplify and manage the data. The process can be carried out in five stages (i) identification of the main themes (ii) assigning codes to the main themes (iii) classifying responses under the main themes and (iv) searching for alternative interpretations of the data (v) integrating themes and

responses into the write-up (Kumar, 2011:248; Marshall and Rossman, 1999). The themes that were identified during this process include identity, representations, justice and effects of the transitional justice interventions in Zimbabwe on women ex-combatants. These themes will be discussed in full detail in the data analysis chapter.

Before starting the process of analysing the data, I revisited the research questions and objectives. This stance helped by giving guidance in searching for potential codes that will generate themes in the transcribe data. The identification of patterns or themes in a thematic analysis can also begin as early as the data collection process (Braun and Clarke, 2006). I also had to consider the factors that could interfere with the data analysis process for instance my own beliefs and biases. The significance is that it helps bring awareness to external influences hence encourages honesty and vigilance. As a researcher who is also the instrument for analysis it is my duty "to assure rigor and trustworthiness" (Nowell, Norris, et al. 2017: 2).

1.7.8 Familiarisation with data

In the first phase of my data analysis I repeatedly read and actively engaged with the transcribed data from both the interview audio recordings and also notes that I had written during data collection, this was done in order to familiarise myself with every aspect of the data. In this stage, I noted down my immediate impression of the data. This phase is vital because it allows the researcher to understand "the depth and breadth of the content" moreover "it provides the bedrock for the rest of the analysis" (Braun and Clarke, 2006:92-93). Furthermore, as suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985 *cited* in Nowell, Norris, and et al. 2017) during this phase I also made notes of coding insights that I would later consult in the code generating phase. The transcription of verbal data is considered to be interpretative act as it is a process that creates meanings (Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999 *cited* in Braun and Clarke, 2006). The raw data was transcribed manually into a word document with each interview session labelled with the interview date and names of the participants. However, in the final report writing phase the names of the participants will be replaced by pseudo names to ensure privacy and anonymity.

1.7.9 Generating initial codes

In this phase of my data analysis process I used qualitative coding to generate codes from the interview transcripts. Qualitative coding is a process of identifying features in the data that are of interest and relevance to the study (Saldana, 2013:29). Coding enables the researcher to structure the data and pay attention to particular characteristics, a 'good code' "is one that

captures the qualitative richness of the phenomenon" (Nowell, Norris, et al. 2017:5). To identify trends and recurring patterns in the data I focused on working systematically across the data, and as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006:94) I gave "full and equal attention to each data item". In each interview transcript I identified repeated patterns of the participant's sentiments towards and experiences of the transitional justice framework, I clustered them into codes that would fit together into themes. This is knows as *initial coding* or *open coding*. It entails focusing on breaking down the data into separate parts and afterwards an examination for differences and similarities (Hedlund-de Witt, 2013:11). There are different types of coding methods and these are dependent on both the theoretical lens and research question. In my data analysis process I was interested in addressing particular research questions and used this approach as a guideline to my data analysis. Although specific research questions were my guide, I also had my research objectives and theoretical framework in mind. Braun and Clarke (2006:94) emphasize on the importance of coding data with the awareness of the contradictions that may become evident in the data patterns and the links between them, these may diverge from the expected develop in the analysis. Therefore, they suggest documenting these accounts as they are inevitable.

1.8 Coding of Themes

1.8.1 Emotion coding

In this phase coding for themes emotion coding was undertaken, which entailed exploring the personal qualities of the participant's experience "by directly labelling and naming those experiences" (Hedlund-de Witt, 2013:11). I labelled the emotions and feelings experienced by women ex-combatants in the transitional context in Zimbabwe. Exploring the emotional dimension of the participant's experiences gives deep insights into their life conditions (Hedlund-de Witt, 2013:11). From this perspective, I analysed the data transcripts in a manner that reflected empathy. Having initially audio recorded the interview sessions and documented the non-verbal cues assisted with deep engagement with the data and identifying the recurring emotions felt by women ex-combatants towards the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe. These emotions were a consequence of their experiences in the post-conflict context. Here I highlighted and clustered similar codes into categories that generated into themes.

1.8.2 In Vivo coding

In Vivo coding was also used as a way to give validity to the voice of the participants through quoting their own words. This is when a code for a theme is generated by using a verbal extract from the transcribed data (Hedlund-de Witt, 2013:10; Nowell, Norris, et al. 2017:7). These direct extracts were used as codes for generating distinct categories in accordance to their relevance to the research question (s) and objectives. However, the categorized codes overlapped into themes as a result these were collated into themes. The significance of In Vivo coding in my study is that it ensures reliability illustrated by the use of the direct words from the participants hence minimising my biases. For example the codes of ethnicity, gender, and social class created the identity theme.

1.8.3 Pattern coding

In the final phase of coding, pattern coding was used to reorganize and reanalyse the initial data coded using emotion and In Vivo coding. In this phase of my data analysis process I explored the interconnectedness between the codes and categories in order to "develop a coherent synthesis of data" (Hedlund-de Witt, 2013:14). Pattern coding focuses on identifying emergent main themes from previous coding processes through a meaningful analysis. I colour-coded the data related to each theme. In this process the themes that had already emerged were winnowed and reduced to create a reasonable set of themes to integrate into the write up. According to Mile and Huberman (1994:69) *cited* in Hedlund-de Witt (2013:15) "Pattern Coding is a way of grouping those summaries into a smaller number of sets, themes or constructs". This is when themes are reviewed, modified and defined.

In all the theme coding processes, my observation was that there was sometimes no structured sequence taking place instead I constantly interchanged the coding methods hence illustrating a blurring of the boundaries between the methods. In other words, some of the coding methods overlapped in multiple ways and were 'mixed and matched' (Hedlund-de Witt, 2013:9).

1.9 Ethical Considerations

Informed written consent was sought from the research participants and there was a commitment to preserve confidentiality and anonymity of the participants. Also, there was a withdrawal form to reassure the participants that at any stage they are free to withdraw from the research for any reason. Considering how sensitive the research might have been for women ex-combatants emotionally and psychologically, there was a counsellor that participants could be referred to, were it to be necessary. Nonetheless, most of the participants

declined the offer to consult a counsellor as they felt talking about their experiences was a healing process in itself as it helped them confront their past and present realities.

1.10 Limitations of the Study

The study was only limited to Bulawayo province due to financial and time constraints. Moreover the sample size was another limitation to the study in that it only represented only a fraction of women ex-combatants

1.11 Thesis Chapter Outline

The thesis is organised into five chapters. Chapter one gives an overview of the study. It outlines the research problem, questions, objectives and significance of the study. This chapter also comprises of the theoretical framework and research methodology. Chapter two examines the gendered experiences and effects of armed conflict. It also gives a historical overview of the Zimbabwean liberation struggle with a focus on the role and lived realities of the women who participated as combatants. It uses a gender analysis to explore the nationalist ideology that promoted the participation of women in the Zimbabwean liberation struggle.

Chapter three provides a literature review on transitional justice and gender in transitional justice. This chapter uses a gendered perspective to examine the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe. Chapter four comprises of qualitative data presentation and interpretation of the research findings. This chapter integrates the data from the research findings with the theoretical framework, the literature review and methodology. Chapter five concludes the dissertation. This chapter a summary of the dissertation and research findings, it provides recommendations.

1.12 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter gave a summary of the dissertation structure. It outlined how the dissertation is guided by the following research question: How has the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe helped or hindered advances in gender justice for women ex-combatants? This chapter has presented the significance of the study, the research questions and objectives; and also the methodology. The study will be using the theoretical framework of intersectionality which is positioned within feminism. Thus, this chapter has shown that the dissertation will illustrate that for the transitional justice framework to deliver gender justice for women ex-combatants in Zimbabwe, it needs to incorporate women as stakeholders in processes that design and implement transitional justice mechanisms. Women ex-combatants

need to be considered as a specific group of women with separate needs that are framed by their complex experiences in the liberation struggle. Additionally, there is a need for post-conflict gender policies and legislations to account for the intersection of gender with social class and ethnicity.

CHAPTER TWO

ZIMBABWEAN WOMEN IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE: "FIGHTING CIVIL, UNCIVIL AND SILENT WARS"

2.1 Introduction

Although there has been a frequent exclusion of women in post-conflict reconstruction processes in Africa, women have played a pivotal role in anti-colonial armed struggles by participating as freedom fighters, political activists and played other supporting roles. However, often times the female perspective and identity concerning armed struggles is ambiguous because of their untold significance and contributions, which then leads to the

invisibility of their role and experiences in such political processes. Using the representation of women ex combatants in post-apartheid South Africa as an illustration Magadla (2015:391), postulates that "the participation of women in combatant has been confined to orthodox definitions of combat that do not account for the context that structured the ways in which women participated". Understanding the gender analysis of the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe will require the examination of the experiences of women in the liberation struggle. My study seeks to address the following research question: How has the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe helped or hindered advances in gender justice for women ex-combatants? It is therefore crucial to foremost understand their role in the liberation war and their experiences of gender injustices in order to regard the importance of a gender approach in transitional justice and the inclusion of women in post-conflict processes. In analysing the relationship between gender and war, research has shown that the historical predominance of man as active combatants has led to the tendency of underestimating the active participation of women combatants in armed conflict (Mudeka, 2014:84).

The relationship between gender and war has been historically stereotyped using the victim (women) versus perpetrator (men) approach. Thus Moser and Clark (2001:4), argue that such a qualification undermines 'human agency' and the capacity of "social actors". Although there has a historical dominance of men as active combatants, research indicates that there has been an active participation of women combatants in armed conflict. The continuous classification of women as 'victims' has led to lack of recognition of the active role they play(ed) during armed conflict. This position does regard that women combatants are victims of gender based violence during times of armed conflict and political violence; nonetheless there is a need to recognize that women combatants are both victims and agents. Women combatants experience victimization during times of armed conflict through sexual violence and abuse; different gender identities and discrimination based on their gender (Lyons, 2004; Urdang, 1979; Cock 1991). Regardless, they cannot be essentialised as victims of helplessness. Although they experience the patriarchal nature of war that perpetuates violent injustices, these women fight in environments that are highly masculine and militarised challenging the notion of women being incapable of competing in male dominated spaces. Portraying women who were active combatants in armed struggles as merely victims neglects their contribution in such socio-political processes. As a consequence, they become invisible in post-conflict processes. Acknowledging the political agency of women combatants helps address the complex effects of armed conflict on their lives.

Feminist scholarship advocates for the adding of gender to transitional justice on the basis that women and men have different experiences of armed conflict, therefore their participation will help in addressing their gender-specific needs (Franke, 2006: 813-827). According to Ni Aolain and Rooney (2007:351), "to conceive of transition without assessing women's diverse experiences of conflict and/ or the prior regime and without integrating the specific needs of women into the frame of transformation is to impoverish and weaken our capacity to meaningfully reform societies in transition". Crenshaw (1989; 138-67), introduced the term 'intersectionality', when she was exploring how aggravated and specific forms of discrimination are suffered by African-American women. She was giving an account of the interaction of power systems that are a consequence of structural power relationships, highlighting how these form structural identities of race, class, gender, sexuality or ethnicity. Using the lens of intersectionality to understand the realities of women ex-combatants will help reveal how the gender inequality that the women ex-combatants fought for in the liberation struggle intersects with other dimensions of inequality that they have experienced in the transitional context.

This chapter examines the gendered nature of the concept of armed conflict and practice of warfare thereby analysing the gendered experiences and effects of conflict. The chapter uses the encounters of African women engaging in anticolonial armed struggles, identifying their gender based experiences and the pivotal role they played. A general historical overview of the Zimbabwean liberation struggle will be outlined. Early in the chapter the liberation struggle is analysed through a shift that focuses on the role and lived realities of the women who participated as combatants. A gender analysis is used to analyse the underlying factors that promoted the participation of women in the Zimbabwean liberation struggle. It argues that although the narrative of women freedom fighters has portrayed them as heroic guerrilla fighters for participating in the national liberation struggles in Africa, this fictional representation does not capture the roles and lived realities of the women who participated in the national liberation struggle of Zimbabwe. Gender perceptions were shifted during the liberation war as some women took on combat and other significant roles that were traditionally aligned to men but on whose terms? The chapter will also highlight the contributions made by peasant women and their civilian experiences of the liberation struggle. They might not have been in combat but their role was pivotal in the success of the anti-colonial struggle and should not be overlooked.

2.2 An Overview of the History of the Armed Struggle in Zimbabwe (1961-1980)

The armed struggle was influenced by various factors. Tungamirai (1995:36) suggests that the need to obtain majority rule was the major reason. The electorate was white dominated yet they were the minority in the country. The drive to attain majority rule was as a consequence of the prevailing political, social and economic disadvantage of the black African population in Rhodesia. The white community was adamant on protecting their privilege. It is also important to highlight that before the nationalist movements resorted to a radical way of dealing with issues, they did communicate their grievances through labour strikes and boycotts, in some instances proposing talks (Chung, 2006; Bhebhe, 1999). However, the white community was not willing to settle therefore for the cause of the liberation for Africans to remain relevant, a more violent process was adopted in the form of an armed struggle.

The land question was regarded as one of the crucial factors; land had been partitioned along racial lines since 1890 and the African population was allocated land that was eroded and had poor soils to yield good food production (Tungamirai, 1995:37; Kriger, 1992: 52-54). Land was traditionally considered as a form of wealth at least to mainly the rural African population who in essence constituted most of the population. Grievances concerning wages and labour conditions were also of importance to Africans. The lowest paid economic sectors were mostly occupied by unskilled workers who were basically Africans, this included working at mines, farms and manufacturing companies owned by their white male counterparts, moreover they were paid low wages and were not permitted to form trade unions (Kriger, 1992:55).

In other words they experienced the exploitation of their labour and were simultaneously denied the right to protest their exploitation although they increasingly contributed to the economic growth. On the other hand, the few skilled African population through a statutory passed in 1934 were blocked entry into skilled and semi-skilled jobs instead the statutory guaranteed their skilled white counterparts jobs and higher wages (Krigger, 1992:55). This made life difficult for those few Africans who were living in the urban areas as most of them had dependants back home in the rural areas.

The two liberation movements that militarily challenged the Rhodesian colonial regime were ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) and ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) led by Joshua Nkomo (Moorcraft and McLaughlin 1982:14). Both movements had military wings, ZANLA (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army) and ZIPRA (Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army) respectively. ZANU organized the guerrilla war from camps in Mozambique and ZIPRA from camps in Zambia, however as the war continued some training

camps were stationed in Tanzania and Angola (Chung, 2006; Kriger, 1992; Bhebhe and Ranger, 1995; Geisler, 2004). The Zimbabwean struggle although started in the urban areas, it was wholly executed in the rural areas (Ngwenya and Molapo, 2018:86).

Although scholars give varying accounts they however are in agreement that the liberation struggle began during the 1960s (Kriger, 1992; Martin and Johnson, 1981; Bhebhe, 1999). ZAPU became a liberation movement on the 17th of December 1961, and its predecessor was the National Democratic Party (NPD) whose predecessor was the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress (SRANC) (Dabengwa, 2004: 25; Mlambo, 2014:145). ZAPU was banned in 1963 by the settler regime after staging mass demonstrations in an attempt to convince the government to heed to their call for "independence and majority rule" (Dabengwa, 2004:25). Chung (2006:60) suggests that the banning of liberation movements was also as a result of violence towards "all symbols of the colonial regime". The ZAPU ban became detrimental and caused divisions within the national movement leadership resulting in a split (Ngwenya and Molapo, 2018:77). The split led to the formation of ZANU. The disunity amongst the nationalists was structured along tribal lines, mainly the major tribes of Shona and Ndebele although some former nationalist leaders have denied this claim (Chung, 2006:59-60). Youth from both sides were engaged in violent fights against each other in townships after the split of ZAPU. The fights were characterized by bombing of houses, physical assault and restricting workers from going to work (Chung, 2006:60-61). As a result, nationalist leaders were arrested and detained, followed by the banning of both ZANU and ZAPU.

The Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) adopted by the Rhodesian Front Party led by Ian Smith was a catalyst to the guerrilla war. Through the UDI Rhodesia became independent from the United Kingdom, however without endorsement from the British government, (Smith, 1997:103-105). Nationalist leaders thought the British government would militarily intervene and halt the declaration as they had previously highlighted, however the intervention never happened (Astrow, 1983:36). The UDI was designated to strengthen the political, social and economic privilege and power of the white community (Mtisi, Nyakudya and Barnes, 2009:117-120). The black nationalists resorted to the armed struggle because the UDI consolidated the interests of the white community by refusing to improve the political position of Africans, progress towards majority rule, and put an end to racial discrimination (Mtisi, Nyakudya and Barnes, 2009:119). Due to both national movements of ZANU and ZAPU having been banned, they went to exile in the neighbouring countries of Zambia, Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique to seek assistance in preparation for the guerrilla warfare.

According to Ngwenya and Molapo (2018:71) ZAPU was mostly sponsored and trained by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and ZANLA by China. Although being assisted by communists, what was certain is that the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party differed on their perception towards "the conduct of guerrilla warfare" hence ZANLA and ZIPRA had different guerrilla warfare approaches (Ngwenya and Molapo, 2018:71). As a consequence, during the armed struggle the two national movements sometimes fought against each other due to disagreements concerning some aspects in strategy when challenging the hegemony of the oppressive regime led by Ian Smith.

During the armed struggle there were power and leadership struggles among the African nationalists that were occasionally detrimental to the national liberation cause. However, the outcomes that positively contributed to the armed struggle outweighed the weaknesses in the national movements. Both the nationalist movements equally contributed to the liberation war although in each phase their contributions differed. During 1964-69, ZAPU was taking lead in most of the operations against the oppressive Rhodesian regime, although ZANU was also assisting through other efforts; the movement was in its early stage of establishing structures and external connections (Chimhanda, 2003:83).

The period from 1970-1974, was marked by ZANU taking lead in the fighting while ZAPU was still recovering from their loss of their fallen trained cadres in the first phase of the war and also was also going through a restructuring process (Chimhanda, 2003:83). However, ZAPU contributed to this second phase of the struggle but not as effective as the previous. From 1975-1980, both ZANU and ZAPU had strengthened their military wings making their efforts more effective (Bhebhe, 1999:12). Although the armed struggle was essential in collapsing the Ian Smith regime, the Independence of Zimbabwe was not won through a military victory but a negotiated settlement (the Lancaster House Peace Agreement of 1979). The result was the drafting of the Zimbabwean constitution and the adoption of a cease fire agreement and Zimbabwe became independent in 1980.

2.3 Women in the National Liberation Struggle

2.3.1 Nationalist ideology and Motherhood

The unequal gender relations that existed in pre-conflict period are aggravated during armed conflict. Research on the effects of armed conflict indicates that much of the violence committed during this period is gender-based (Kronsell and Svedberg, 2001; Moser and Clark, 2001; Lyons, 2004). Although gender-based violence provoked by armed conflict is a

phenomenon that already exists in society, this fact should not undermine the increased violence generated by armed conflict that particularly targets women. In her study *After Rape: Violence, Justice and Social Harmony in Uganda*, Porter (2013:13) using the aftermath of rape in the Acholi sub-region of northern of Uganda also notes that gender-based violence is perpetuated during times of war, especially sexual violence through rape. She comments that "rape was certainly part of the war in northern Uganda". Moreover, the reinforced gender stereotypes during mobilization for armed conflict contextualize the gender norms embedded in the practice of warfare, which impact the dynamics of armed conflict. Understanding gender as "an organising principle for social life" will help reveal how gender is "made and remade" through the practices of warfare (Kronsell and Svedberg, 2011:10).

In garnering support for the nationalist cause, African inspired nationalists reduced African women to symbols that can be mobilized as mothers of nations. The Zimbabwean national liberation movement organised women by using the rhetoric of the role they played as mothers and also by declaring that there would be gender equality within the liberation movement. The role of mothers in the context of Zimbabwe in relation to the liberation war can be structured in two stages, before and during the war. Although women were mothers "conventionally and traditionally" through "child-bearing and child-rearing", there were also economic producers. (Rooney, 1991:56; Seidman, 1984:421). During the colonial period women assumed responsibilities of both being economic producers and domestic labourers. The migrant labour structures, land evictions and policies that were introduced by the colonial administration meant that most men became wage labourers in mines, towns and farms (Seidman, 1984:423; Lan, 1985:122). The remaining "poor-grade land" after "land dispossession" was what women used to produce sustenance for their remaining family members (Rooney, 1991:57). Women were nurturers, economic producers, caregivers and also reproducers.

Rooney (1991:57) notes that "While before the war the work of the mothers was of value, it was not acknowledged as being crucial value to national ends" however during the war "a change from familial to a national perception or representation of motherhood was wrought". Symbolic and ideological terms of motherhood were promoted. Terms such as 'mothers of the revolution' were reinforced, "…the requirement was that this symbolic promotion had to be literalised for the sake of mobilising the mothers into acting for the soldiers" (Rooney, 1991:58). In order to foster the cooperation of women, the Zimbabwean African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) ascribed value to the roles of women as mothers. They used the rhetoric of motherhood and encouraged women to perform their femininity by supporting guerrillas who were travelling, phrases such as "forward with the cooking stick" were being

reinforced (Nhongo-Simbanegavi, 2000:17). In this regard, this is an illustration of how even women who were in combat such as peasant women, did play a crucial role in the liberation struggle through domestic food production, sheltering and feeding the guerrilla fighters. Regardless of the gender stereotypes that were used to organise some women into the liberation movements, the endurance of the guerrillas and the success of the war was largely made possible by the strength, courage and labour of women.

In South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) mobilized women by exalting "their socially assigned roles as nurturing mothers" (Cock, 1991:182). In Namibia, the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) recruited women using their capacity as "sisters", "mothers" and "wives" (Soiri, 1996). In this regard, it can be noted that patriarchal revolutionary strategies were adopted by nationalists, therefore patriarchal structures that profited men were reinforced in the participation of women in the anti-colonial struggle. Men were reminded of their duty to defend the "motherland", highlighting how patriarchy, war and militarism are interwoven (Moser and Clark, 2001:19).

Constructing the identities of women using gendered roles during mobilization maintains "the gender order of male supremacy and female subordination" (Kronsell and Svedberg, 2011:15). According to Cockburn (2004:44), such a "power imbalance of gender relations in most (if not all) societies generates cultures of masculinity prone to violence". In other words, mobilizing women by using their capacity as mothers puts them in a vulnerable position that empowers male supremacy over women. Using gender sensitivity to analyse armed conflict should not cultivate an assumption of women being helpless victims, rather it is to highlight the importance of the gender question in times of violent conflict. As social actors both women and men have different needs and interests during periods of armed conflict.

2.3.2 The "Double Battle"

While race, class and ethnicity might have been a pre-colonial past shared by both African men and women, their gendered experiences differed during colonialism. Colonial patriarchy supressed the economic and political independence of women. According to Geisler (2004), in Zimbabwe and other African countries during colonialism most women were restricted to rural areas and had limited influence that emanated from their capabilities of production and reproduction. The workforce was reproduced by women who became confined in the private domain and men dominated the public sphere (Walker, 1991; White, 2007; Kriger, 1992, Geisler, 2004).

For colonialists the restriction of women migration to urban areas limited the growth of an African population in the urban that would inevitably result in the request for political rights and a rise in wages (Schmidt, 1998:49). For African men, their colonial negative experience was mostly the unequal distribution of land and their threatened masculinities through the exploitation of their cheap labour in urban areas (White, 2007; Bhebhe and Ranger, 1995:37). The racial land laws in Rhodesia promoted the distribution of the best land to whites and reserved the worst land for blacks (Chung, 2006:27). Therefore, the organized national liberation movements against colonialism were a response to their degradation and their gendered and economic subordination under the colonial system.

Although most women were concentrated in villages they were a few women who migrated to the urban areas. Some were in the informal sector as petty traders and commodity producers, some worked for "white-owned commercial farms", as domestic workers, while others pursued teaching, nursing and other "fields traditionally reserved for women" as the colonial education system was structured along "Western gender ideologies" (Seidman, 1984:42-425). However, as a result of the low wages some women were receiving especially those without formal education, they would seasonally return to the villages to labour on their lands and use some of the produce for consumption or trading in the urban areas (Seidman, 1984:425).

Colonial laws concerning marriage, custody of children and property ownership were more favourable to patrilineages and men (Kriger, 1992:75). The ability of women to bear children was highly respected and marriage functioned as tool that moved women up in the social ladder, improving their status ; as compensation, bride price was paid to the family of the women since they would have lost her labour through her becoming married (Kriger, 1992:75). In other terms, women were reduced to a commodity that could be purchased. According to Walker (1991:13), in traditional African societies women generally "occupied a junior position in the basic unit of that society, the patriarchal and extended family".

The patrilineal structure of colonial Zimbabwe, for example reinforced the idea of children belonging to the family of the husband, therefore women were expected to "respect and serve her husband's family…" (Kriger, 1992:75). In relation to inheritance laws, Shona women faced discrimination when the husband (the head of the family) passed away; the traditional law required that the "family property" which included livestock was to be inherited through "collateral succession" by a male relative of the deceased without the consent of the widow (Kriger, 1992:77). Although such practices might have been a potential genesis of grievances, it should also be considered that the same traditional laws were being practiced during the pre-colonial era and continued during the colonial era but on different terms. In the colonial

period, “collateral succession” was replaced by the eldest son inheriting the family property (Kriger, 1992: 77).

Some African women who joined the liberation war armies equated the emancipation of women with national liberation (Mudeka, 2014; Geisler, 2004; White, 2007; Lyons 2004). Also, the revolutionary rhetoric of most African liberation movements that had socialist influences that promoted the myth that gender equality was part of the liberation war agenda (Cock, 1991; Lyons, 2004). For most women participating in the liberation struggle was both an act of “individual as well as national independence” (Seidman, 1984:426). In most liberation movements in countries such as Namibia, Zambia, Tanganyika and Zimbabwe the particular interests of women were subdued beneath nationalist agendas (Geisler, 2004:23). The challenge was that African revolutionaries assumed that the emancipation of African women and the liberation of the nation were homogenous social processes yet there were not interconnected (White, 2006:11). According to scholars during the liberation wars African men were also struggling over their own masculine identities that suffered under the colonial administration as a result women’s gender struggles were obstructed (Mama, 2000; Campbell, 2003; McFadden, 2005).

In interviews conducted by Lyons (2004:107-109), some young women had joined the liberation struggle so that they could have access to education as colonialist policies limited access of women to education, if not at all. In this regard, it can be noted that women were fighting for both gender and racial liberation. The anticipation of women was that they would acquire equality after the struggle had been won. It is sad that some young women joined liberation struggle through the use of physical coercion and the threat of the use of violence on them. For these women joining the liberation struggle was the best option amongst the worst. Some women remained in the liberation struggle because of the fear of the infliction of violence on them. They feared “being killed by soldiers” and being accused of being “a sell-out” (Lyons, 1996:12).

Other women were kidnapped by guerrillas and were forcefully enlisted in the liberation struggle (Lyons, 1996:12). In short, although some women joined the liberation struggle to improve their conditions of racial and gender discrimination, some were forcefully enlisted against their will.

2.3.3 Gender stereotypes

African women are amongst the bravest and fierce fighters in the history of anti-colonial armed struggles. Nevertheless, their experiences should not be romanticized as this might not adequately give an account of their lived realities. Their participation was structured in ways that reflected how the needs of the war system are sustained by gender norms. Many women, who joined the liberation struggle by 1976, were enlisted in the liberation armies of Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), whose military wings were Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) and Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) respectively. However, during their early recruitment they were assigned to supporting roles, cooks, producing food, nursing and child rearing (Lyons, 2004; Siedman, 1984; Geisler, 2004). In other words, their roles mirrored their previous domestic duties. For example, ZANLA was characterized by gendered divisions of labour and this was demonstrated but their very act of not allocating guerrilla combat roles to women as they equated combat with masculinity (Nhongo-Simbanegavi, 2000:17).

The reluctance of both the liberation movements of ZANLA and ZIPRA to enlist women into combat roles revealed their trivialization of gender equality. During early recruitment days ZANLA considered women 'physically weaker' in comparison to their male counterparts (Mugabe, 1983:77). But other scholars reveal that those who were considered able bodied from both genders performed the same domestic duties (Davies, 1983:100; Weiss, 1986:90).

2.3.4 Women as transporters of arms and ammunition

ZANLA used women to deliver and hide huge quantities of weapons and ammunition needed for the maintenance of military activities usually at night (Mudeka, 2014:90; Davies, 1983:100; Lyons, 2004:109; Weiss, 1986:90). Bayayi Mabhunu a former women ex-combatant explained, "We carried bullets, grenades, A.K 47 guns and other war material. We also carried deadly poisons to kill the enemy…" (Mudeka, 2014:90). Chung (2016:1) reveals how women would deliver war weapons from Zambia to Mozambique, taking seven days to travel, however they would have a nurse in case they needed medical assistance, Nyepudzayi Pasipanodya was one of the nurses who used to accompany these women. As a result, this highlights how women risked their lives and played a central role in the war against colonialism.

2.3.5 Women in combat

Women began to demand the same military training as their male counterparts, arguing that they needed to defend themselves (Geisler, 2004: 51-54). ZANLA women combatants were enrolled in the Commissariat, the departments of Logistics and Supplies, Construction, Training Personnel and Political Education (Mugabe, 1983:78). Most women who were central actors in these departments included Fay Chung, Sally Mugabe , Sheba Tavarwisa, Jane Mutasa , Ruth Chinamano, Julia Zvobgo and Jane Ngwenya (ZAPU) (Chung, 2006; Chogugudza, 2006). These roles are often treated as invisible yet there were significant roles. However, using an intersectional analysis is important to highlight that women of different political, social and educational class had different experiences in terms of having access to platforms that positioned them to be key players in these departments. Most of the bourgeoisie female members were educated and were linked to nationalist leaders hence giving them a better opportunity to be on the frontline when it came to championing women' rights.

In regard of the request put forward by the women, both the military wings of the liberation movements of ZANLA and ZIPRA embraced the idea of training women combatants (Siedman, 1984:426). In ZANLA the increasing importance of women became full scale in the 1970s, women became perceived as necessary soldiers and allies (Chung, 2016). Some women were specifically attracted to the world of combat because it challenged gender stereotypes. The existing attitudes towards women were challenged by the participation of women in the war. As they began operating in spheres or space that were considered to be masculine or male dominated. Therefore, by engaging in traditional masculine activities, women wanted to assert their equality with men. Some women combatants felt empowered by the ability to master military skills which were previously confined to men. As a result, their military participation was a breakthrough to degenerate tasks that were traditionally gendered; against this background their ability to perform masculine activities gave them sense of pride (Geisler, 2004:54).

African war feminists argue that although women received military training, the privilege to formally operate in traditionally masculine domains was given to a limited number of women (Cock, 1991; Lyons, 2004; Urdang, 1979). As a result, women were poorly represented 'in the higher military ranks' and this also affected their post-independence recognition for the roles they played during the liberation war (Dzinesa, 2004:54). Comrade Joyce Teurai Ropa a former ZANLA women commander became one of the few to rise to commanding ranks and fought back Rhodesian Forces in several cases during attacks on military training camps. (Mudeka, 2014:91). Indeed many other women made significant contributions as combatants

including but not limited to Oppah Muchunguri, Sarai Masango, Margaret Dongo and Bayayi Mabhunu. Although some women in the struggle fought in the frontlines of the war they were few.

2.3.6 Women as collateral damage

The Rhodesian government had a brutal group of people who were known as Selous Scouts and their purpose was to infiltrate guerrilla and training camps; and sometimes villages. The Selous Scouts consisted of both White Rhodesian security forces soldiers and African guerrillas who included guerrillas who were turned upon capture and those enlisted from the rural population or liberation movement that they were tasked to gather intelligence from. The implication of having more contesting players in the armed struggle was that violence became a norm. As the Rhodesian security forces, ZANLA and ZIPRA carried out counter-insurgencies against each other at the expense civilian population. Selous Scouts were members of the Rhodesian security forces, and reports indicate that they used to exercise terror against rural peasants, through torture, rape, murder and burning down homes and villages as retribution especially if they had in their bid to gather intelligence about the guerrillas (Dzimbanhete, 2013).

When infiltrating the military camps they would signal the enemy to come and attack. In 1976 at Nyadzonia and 1977 at the Chimoio ZANLA Military Camps in Mozambique which accommodated both civilians and war collaborators there were attacked using napalm and fragmentation bombs by the Rhodesian forces through Selous Scouts whose mission was to kill guerrilla forces (Chung, 2006). More than thousands of people lost their lives, who mainly were women and amongst them were defenceless refugee women and children (Chung 2006:142; Lyons, 2004:117; Mtisi, Nyakudya and Barnes, 2009:149).

According to Chung (2006:144) most attacks that were targeted at refugee camps were used to discourage neighbouring countries from assisting the liberation movements and to warn them that if they continue being a threat to colonial rule they "would be punished by death". Both the women and men combatants and non- combatants who perished have left a legacy that is imprinted in the history of Zimbabwe. Some women ex-combatants who witnessed and survived the Chimoio attack through interviews in post-independent Zimbabwe revealed that their survival was a result of "passive action- running away and hiding, or falling asleep from shock, gun powder, and stress" (Lyons, 2004:121). It is therefore important to validate these experiences and realities in post-conflict processes as these women suffered hardships while trying to achieve liberation for Zimbabwe. The gendered nature of war and violence is

highlighted as women became collateral damage during war. Their gendered experiences were also different from men in that apart from visible or invisible type of violence they also had to experience sexual and gender-based violence. Their bodies became sites of war.

The armed struggle in Zimbabwe mirrored the political and economic issues that surrounded the Cold War era (1945-1991). The Cold War was a polar ideological difference of opinion that involved power politics and the conflict of interest. The United States (Western bloc) was an advocate for democracy and capitalism, whilst Russia (Communist bloc) represented a socialist ideology. United States and the Soviet Union perceived each other as threats to the other's potential global hegemony. During the Cold War both the Western bloc and the Communist bloc wanted to be an ally to Africa. As a result, the continent was of importance to both super powers for example it was offered economic and military support for strategic purposes. During the Cold War years the diplomatic activities of the continent were focused on issues that involved development, abolishing of colonialism, apartheid South Africa and democratising the United Nations (Ojo, Orwa and Utete, 1985:119).

It is within this context that Zimbabwe's liberation struggle is situated. The Soviet Union, China and North Korea played an important role of supplying weapons, military training facilities, and ammunition to the liberation movements of ZAPU and ZANU. Moreover, during the cold war years was the period where most African countries had attained their or were fighting to gain independence. Some of the liberation movements that assisted Zimbabwe in the liberation struggle include those from South Africa, Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia, Angola, and Botswana. They became known as the Front Line States (FLS).

2.3.7 Women as targets

In Zambia women guerrilla recruits under ZAPU's military wing ZIPRA were deliberately ambushed unlike in Chimoio where they were casualties of an attack targeting nationalist forces. On the 17th of October, 1978 the Rhodesian forces ambushed and bombed the Mkushi Camp which was a refugee and training camp for women located 150 km north of Lusaka in Zambia, resulting in large numbers of deaths and injuries (Lyons, 2004:123; Meredith, 1980:349-50). Women became victims of a "masculine discourse" between the Rhodesian forces and the Nationalist liberation armies as their bodies were used as pawns to promote the war propaganda (Lyons, 2004:124). It has been suggested by Lyons (2004:126) that the attack was used as a military strategy to "destroy the nationalists by undermining their ability to protect their women".

Women's bodies were used as sites of violence in order to advance political agendas. On the 28th of October, 1978 another attack was carried out at Freedom Camp in Zambia by Rhodesian Forces, according to Murava (2018:1) "The Rhodesian army went trench-by-trench killing the girls who were hiding". These encounters of women illustrate how the construction of gender was used as a weapon of warfare and the need to acknowledge the contribution of the women who survived, suffered and died during the war of liberation.

2.3.8 Sexual and gender violence against women

During periods of armed conflict there has been a prevalence of sexual violence against women that is structured in various forms (Gardam and Jarvis, 2001:25). Both in ZAPU and ZIPRA camps guerrilla camps women were implicated in problems of "sexual abuse, coercion and gender inequality" (Geisler, 2004:58; Chung, 2006:126). According to a former woman ex-combatant who was a former ZANLA commander , comrades in positions of leadership at the ZANLA felt entitled to "demand the services of women as a semi-servant or semi-wives at their base camp" (Weiss, 1986:95). Some senior male commanders subjected young women to rape and coerced "sex for soap" as a survival strategy (Lyons, 2004:191; Geisler, 2004:58).

Some who were in positions of leadership dismissed these allegations of harassment and sexual assault, and portrayed female cadres as prostitutes; as a result there was an introduction of party-certified marriages that was used as a mechanism to control their behaviour (Lyons, 2004:192). The whole perception of women having wanting to be abused and raped is very disturbing and reveals the patriarchal nature of war that perpetuates violent injustices among African men in liberation wars and reinforces the ideology and practices of patriarchy. This becomes an iron of history where the victims of abuse become portrayed as loose criminals.

Contrary, Comrade Bayayi Mabhunu of Nyanga a women ex-combatant highlighted that, "Sexual exploitation was a problem. Yet, there was a clear code against that. Some men ignored it, but others respected female officers, even saluting them along with male leaders…" (Mudeka, 2014:98). Some women ex-combatants revealed that some sexual relationships were used as tools for social advancement stating "Having a relationship with a *chef* meant you had access to food, clothes and other luxuries that were not available to many other girls at the camp" (Lyons, 2004:271). In other words, this highlights that some women cadres sometimes made informed decisions concerning sexual relationships. As Ranger and Bhebhe (1996:28) note, "the war time experiences of women [even combatants] were so varied and contradictory…"

Nonetheless some women suffered horrific sexual abuse forcefully. There was also an opposition to the use of contraceptives by women because they were perceived to be a stumbling block in the reproduction of the next generation of soldiers and also promoting 'prostitution' (Lyons, 2004:192-196). According to Davies (1983:105) contraceptives for men were available in the training camps, but men were not interested is making use of protection as a consequence women were unprotected from undesired pregnancies. This is an illustration of how the rhetoric of women emancipation used by the nationalist movements to mobilize some women was just a façade. In ZANLA women who became pregnant had their own camps; to them this experience was a punishment because these women wanted to resume their military duties (Geisler, 2004:59). It might have been that being at that specific camp reminded them of their traditional gender roles since most time was spent breastfeeding and engaged in other domestic duties instead of being involved in military activities.

2.3.9 Peasant women in the guerrilla warfare

Gender relations amongst the peasant population became fluid during the liberation struggle. Most young men left rural areas and crossed the borders to Zambia and Mozambique to participate in the national liberation war. The absence of men in rural areas meant that women had to perform duties that were traditionally assigned to men (Geisler, 2004: 55). Women began to participate in the public sphere which was previously restricted to men, as a result their influence transcended beyond the domestic sphere (Kriger, 1992:190-195).

Peasant women who stayed behind in the rural environment also contributed equally towards the liberation struggle through organising resources to carter for the needs of guerrilla forces (Geisler, 2004, Kriger, 1992; Nhongo-Simbanegavi, 2000; Lyons, 2004; Bhebhe and Ranger, 1995). However, the question of the nature of relations between guerrillas and peasants remains a matter of controversy. Mtisi, Nyakudya and Barnes (2009:154) argue that a 'celebratory approach' to the relations has been adopted by nationalists histories through the emphasis of how ZANLA used young girls and boys as messengers (*mujibhas* and *chimbwidos*) and how the villagers voluntarily provided food, shelter and played other supporting roles. The *chimbwidos* sometimes were transporters of supplies and performed domestic chores for guerrillas including washing (Davies, 1983:107). On the other hand, some studies have highlighted in some areas peasants were violently coerced into providing needs that sustained the guerrillas including sexual abuse of women through rape. (Mtisi, Nyakudya and Barnes, 2009:154-155). Nonetheless, Lyons (2004:146) notes that although the guerrilla violations against the peasant civilian population has been circumvented in the conversation about the liberation war, fiction studies have uncovered them through constant reference.

What is certain is that both guerrillas and the peasant population contributed to the achievement of the liberation of the country. Another important aspect of the presence of guerrillas amongst the peasant civilian population is their influence in changing gender relations that led to the fracturing of traditional structures. Women used the presence of the guerrillas as an opportunity to improve their domestic relations with their husbands (Kriger, 1992:194; Geisler. 2004:55). Women would seek intervention from the guerrillas through reporting domestic violence and other grievances they had against their husbands (Kriger, 1992:194). Nevertheless, this period was short-lived as the guerrillas stopped tolerating their grievances; as a result women stopped having control over their domestic relations (Kriger, 1992: 195).

The use of coercion was not limited to the guerrillas. According to Mtisi, Nyakudya and Barnes (2009:157) the Rhodesian colonial forces would beat up peasants who were allegedly sell-outs and witches, sometimes the punishment would be death. Similarly, Geisler (2004:56) highlights that the Rhodesian colonial forces also used coercion on women for sexual needs. Young adolescent girls sent to deliver food the guerrilla forces were sometimes mistaken as *chimbwidos* by Rhodesian forces as a result they were abducted and, "These young girls were tied by their ankles and hung in a tree upside down under a barrel of water. They would be dipped from time to time into the water until they were prepared to talk" (Chung, 2006:140).

2.4 Post-Independence Representations of Women Ex-Combatants

The perspective and identity of women ex-combatants in the transitional context in Zimbabwe has been ambiguous. The representation of the women who were enlisted in the Zimbabwean Liberation armies is mutually exclusive. The role of women was promoted in relation to motherhood yet during the war they were portrayed as prostitutes; on the other hand their positions in the struggle were glorified portraying their role as having been equal to men yet gender inequality used to thrive (Lyons, 2004:252). Women guerrilla's experiences of fighting alongside men were used by women movements as a tool to demand equal rights in the legislation post-independence, giving an exaggerated narrative of the revolutionary war as an emancipating social process (Chogugudza, 2006:49). This imaginary representation and notion of equality disguised the existence of gender-based problems that women experienced in the liberation struggle.

There was a heroic elevation of women using metaphors of the liberation struggle through posters that had the image of a female freedom fighter with an AK47 gun, carrying a baby on her back (Geisler, 2004:51; Chogugudza, 2006:49). The challenge is that the emphasis on the

glorious role of women cultivates a mythical notion that obliterates their experiences creating "an official mythology of war" (Barnes, 1995:118). Such vague heroic representations disregard the experiences of the Zimbabwean women who participated in the liberation struggle because their participation was neither equal with men nor simply heroic as portrayed. They had to prove that they were deserving of military training and assignments. Some women lived in fear of the threat of violence, rape, sexual assault and sexist attitudes that the national liberal movement perpetuated during war (Geisler, 2004; Lyons, 2004). Their celebration by national leaders becomes overshadowed by images of aggression, violence and sexual availability.

Although women fought and supported the nationalist struggle their role in the struggle was largely determined by traditional gender stereotypes. Despite women being "trained for guerrilla warfare" during the liberation struggle there was an "emphasis on the domestic capabilities of women, rather than their combat abilities" (Lyons, 2004:176). It is of importance to recognize the challenging nature of the position of women in the armed struggle in order to limit the exclusion of the role played by women in the liberation struggle through post-conflict reconstruction processes.

Some scholars have observed that soon after independence the Zimbabwean government embarked on a mission to advance the advancement of women in the socio-economic and political arena. It is often highlighted that after the liberation struggle a few women served in first cabinet offices such Joyce Mujuru, Oppah Muchinguri, Fay Chung, Florence Chitauro, Jane Mutasa, Edna Madzongwe, Ruth Chinamano and Thenjiwe Lesabe among others (Chogugudza, 2006:50). However, it is crucial to put into consideration that women who participated in the liberation struggle were both members of the African elite class who were mainly mobilized from the urban areas and peasantry from the rural areas. Some women who participated in the liberation struggle served in high offices increased aspirations of gender equality and equity; however the issues they were tackled by the different government ministries did not consider women ex-combatants as a specific group of women in the transitional context as chapter three will demonstrate.

Furthermore, within the women who participated in the struggle because of their different social classes their experiences of the transitional context also becomes different. The importance of intersectionality as a feminist theory becomes important because in transitional justice it helps understand the experiences of women ex-combatants in post-conflict circumstances. It allows the development of a theoretical understanding of how transitions have interlocking social categories such as class or ethnicity which intersect with other

gendered forms of exclusions and inequality (Ni Aolain and Rooney, 2007:340). It cannot be denied that there were efforts which were put in place to advance the socio-economic and political conditions of women ex-combatants in the post-conflict period rather "functional gender-specific structures and effective involvement of women ex-fighters are crucial for such women to communicate their needs and problems" (Sadomba and Dzinesa, 2004:61).

However, to understand the contextual factors affecting the women ex-combatants in post-conflict Zimbabwe it is necessary to analyse one of the important aspects of the transitional justice framework, the Lancaster House Peace Agreement of 1979. Chapter three closely examines the negotiations that led to the Lancaster House Peace Agreement of 1979 with the intention of identifying its effect on the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe to deliver justice for women ex-combatants.

Although there has been increased gender awareness that encourages the possibilities of gender sensitive transitional justice mechanisms in post-conflict contexts, women are usually excluded in the actual establishment of transitional justice mechanisms. Bell and Rourke (2007:24) are conscious of how the legal standards and designs of transitional justice mechanisms have a tendency of being "exclusionary to women". For example the transitional justice mechanisms are usually a product of a negotiation process that is usually male dominated. Khan (2014:57-58) highlights that it is important that the affected population be informed about the transitional justice methods to be adopted, in order to create "a connection between the process and the people they intend to help". There has been international attention given to the importance of the participation of women for example through Resolution 1325 adopted by the United Nations Security Council (Bell and O'Rourke, 2007:32). Other peace agreements that reflect the required participation of women include the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of Liberia and the Lome Agreement in Sierra Leone (Bell and O'Rourke, 2007:32-33).

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have a given a brief history of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. My focus was on giving an account of the roles and experiences of both women who directly participated in the liberation struggle as combats and peasantry women in the rural areas. The chapter particularly deals with the gender question in armed conflict, highlighting the gendered nature of armed conflict and how the participation of women in armed conflict is itself structured in a manner that is gendered. Using the lived realities of Zimbabwean women ex-combatants during the liberation war as an illustration, I highlight through referencing

existing literature how unequal gender relations that exist before armed conflict are exacerbated during conflict.

During colonialism Zimbabwean women were subordinated by both African traditional and colonial patriarchies. African patriarchy subordinated women by excluding them in positions of decision-making, while colonial patriarchy denied Zimbabwean women their economic and political independence. Therefore, although their participation in the liberation struggle was a consequence of various factors what but they also aspired to be emancipated. In another sense, participating in the anti-colonial struggle for them was for both a racial and gender struggle.

The chapter recognizes that women were both victims and agents during the war. Women who participated in the anti-colonial struggle experienced victimization in that their bodies became targets of sexual and gender violence; and were also used as collateral damage in the war between the Rhodesian forces and liberation armies. On the other hand, these women were agents in that although they were subjected to male domination, their participation reordered gender norms. They challenged the notion of women being incapable of competing in masculine and military spaces as some women even took on combat roles and transported dangerous military arms and ammunition. The liberation war would not have been successful without their participation.

In this chapter I also highlight the contribution of peasant women in the success of the struggle and acknowledge and validate their experiences of the war. What is striking is that both women combatants and peasant women had similar gender experiences during the liberation struggle. Both groups of women experienced the gendered nature of the armed struggle. This then becomes an iron of history whereby the very liberation movements that mobilized women using the rhetoric of women emancipation becomes the vehicle that uses gender as a tool of oppression in the liberation struggle. Although the participation of women in combat stirred shifts in how women were previously perceived it however did not alleviate patriarchal gender relations.

One of the important aspects I discussed towards the end of chapter is how the narrative of women freedom fighters has portrayed them as heroic guerrilla fighters for participating in the national liberation struggle, it fails to capture how their participation was structured, hence disregarding a recognition that validates their lived realities. The chapters' aim was not to put emphasis on the victimization of women during the liberation struggle but to argue that in their celebration it should also be considered that their participation was not simply heroic as

they had to battle against gendered structural power relations which intersect with other dimensions of inequality.

In this chapter, I highlighted the importance of using the lens of intersectionality as it demonstrates "the need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed" (Crenshaw, 1991:1245). The last part of my chapter discusses the importance of treating women ex-combatants as a separate group with specific needs in the transitional context.

I introduced chapter three and highlighted its' focus on the provisions that were made in the Lancaster House Peace Agreement of 1979 that brought independence to Zimbabwe and how that has affected the transitional justice framework concerning meeting the needs of women ex-combatants. Using the lens of intersectionality, chapter three will demonstrate "that institutional power arrangements, rooted as they are in relations of domination and subordination, confound and constrict the life possibilities of those who already live at the intersection of certain identity categories, even as they elevate the possibilities of those living at more privileged points of intersection" (Cooper, 2015:6).

CHAPTER THREE

THE GENDERED POLITICS OF TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

3.1 Introduction

Although the transitional justice framework has become a prominent field in literature, research has however noted that in practice transitional justice mechanisms have a tendency of being exclusionary towards women by being gender-insensitive to their experiences of armed conflict and political violence. Moreover, the absence of women in the implementation of policies that guide transitional justice mechanisms strengthens gender-stereotypes hence becoming a stumbling block to gender equality (Jamar and Bell, 2018:2) Therefore it is crucial for women to be included in platforms such as peace negotiations so that they can ensure the establishment of gender-sensitive and transformative transitional justice mechanisms.

To assist in understanding the social, political and economic challenges presented by gender-insensitive transitional justice mechanisms on women in post-conflict context, the theoretical lens of intersectionality are useful in making an analysis on the intersection of gender "with other structural dimensions of inequality and discrimination" (Rooney, 2011:1). It is against this background, that my study uses the theoretical lens of intersectionality to investigate how the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe has helped or hindered advances in gender justice for women ex-combatants. The significance of women ex-combatants in the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe was demonstrated in chapter two through an analysis of the vital roles they played during the liberation war.

This chapter consists of several sections. In the first three sections the chapter gives a historical overview of transitional justice and literature review of the framework, situates gender in transitional justice and analyses gender in transitional justice mechanisms. Then follows a section on the gender dynamics of the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe which first gives an overview of the negotiated Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 that preceded a ceasefire, ending the Zimbabwean liberation struggle and paving way for independence elections.

In regards to the Lancaster House Agreement peace negotiations, follows a detailing of the implications of the exclusion of women and gender sensitivity; and of the declaration of a policy of national reconciliation through an amnesty. Then follows an overview of the Zimbabwe Disarmament, Demobilisation and Re-integration (DDR) programme and its social, economic and political effects on women ex-combatants due to the lack of a gender structure

in this transitional justice process. The chapter then examines the role of the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans' Association (ZNLWA) in advancing the interests of women ex - combatants. The final section of the chapter gives an overview of The Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI) that was established through the Global Political Agreement (GPA) in 2008 as an attempt to promote the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe. It highlights how the lack of a clear gender policy undermined the effectiveness of this transitional justice mechanism.

3.2 Transitional Justice

A society in transition deals with the past violations of a previous political order by adopting a new political order that incorporates "liberal democratic norms" to ensure regime transformation through accountability, truth recovery, reconciliation, institutional reform and reparations (Ni Aoalain and Rooney, 2007:338; Borraine 2006:19-25). In short, the goals of transitional justice include accountability of past injustices and restoration of dignity for victims through truth recovery, acknowledgement and reform. According to Borraine (2006:17-18) a country in transition deals with the challenges of shifting from a previous political order and also the difficulties of dealing with the new, maintaining sustainable peace, democracy and economic growth. Leebaw (2008:100) suggests that the institutions of transitional justice deal with systematized forms of violence which were "explicitly or implicitly" legal under the previous regime.

Teitel (2003) gives a genealogy of transitional justice that situates the framework within a political context. He argues that "Transitional justice, while contingent upon local conditions and culture, also displays dimensions commonly associated with periods of political flux" (Teitel, 2003:94). The criminal prosecutions in the International Military Tribunal at Nuremburg and Tokyo set the stage for transitional justice (Teitel, 2003; Williams and Nagy, 2012; Kritz, 1995). These were criminal prosecutions for human rights abuses committed in the Second World War II. This is when international human rights norms were established as standards for dealing with past human rights abuses committed by past regimes.

Buckley-Zistel and Zolkos (2012:3) note that although transitional justice was established during the criminal prosecutions at Nuremburg, the framework became prominent in the 1990s in reference of "judicial and non - judicial mechanisms of accountability introduced…from a conflict society to a post-conflict society". Boraine (2006) argues that transitional justice should be defined with caution to avoid the contradiction of the term with criminal justice. Therefore instead of contradicting transitional justice with criminal justice it should be

understood as offering "a deeper, richer and broader vision of justice which seeks to confront perpetrators, address the needs of the victims and assist in the start of a process of reconciliation and transformation" (Boraine, 2006:18). In other words, it seeks to shift from oppressive and violent systems of governance to democratic systems. What is common among transitional justice scholarship is that the framework is associated with the consolidation of democracy (Buckley-Zistel and Zolkos, 2012:3).

It has been a matter of debate whether the transitional justice framework is capable of simultaneously delivering on the goals of the institutions of transitional justice. Williams and Nagy (2012:1-30) question the normative criteria that govern the design of transitional justice institutions. They are sceptical of the ability of these institutions in delivering the expected justice. They argue that there are instances in transitional justice institutions where political actors may have to exchange peace for justice or justice for truth through the emphasis of truth, forgiveness and reconciliation, for example in the case of South Africa.

Some scholars believe that a holistic approach will result in the success of the institutions of transitional justice. A holistic approach "attempts to complement retributive justice with restorative justice" (Boraine, 2006:19). Restorative justice is a concept that validates "inclusion and participation" rather than "exclusion and punishment" whereas; retributive justice holds perpetrators accountable through punishment (Zehr, 2002:19-25). Similarly, De Greiff (2012) argues that the goals of transitional justice can only be fulfilled if administered in a manner that is complementary rather administered independently, however this does not mean a harmonious relationship of these mechanisms will translate to effectiveness, there are some instances where there are less effective. In other words, the goals of transitional justice should be reconciled but the idea is that their effectiveness when in harmony is determined by how well-designed they are.

However, Elster (2004) gives caution to the idea of reconciling the goals of transitional justice. According to her the primary goals of transitional justice institutions are justice, truth and peace. The central argument is that although in some instances truth and justice can deliver peace, there are times that the retributive side of justice impedes peace, as perpetrators sometimes interfere with the process of prosecution (Elster, 2004). For example the Ugandan prosecutions in the post conflict context where the pursuit of justice by the International Criminal Court (ICC) impeded on peace, however it is not always the case in post-conflict contexts (Branch, 2007:179-98). As such, Thomas, Ron and Paris (2008:17) warn against the templatisation of transitional justice, arguing that what might be effective in one context might prove to be ineffective in another context. The transformative nature of transitional justice is

reflected when it emphasizes "local participation and empowerment" (Lambourne, 2009:35). The argument that questions reconciling the goals of transitional justice aims to give awareness concerning overrating transitional justice processes.

Although transitional justice institutions require acknowledgement of past human rights abuses and seek to deal with these past actions through both retributive and restorative justice, this is not a warrant for a politically stable society. Similarly, Leebaw (2008:97) is of the view that "more attention should be given to the conflicting goals of transitional justice advocacy". While the institutions of transitional justice have the goal of challenging the credibility of prior regimes and address past abuses, "their efforts to expose, remember, and understand political violence are in tension with their role as tools for establishing stability and legitimating transitional compromises " (Leebaw, 2008:97).

3.3 Gender in Transitional Justice

Most of the literature on transitional justice has not been adequately gender sensitive. There is a need to re-examine the current framework of gender and transitional justice in order to broaden the understanding of women's experiences of conflict. According to Ni Aolain (2006:830) the gendered dimension of the transitional justice framework is a representation of the dominance of masculinities during times of conflict, as a result there are gender biases reflected by the accountability processes in the post-conflict context. She examines the correlation of gender and political violence. Ni Aolain (2006:836) asserts that during times of conflict the discourse of political violence is state-centric in that it has been understood and explored in ways that place significance on anti-state violent acts. In other words, the concept focuses on the military interests of the state. In such contexts, forms of gender violence that are perpetrated during times of conflict become buried under "…dynamics of state and third party violence…" hence disregarding the experiences of women (Ni Aolain, 2006:836).

Transitional justice, according to Bell and O' Rourke (2007:23) needs to consider adopting a visibly gendered perspective aimed at the inclusion of women in platforms that are responsible for making decisions on the "nature and design of transitional justice mechanisms". They question the gendered nature of transitional justice processes and male domination in the construction of transitional justice mechanisms in peace negotiation processes. Arguably, in such contexts justice becomes understood in a rigid and limited manner enabling certain types of exclusions. Ni Aolain (2006:831) notes that in such exclusions "the scope of problems to be resolved is limited by a male conception of conflict". Although there has been increased gender awareness that encourages the possibilities of gender sensitive transitional justice

mechanisms in post-conflict contexts, women are usually excluded in the actual establishment of transitional justice mechanisms.

Bell and Rourke (2007:24) are conscious of how the legal standards and designs of transitional justice mechanisms have a tendency of being "exclusionary to women". Khan (2014:57-58) highlights that it is important that the affected population be informed about the transitional justice methods to be adopted, in order to create "a connection between the process and the people they intend to help". Similarly, Lambourne (2009; 29) argues that it is imperative to analyse and evaluate transitional justice in relation to its role in peace-building because this "enables a more holistic perspective that takes into account the expectations of conflict participants, as well as the links between dealing with the past and building peace for the future".

It is no doubt that "functional gender-specific structures and effective involvement of women ex-fighters are crucial for such women to communicate their needs and problems" (Sadomba and Dzinesa, 2004:61). Transitional justice mechanisms should prioritize both the male and female conflict experiences. As a result, the transitional justice discourse should not only focus on civil and political rights, but also consider the importance of socio-economic, psychological and legal dimension in regards to how the different genders experience the post-conflict environment.

The challenges that are faced by societies that are transitioning are that they have to deal with both remedying the past while simultaneously establishing new institutions that are designed to deliver justice for the past. The key transitional justice mechanisms include: truth and reconciliation commissions, reparations, institutional reforms (security sector reform), and amnesty, national and international criminal prosecutions. Despite being characterised by various mechanisms, the concern has been the extent in which these transitional justice mechanisms are able to deliver justice for the past, specifically gender based justice in regard to men and women having different conflict experiences. One of the challenges has to do with how justice for the past is defined in relation to gender using both the conceptual and legal aspects of transitional justice mechanisms.

3.4 Gender in Transitional Justice Mechanisms

Various models of transitional justice have been established in post-conflict contexts to address human rights abuses committed during times of armed conflict. However, research indicates that it has been a challenge to deal with gender-based violence that would have

occurred during periods of conflict using both judicial and non-judicial transitional justice mechanisms. The current transitional justice framework needs to re-conceptualize the types of human rights violations that are prioritized and recognized by accountability processes in post-conflict societies. The legitimacy of transitional justice mechanisms is sabotaged when gendered patterns of abuse are neglected thus limiting the prospects of both women and men accessing justice (Scanlon and Muddell, 2008:10). As a result it is essential for the gender dimension to be considered during the establishment of transitional justice mechanisms to foster accountability for gender-based violence and to examine how much of the violence is reinforced by gender inequalities.

3.4.1 Criminal prosecutions

There has been a lack of consensus among scholars in regards to the potential of criminal prosecutions in fully accounting for past human rights injustices in transitional justice. Some have welcomed prosecutions as a favourable mechanism of addressing past human rights abuse. It is argued that criminal prosecutions make possible the "identification, exposure, condemnation and proportionate punishment of individuals…." Cassel (1999:533). Others have criticized the significance that is given to prosecutions in transitional justice. In her examination of criminal prosecutions in times of transition, Aukerman (2002:44) has noted that "prosecutions are better designed to achieve some goals than others". According to Franke (2006:821) criminal prosecutions should be reconciled with other transitional justice initiatives, if administered independently there will be inadequate to deliver justice for gender-based injustices committed in the past.

The international law has made provisions for the indictment of gender-based human rights abuses, for example through the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and under the 1998 Rome Statute that led to the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) (Scanclon and Muddell, 2008:15). However, scholars have argued that criminal prosecutions in their attempt to incorporate gender sensitivity have magnified certain kinds of human rights atrocities silencing other gender-based violations experienced by women during periods of armed conflict.

Franke (2006:822) has noted that witnesses "must perform a kind of sexual vulnerability in order to be so seen as victims by the court". Sexual violence has been given over recognition in prosecutions as "it is rare for criminal tribunals to treat gender-based atrocities as anything other than sexual violence against women" (Franke, 2006: 822). Although only a few troubling tendencies of prosecutions have been used here, there are many more other concerns

that some scholars have highlighted. What it evident is that criminal prosecutions are not being entirely disregarded as a transitional justice mechanism, rather their ability to advance gender-based justice without privileging certain kinds of harms experienced by women is being questioned.

3.4.2 Truth and reconciliation commissions

Truth commissions have become a prominent transitional justice mechanism to address past atrocities, and have been established in many countries for example but not limited to Burundi, South Africa, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Liberia (Scanlon and Muddell, 2008:11). Truth Commissions are usually mandated to document human rights injustices and uncover the identities of those "individuals and institutions responsible for abuse" and giving victims the platform to "testify about their experiences" (Nesiah, 2006:1). Moreover, based on their findings and testimonies of victims, truth commissions are warranted to give counsel in decisions that pertain to prosecutions, reforms and reparations (Nesiah, 2006:1). Although truth commissions depending on the context can be a useful platform to have conversations about past human rights atrocities and potential justice measures, they are also subject to criticism. Truth commissions have been criticized on the basis of how they address gender issues and victim - witnesses.

Ni Aolain (2006:840) has noted that in most transitional justice mechanisms including truth-telling processes there is a tendency to respond in a political manner in some contexts privileging "group politics", as a result the kind of human rights abuses that are accounted for become biased towards those who are "vying for political power". As a consequence the human rights injustices experienced by women are often not handled with urgency, in other words they seem less of importance (Ni Aolain, 2006:840). In the event that women are recognized, Nesiah (2006:2) has noted that their experiences of and roles in armed conflict tend to be ignored, instead they are qualified as victims of sexual violence. In this regard, transitional justice can be sometimes biased towards gender issues.

Ross (2003:162-65) has observed that truth and reconciliation commissions can also be dehumanizing to victims of sexual violence in judicial proceedings as it demands the witness to narrate their pain and experiences in a manner that situates them in a position of vulnerability. Simarly, Franke (2006:821) has recognized that victims are required "to pose themselves and their memories in a way that allows them to be harvested by judicial actors in the service of larger goals of justice". The dilemma is that how do you reshape a post-conflict

identity in a manner that honours and heals the pain of the past whilst simultaneously building a just future?

3.4.3 Reparations

Reparations are a key element of the transitional justice framework. Reparation programmes are designed to recognize victims as "bearers of rights" and are a form of acknowledgement of the injustices perpetrated against victims, recognizing the long lasting impact of the violations encountered (Magarrell, 2006:2). Moreover reparations programmes can be implemented as either "judicial reparations" through courts or "administrative reparations" initiated by a government, however the term can be understood in many different ways based on the context in which it is being used as a transitional justice mechanism (Muddell and Hawkins, 2018:21).

The impact of reparations as a transitional justice mechanism is demonstrated when complemented by other accountability initiatives, if not reconciled it might in counter-productivity (Magarrell, 2006:2). In cases of gender-based violations of human rights atrocities, reparations are preferred as an alternative by women who may not want to be part of criminal prosecutions or truth commissions because of the stigmatization attached (Scanlon and Muddell, 2018:19). Reparations can be carried executed in multiple ways to collectives or individuals. Both economic and symbolic measures are used in reparations and these include but are not limited to reburial of the remains of victims, construction of burial sites in honour of victims, reconstruction of infrastructure and compensation/ pension funds (Magarrell, 2006:4; Uribe, 2012:319). Nonetheless, reparation programs have been questioned for their failure to give sufficient recognition to gender. Magarrell (2006:22) has noted that women have had limited access to reparations as a result of the manner "reparations measures are designed or implemented".

Reparations initiatives need to take into consideration that both women and men have different experiences of conflict and therefore their needs will not be effectively addressed using neutral measures. Ni Aolain, O'Rourke and Swaine (2012: 103) highlight the need for reparation programmes to take in account "gender and other intersectional identities". In recognizing the harms experienced by women the intersectional identities that need attention include age, race, class, sexuality, ethnicity and religion (Rooney and Ni Aolain, 2007:340). In other words, women are situated along multiple forms of discriminations through interlocking social categories that require attention in transitional justice measures.

3.4.4 Institutional reform

Institutional reform in the form of Security Sector Reform (SSR) has become significant in the transitional justice project as an advance to create sustainable peace and development. The security sector includes armed forces, intelligence organisations, police and correctional services, in some instances it comprises of non-state security structures such as "armed groups and/ or private security and military companies" (Hove, 2017:3).The perception of the role of the state as a security provider and having monopoly on the legitimate use of violence is important. It is important to reform the security sector in post-conflict contexts because "the police, military, and other security agencies, as well as non-state security actors …are often the most serious perpetrators of human rights violations" (Scanlon and Muddell, 2018:21). For example, in most countries independence was won through armed struggles, therefore the security sector ultimately guarantees that power.

Although a definition based on consensus has not been formulated, Hendricks and Hutton (2009:1) describe SSR as "reform interventions undertaken within the security sector to address policy, legislation, structural and behavioural matters within the context of democratic ideals, rule of law and respect for human rights". Against this background, the aims of SSR are to guarantee that the security sector upholds "the same good governance norms as stipulated for other parts of government, in terms of accountability, transparency and management" (Abrahamsen and Williams, 2006:4).

SSR programmes have been criticised for focusing mainly on male combatants when implementing reforms, marginalizing the significant roles played by women combatants during the conflict period (Scanlon and Muddell, 2018:22). For gender-sensitive SSR strategies to be implemented it will require that women be involved in the process of planning and establishing SSR. The male-dominance in SSR raises questions about the level to which security structures can be reformed (Hamber, Hillyard, Maguire, et al. 2006:487).

3.4.5 Amnesty

In periods of transition depending on the political context some countries have resorted to using amnesties as a transitional justice mechanism. The United Nations has defined the term amnesty as referring to "legal measures that have the effect of: (a) Prospectively barring criminal prosecution and, in some cases, civil actions against certain individuals or categories of individuals in respect of specified criminal conduct committed before amnesty's adoption;

or (b) Retroactively nullifying legal liability previously established." (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2009:5).

Proponents of amnesties have argued that giving offenders assurance that they will be protected from prosecutions increases the prospects of a cease fire hence circumventing further human rights violations and the destabilisation of the new democracy (Nino, 1991). In other terms some countries embrace amnesties to promote peace; therefore it becomes a compromise between peace and justice. Granting amnesties to perpetrators has also been viewed to reduce the burden on the court system that prosecutions require as in most cases states have limited economic resources; moreover an amnesty is sometimes part of the terms of a peace negotiation (Uribe, 2012:304). However, amnesties have been viewed by some as a transitional justice mechanism that has been created to avoid accountability in contexts where there is an absence of other complementary transitional justice tools. Orentlicher (1991:2604) gives a reminder that "In many countries, democracy has been secured with the blood of men and women whose suffering an amnesty would entomb forever in a grave of silence and denial".

When using gender lens arguably it can be asserted that granting amnesties to perpetrators who committed gender-based injustices is risking the continuation of such violations in the post-conflict environment. Furthermore, justice is a relative term that may have different connotations for each individual, in relation to transitional justice victims should be given the platform to define what justice would look to like to them. Amnesties deny victims the opportunity to define justice according to their own terms in that they make a decision on behalf of those violated. As a result, the goal of accountability in the transitional justice project becomes undermined.

3.5 Gender Dynamics of the Transitional Justice Framework in Zimbabwe

3.5.1 The Lancaster House peace agreement: an overview

The Lancaster House Peace Agreement of 1979 led to the end of the Zimbabwean liberation war and paved way for independence. The Lancaster House Peace Agreement was a compromise which was governed by a sequence of national, regional, international and economic forces in which a policy of reconciliation was established through a constitution of independence (Raftopoulos, 2004:x). In other words, it operated within certain international parameters. This phase of the transitional justice process was internationally acknowledged

and was accompanied by a ceasefire that was monitored by Britain, general elections and independence hence setting the tone for the future (Madenga, 2017:113).

The language of reconciliation was further solidified by the then Prime Minister, Robert Gabriel Mugabe in his speech address to the independent nation of Zimbabwe in April 1980. Mugabe (1980) proclaimed "…If yesterday I fought you as an enemy, today you have become a friend and ally with the same national interests, loyalty, rights and duties as myself…Is it not folly, therefore, that in these circumstances anybody should seek to revive the wounds and grievances of the past? The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten." However, the compromise settlement that promoted the discourse of national reconciliation in Zimbabwe has been described by Mandaza (1986:42) as "the pervasive threat of economic and political blackmail by the imperialist powers that had been the undertakers of the Lancaster House Agreement but were now seeking to keep the new state in line".

Mugabe's decision was not unique as there were other leaders in the continent who had embraced the idea of reconciliation politics, these included Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Leopold Senghor of Senegal (Madenga, 2017:113). The Zimbabwean transitional justice framework adopted a restorative transitional justice framework. Through the policy of national reconciliation it had been anticipated that there will be "a stronger national consciousness and unity across racial and regional lines" (Fisher, 2010: 28). In this regard, the white minority were given a decade-long land ownership rights in the country and were guaranteed seats in parliament at the expense of "radical restructuring of the legacy of economic inequality" (Raftopoulos, 2014: x).

Moreover, there was a persistence of victimhood among those whose human rights had been violated by both the colonial Rhodesian government and the nationalist liberation movements prior and during the armed struggle; there was an absence of redress and justice. The form of reconciliation policy adopted by Zimbabwe was one of "no victor, no vanquished" (Shamurariya et al. 1995:42). It was a policy that was exclusionary based on race, gender and other intersectional structural identities, for example the blacks were not given the opportunity to decide whether they wanted to reconcile or seek retribution. Instead of promoting inclusive citizenry participation the new government insisted to "impress the moral correctness" of reconciliation politics (Shamurariya et al. 1995:48).The transition embodied that "a nation can win freedom without its people becoming free" (Nkomo, 1984:56). Arguably, the Lancaster House Peace Agreement disregarded key features of transitional justice, however it is not every transitional context that requires the Nuremberg-style of transitional justice as every country has its own unique history.

3.5.2 Implications of the Lancaster House Agreement on women ex-combatants

Through The Amnesty Ordinance of 1979 an amnesty for the human rights violations and injustices committed during the liberation war was granted to Rhodesian security forces by the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia government under the leadership of Bishop Abel Muzorewa (Magaisa, 2016). When the Lancaster House Agreement was signed, immunity for general acts of war was granted through The Amnesty (General Pardon) Ordinance 12 of 1980 (Magaisa, 2016). As a result, all human rights atrocities and violations committed by both the military wings of the two nationalist liberation movements of ZANLA and ZIPRA were provided for by the amnesty. In other words, peace over justice was prioritized by the newly elected government.

The politics of convenience that governed the granting of amnesty to perpetrators through the Lancaster House Agreement turned a blind eye to the experiences of victims and survivors. Moreover, the culture of impunity was not a product of the Lancaster House Agreement; rather it was a consolidation of the colonial era. According to Madenga (2017:114) it is a culture that can be traced from the Indemnity and Compensation Act enacted in 1975, this was a legislation to safeguard the Rhodesian security forces from punishment for human rights abuses perpetrated 'in good faith' to preserve state security. However, the impunity legislation was still in effect post-independence.

The peace negotiations that led to the Lancaster House Agreement reflected an exclusive composition that privileged the dominance of male power systems. The armies that were legitimized by the Lancaster House Agreement included the Rhodesian security forces, and the nationalist liberation movements of ZANLA and ZIPRA (Sadomba and Dzinesa, 2004:55). The missing link in the peace negotiations were women representatives. The Patriotic Front (PF) delegation was represented by 21 men and only one woman, Miss F. Siziba who was a senior secretary (Sadomba and Dzinesa, 2004:55). Mrs A. J. Phillips was the only woman in the United Kingdom Delegation that also had 21 men. The Rhodesian delegation consisted of only 22 men (Sadomba and Dzinesa, 2004:55). Arguably, the presence of women representatives may have ensured that a reflection of the gendered effects of armed conflict hence advancing the need to establish a transitional justice project that will address the specific needs of women who have suffered human rights abuses in the form of gender-based violence.

Although the absence of a gender sensitive peace negotiation process had discriminatory tendencies for both women civilians and ex-combatants, the scope of this report will be limited to women ex-combatants. A starting point of questioning the absence of a gender

dimension in the peace negotiations will be to establish that the experiences of women and men in armed conflict are not identical. Rather, research on armed conflict highlights that the structural identities of gender, age, race, class, ethnicity, religion, sexuality and other identity markers have an impact on how an individuals' experience of armed conflict (Jamar and Bell, 2018:2). In regard, it is important for diverse women's groups with both similar and different transformative gender-sensitive contributions to be part of the conversation that paves the path for a transitional justice framework.

Using gender lens through intersectionality to highlight the interaction of power systems that form structural identities will help give a "comprehensive understanding of structured subject positions in transitions" (Ni Aolain and Rooney, 2007:341). With reference to the Lancaster House Peace Negotiations it can be noted that gender was used to structure the exclusion of women ex-combatants from participating in the peace negotiations. The composition of the delegation reflected "a conceptualization of gender that is exclusive of men" (Ni Aolain and Rooney, 2007: 342). Healing past trauma through accountability and institutional reform are central objectives of the transitional justice framework; therefore there is a need for peace negotiations to have a conversation on how to deal with social, political and economic inequality on equal basis. The Lancaster House Peace Negotiations did not enforce a transitional justice framework that incorporated a dimension that made provisions for the differentiated impacts of the war on gender. As effect of the absence of women ex-combatant at the peace negotiation table will be highlighted through in this chapter through an analysis of the transitional justice processes in post-conflict Zimbabwe.

Having had high expectations at the end of the war because of their significant contribution, women ex-combatants were excluded in the peace negotiation process, a platform that was meant for them to communicate their needs. Moreover, the lack of representation meant that women ex-combatants as both victims and survivors were neither acknowledged nor consulted. It raises a lot of questions around the conversation of reconciliation. Should not meaningful reconciliation identify both perpetrators and victims? Madenge (2017:120) has noted the importance of "perpetrator-victim identity" in reconciliation initiatives in order to foster "formal redress of colonial social, economic and political injustices. Forging a future without accountability of the past consolidates a culture of impunity.

Although the new governments' discourse of reconciliation opened a dialogue on nation-building and socioeconomic transformation, it did not introduce a conversation on a transitional justice mechanism to specifically address sexual and gender-based violations experienced by women during the liberation struggle (Fisher, 2010:30; Sadomba and Dzinesa,

2004:55). Therefore, the policy of reconciliation adopted by the new Zimbabwean government was one of "economic and political realism" (Fisher, 2010:40). However, a socio-economic policy that focused on women ex-combatants as a specific group was absent.

3.5.3 Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR): an overview

The Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) process is considered a core element of post-conflict reconstruction (Ni Aolain, 2009:1068). DDR is designed to ensure ex-combatants are assisted in re-adapting to civilian status "by disarming fighters and fighting units, disengaging individuals, helping them reintegrate socially and economically into society and when applicable, facilitating their active participation in peace processes (International Organization for Migration, 2019:1). Although DDR programmes are designed for women and men ex-combatants, transitional justice processes have a tendency to undermine the active contribution of women ex-combatants. In this regard, Magadla (2015:96) notes that women "undermine their combatant status". Feminist scholarship on DDR argue for gender mainstreaming highlighting that the exclusion of gender in the policy design consolidates the risk of violence aimed at women ex-combatants after the end of armed of conflict (Specht and Attree, 2006:222). Research findings have concluded that "the long-term success of DDR can be made or broken based on the experiences of female former combatants and of women living in receiving communities" O'Neill (2015:3).

The international community is usually involved and plays a key role in most DDR processes however; the United Nations was excluded in Zimbabwe's transitional justice processes. Instead the former colonial power Britain was deeply involved in the process following the Lancaster House Agreement (Ginifer, 1995:2; Alao, 1995:104; Kriger, 2003:37). The Lancaster House Agreement that led to the independence of Zimbabwe did not have a specific policy designed to make provisions for DDR.

Dzinesa (2006:258) has noted that "Integration and DDR were neither sticks nor carrots in the peace negotiations and agreement, despite attempts to have these issues discussed". However, although the Lancaster House Agreement had no legal framework for DDR, the new government established an integration policy that merged the Rhodesian Security Forces (RSF), Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) (Alao, 1995:104; Hendricks and Musavenga, 2010:152). The military integration aspect of the DDR was enforced after the cease-fire; however, all the three military forces were still in the camps. Before the official reintegration process was in motion certain units of the Rhodesian Security Forces (RSF) were disbanded due to be declared

illegible as a result of the grave human rights atrocities they allegedly committed during the liberation war (Dzinesa, 2006:258; Alao, 1995:107). With the assistance of the British Military Advisory and Train Team (BMAATT), the creation of Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) was achieved in two stages. The first stage included the nationalist guerrillas from both ZANLA and ZIPRA being gathered in assembly points, and the second was the merging of the nationalist guerrillas with the Rhodesia Security Forces (RSF) (Sadomba and Dzinesa, 2004:55).

Due to the extended time spent in the assembly points during the integration process tensions structured along ethnic lines of Shona-Ndebele developed between ZANLA and ZIPRA combatants which led the government to disarm the combatants (Alao, 1995:109). However, "many ZIPRA guerrillas left the armed forces and the camps, joining the ranks of those armed members of the lumpen elements who could be a reservoir of future destabilisation" (Campbell, 2003:51). Some of the guerrillas who left the camps took arms with them (Kriger, 2003:95), hence undermining the collective purpose of DDR.

After the military integration process, the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) was composed of an estimated 70 000 members which was reduced to 41 519 by 1983, of which 4000 of the 70 000 had been estimated to be women combatants (Sadomba and Dzinesa, 2004: 56; Dzinesa, 2006:260; Krigger, 2003:122). The Zimbabwean post-independence government introduced the Demobilisation Directorate in July 1981 through the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare as an effort to enforce the demobilisation and integration process for ex-combatants that were not included in Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) reform process, (Sadomba and Dzinesa, 2004:56; Hendricks and Musavenga, 2010:152). The DDR programme provided; education opportunities for ex-combatants who wanted to further their education, technical training, professional assistance in employment seeking, monthly demobilisation allowance which could also be received as a lump sum (Sadomba and Dzinesa, 2004:56). However, the monthly demobilisation allowance was not applicable to employed ex-combatant (The Herald, 1982 *cited in* Dzinesa, 2006: 260).

The discovery of an arms cache in 1982 that allegedly belonged to ZIPRA the military wing of ZAPU, and the desertion of the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) by ZIPRA ex-combatants entrenched the tension between ZANU and ZAPU, resulting in the 1982-1987 unrest in Matabeleland. The operation was known as Gukurahundi (the rain that washes away the chaff from the last harvest, before the spring rains) and the operation was targeted against civilians in Matabeleland and in some areas in Midlands which was inhabited by the Ndebele (Rwafa, 2012:313). These civilians were considered to have been "dissidents", and "20-25 000" lives

were lost (Chitiyo, 2009:3). This highlights how power politics between ZANU and ZIPRA interfered with the DDR process, the significance of this is that ZANU comprised of mostly the Shona who were Robert Mugabe's support base, and ZAPU consisted of mostly the Ndebele from whom Joshua Nkomo drew his support. Therefore, it is safe to suggest that it is against this background that Rwafa (2012:314) argues that "Gukurahundi was carried out in a context in which Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) leadership sought to crush the power base of Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in Matabeleland, and in the process, force people to submit to their political hegemony".

Some denounce that Gukurahundi was a consequence of ethnic rivalry. The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (1997:27) accounts that "ZAPU and ZANU, and their military wings ZIPRA and ZANLA were not tribalist by policy, and both Shona-speakers and Ndebele-speakers could be found in both groups, but increasingly regional recruitment, together with mutual antagonism, led to a growing association between ZAPU and Ndebele-speakers". However, whatever the case may have been the Gukurahundi massacres which were launched by the 'North-Korean trained' 5th brigade who Rwafa (2012:315) terms as a "hit squad", resulted in deaths, torture, displacement and injuries, although numbers differ based on the source. Although the termed 'moment of madness' was ended by the Unity Accord a peace agreement signed by both ZAPU and ZANU on the 22nd of December, 1987, the Gukurahundi operation demonstrates "a major blow to post-independence peace, and to nation-building and reconstruction", (Dzinesa, 2006:259).

3.5.4 Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) and women ex-combatants

DDR as a transitional justice process in post-independence Zimbabwe did not consider the specific needs of women ex-combatants. Instead it highlighted that the anticipated benefits of transitional justice are characterized by marginalization and are organized along structural identities of gender, social class, race, ethnicity and other privilege systems. The 1981 Demobilisation Directorate lacked a gender sensitive dimension that adequately addressed the experiences of women ex-combatants during the liberation war. Demobilisation without a psychological and socio-economic rehabilitation policy specifically designed to help women ex-combatants with reintegration; negatively affected their social, political and economic participation in the post-independence environment (Chaminuka, 2019:95).

Women ex-combatants were stigmatized and socially rejected for deviating from their traditional gender roles because of their acquired identities of being war veterans and women

ex-guerrilla fighters (Musemwa, 1995:50). In this regard, some women ex-combatants were depicted as "prostitutes" by their communities and the media as they lacked in "decency and propriety" because they had stayed with "men in the bush"; as a result, "They must have slept around a lot" (Lyons, 1991:219; Musemwa *cited* in Lyons, 1991:220). It became challenging for women ex-combatants to socialize themselves in their previous gender roles that they could no longer relate with. The absence of a rehabilitation policy that targeted women ex-combatants, positioned them in ways that perpetuated their discrimination based on their perceived unfitting gender roles. The conceptual umbrella of socialism that was used to make promises of the emancipation of women from both traditional and colonial patriarchy proved to be gender blind.

Other women ex-combatants were considered "ineligible for marriage" as their communities and the media viewed them as "too strong to be female" (Lyons, 1991:220). Those women ex-combatants who returned with children, more stigma was attached to them as they had 'fatherless' children, whose fathers had either died or had been transferred during the war, challenging to identify, or denied responsibility (Lyons, 2004:271). As a result of the rejection, some of these single mothers looked for comfort in 'drug and alcohol abuse' (Sadomba and Dzinesa, 2004:57). On the other hand, their status "thwarted their possibilities of being re-educated, retrained or rehabilitated after the war" (Lyons, 2004:271). Additionally, some women ex-combatants were marginalised by the government, as it has been noted that "Pregnant fighters whom the United Nations repatriated to Zimbabwe were excluded from the demobilisation and reintegration programme altogether" (Kriger, 2003:91).

The post-independence government did not put in place reintegration initiatives that encompassed social rehabilitation therefore societal attitudes negatively impacted on their absorption back into civilian life. Although the government established a National Rehabilitation Centre in 1985, "it lacked a coherent plan" and "it was abruptly closed to former combatants" (Dzinesa, 2008:13). Using intersectionality, the challenges in reintegration reveal how the identity of being a woman ex-combatant, single mother ex-combatant or pregnant ex-combatant intersected to structure post-conflict inequalities and exclusions. This transitional context highlights how silencing the perspectives and the needs of women in peace negotiations can result in the continuation of their gender-based oppressions and post-conflict, hence undermining the capacity of transitional justice initiatives to deliver gender-based justice.

Some women ex-combatants were not officially demobilised when they left military camps because of delays in being integrated into the army; as a result it became a challenge for them

to receive demobilisation allowances (Kriger, 2003:100). Also, a high number of women ex-combatants did not qualify for demobilisation payments due to their refugee status when they were returned back into the country (Kriger, 2003:100). Although the tensions between the former military armies of ZANLA and ZIPRA dating back from the liberation war resulted in uneven demobilisation experiences, it should be noted that privilege was also unequal between women and men ex-combatants.

According to literature the military armies of ZANLA and ZIPRA had both Shona and Ndebele speakers; however ZANLA was mostly comprised of Shona-speakers and ZIPRA Ndebele-speakers (Alao, 1995:109). Intersectionality in this context enables recognition of how the unequal privilege experienced by women ex-combatants during demobilisation was an intersection of both gender and ethnicity. Being a woman who is also a ZIPRA ex-combatant an Ndebele-dominated military army, positioned some women in a place of disadvantage. Kriger (2003:97) noted that the ruling party ZANU PF "abandoned the principle of *de facto* equality between ZIPRA and ZANLA…by its privileging of ZANLA".

The gender inequality experienced by women ex-combatants during the liberation struggle became evident again through the post-conflict military integration process. Other women ex-combatants were excluded to serve in infantry battalions which meant they could not be part of fighting units, hence they were either "directly absorbed as privates into the Army Corps or specialist units in administrative and clerical posts" (Kriger, 2003:122). Moreover, lack of educational qualifications became a stumbling block to being enlisted as army officers, for those educated gender played a role in dwindling prospects of promotion (Sadomba and Dzinesa, 2004:56).

Chapter two demonstrated how women ex-combatants suffered gender-based violations in many forms including sexual violence during the liberation war, therefore from a gender perspective the privileging of masculinities in the disarmament process has the potential of consolidating these violations because "the disarmament of weapons is not the disarmament of minds" (Ni Aolain, 2009:1067). Moreover, the violence that characterized the transitional justice process in Zimbabwe through the Matabeleland disturbances, highlighted that inadequate disarmament leaves "little gap between violations that took place during a conflict/ prior regime and those taking place post-transition (Ni Aolain, 2009:1068). The Unity Accord of 1987 ended the violent atrocities in Matabeleland and parts of Midlands; however it was just a political compromise that was concerned about settling the perceived political misunderstandings between the ZANLA and ZAPU political elites hence neglecting the needs

of the victims affected by the violence. Gender considerations for both women and men were side-lined in the process (The Church and Civil Society Forum, 2012).

The armed conflict in Matabeleland is significant in the Zimbabwean transitional justice discourse because it takes place after the post-independence government had declared a policy of reconciliation that brought about the conversation on nation-building. In this regard, national reconciliation becomes a challenge because an ethnic war takes place during a process of peace-building in which further gender-based violations take root on both ex-combatant and civilian women. Intersectionality assists in the analysis how the intersection of gender, ethnicity, class and race played a role in women ex-combatants being marginalized, violated and excluded. In other words, by virtue of being a woman, belonging to a specific ethnicity, not a political elite, and being black to be considered by the policy of reconciliation resulted in the experiences of some women combatants post-independence .These structural identities were used to shape the violence and gender inequalities which some women ex-combatants have experienced post-independence.

3.5.5 Political representation and women ex-combatants

Post-independence the government encouraged women political representation. When Joyce Mujuru a prominent and respected woman ex-combatant served in the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs (MCDWA), women ex-combatants had high hopes that their pre-independence promises of gender equality were going to be honoured (Kombo, 2012:77). The mandate of the MCDWA was to "mobilise, organise, coordinate and monitor public and private non-governmental organisations geared towards closing disparities between men and women in Zimbabwe" (Kazembe, 1986:399). However, the impact of the ministry declined as a result of a number of reasons. According to Geisler (2004:119), the ministry was unable to incorporate other women ex-combatants because most of them did not have the educational qualifications required to occupy civil service positions, there was a deficiency in funding and the reintegration initiatives made by the ministry for women combatants focused on "fields traditionally reserved for women such as sewing and typing".

In 1980 the Sexual Discrimination Removal Act of 1980 was introduced by the government in an attempt to promote an equal stance between men and women when holding political offices (Mudeka, 2014:99). An Electoral Act of 1990 was passed, this was a ticket extended to women to participate in the contests for presidential office if they wish so (Chung, 2006:287). Moreover, in December 1982, The Legal Age of Majority Act (LAMA) was passed; it enabled all persons at the age of eighteen to be declared as adults, as a result after that age women

would no longer need the consent of their male relatives to be part of a marriage contract as during the colonial administration (Kombo, 2012:100). Other progressive laws introduced by the MCDWA included the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1985 that gave property rights to women in the event of a divorce, the Customary Law and Primary Courts Bill of 1982, which empowered women to be part of heirs inheriting "the estate of a deceased husband" (Geisler, 2004:120). Notably, these were positive strides towards gender equality made by the government. However, both the government and the ministry did not create structures that tackled the specific needs of women ex-combatants.

3.5.6 The Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans' Association (ZNLWVA) and women ex-combatants

The unsatisfactory demobilisation and reintegration programme prompted ex-combatants to establish the ZNLWA. According to the ZNLWA constitution, one of their main goals is "to influence or petition any public or private authority, organisation or person to provide assistance and special recognition to veterans and their families" (*cited* in Sadomba and Dzinesa, 2004:60). Moreover, the constitution makes provisions for the interests of women through a specialized portfolio whose mandate is "to mobilise and advance the interests of all female members and ensure that special recognition is accorded to female members of the Association" (*cited* in Sadomba and Dzinesa, 2004:60). Although the ZNLWA provided women ex-combatants with a platform to communicate their needs, however it was unsuccessful in dealing with issues of stigmatisation and unemployment among women ex-combatants who were members (Zimbabwe Women Writers, 2000:42). Despite these shortcomings, the ZNLWA managed to cause "the government in 1997 to grant all registered war veterans gratuities, pensions and other benefits" (Sadomba and Dzinesa, 2004:60). In other words, both women and men ex-combatants benefited from the compensation/ reparations as a form of transitional justice mechanism. The effectiveness of this mechanism was however short-lived as it deepened the economic woes of the nation because the pay-outs were not in the national budget, as a result there was hyperinflation reducing the pensions to almost nothing (Mazarire and Rupiya, 2000:75).

3.5.7 The Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI)

Under the guidance of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and African Union (AU), Thabo Mbeki mediated between the ruling party the Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and the main opposition party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) which had two factions. The ZANU PF was led by Robert

Mugabe; the MDC was represented by Morgan Tsvangirai and Arthur Mutambara (Connolly, 2011:1). The mediation resulted in the signing of the 15 September 2008 Global Political Agreement (GPA) whose mandate was to address the 2008 presidential elections that were disputed and characterised by political violence (Eppel and Raftopoulos, 2008:1). A 'Transitional Inclusive Government of Zimbabwe' emerged from the GPA, forming a power-sharing coalition known as the Government of National Unity (GNU) (Madenga, 2017:125). According to Connolly (2011:1), the GPA "was intended as a roadmap to democratic transition while addressing the immediate demand for peace and economic stability". The GPA through Article VII established The Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI) that was aimed at assisting in "addressing past injustices and human rights abuses" (Hodzi, 2012:1).

The establishment of the ONHRI as transitional justice mechanism was timeously in that it came at a time where the security sector and the Zimbabwean government had been committing human rights atrocities and extreme political violence by launching military operations against civilians (Chitiyo, 2009:4). Since the 1980's most of the military operations have demonstrated a tendency of the state to criminalise and securitise civilians through state cleansing, creating the 'politics of fear'. These operations have the tendency of "identifying a *dangerous other* and then cleansing" by "imprisonment, intimidation, torture or even death" (Hammar, 2007:214). Notably, the major military operations have resulted in human rights violations post- independence include *Operation Gukurahundi (1983-87)* mentioned earlier in the chapter*, Operation Tsuro ('Rabbit')* which was launched towards the 2000 national elections and aimed at seizing white commercial farms using violence as a tool, intimidation was also utilised as a weapon against political supporters of the opposition party MDC as a strategy to ensure that they vote for ZANU-PF, and *Operation Murambatsvina ('Drive out Rubbish') or ('Restore Order')* following the 2005 Parliamentary Elections, this operation is estimated to have left 300 000 people homeless as their shacks and houses were demolished after being proclaimed as dangerous (Chitiyo, 2009:5). The military operation that preceded the signing of the GPA was *Operation Makavotera Papi? ('Who did you vote for?').* This was a retributive operation aimed at disciplining all those who were allegedly believed to have voted for the opposition party the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) by violating their human rights through beatings, torture and intimidation. It was launched after the 2008 election, and it included various organs of the security sector such as the central intelligence, the army, the police together with both the war veterans and ZANU-PF youth militias (Chitiyo, 2009:6). As a consequence, the presidential run-off election was boycotted by the

MDC presidential candidate Morgan Tsvangirai because of the violence that was being administered; thereby Robert Mugabe came out as the victor since he was the only candidate (Hodzi, 2014:300).

The ONHR was aimed at dealing with both pre and post-independence human rights injustices. However, despite most of the military operations having have had gender-based violations and especially sexual violence as a political strategy, the ONHR trivialized or disregarded the gendered effects of political violence. As a transitional justice mechanism, the ONHR lacked a well-defined gender policy instead it gave more attention to civil and political rights injustices (Hodzi, 2012:1). The effect of this is that impunity thrives and the intersectional structural inequalities that affect women are not accounted for. Against this background, the ONHRs' goal of being inclusive was undermined by its lack of gender mainstreaming hence resulting in the exclusion of both women ex-combatants and civilians.

The GPA that led to the establishment of the ONHR had only one visible female representative its negotiations process, Priscilla Misihairambwi-Mushonga (Hodzi, 2012:4); the gender imbalance in this platform might have possibly played a role in the side-lining of gender-based injustices. The Zimbabwean ONHR is evidence that both the inclusion and exclusion of women in peace negotiations is not without challenges. On one hand, the presence of women in decision-making platforms is not an assurance of gender considerations in transitional justice; on the other hand their absence consolidates "deep-seated masculinization" of both 'politics and justice' (Hodzi, 2012:5). Using a gender perspective, the ONHR did not reflect one of main the goals of transitional justice which is accountability. This gap undermines the other goals of transitional justice in that healing and reconciliation takes place in an environment where the perpetrators acknowledge their past wrongs hence being accountable.

The state violence has been a continuation of the colonial legacy. It has been present since the establishment of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and the Zimbabwe People's Liberation Army (ZIPRA) guerrilla movements in the 1960s before Zimbabwe became independent. As mentioned in chapter two, Zimbabwe's liberation war was characterised by violence and atrocities committed by the three parties involved namely ZANLA, ZIPRA and the Rhodesian Forces. It is therefore important to establish a transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe that will guarantee the security of women as the security sector has always been used to perpetrate violence. Ni Aolain (2009:1070) notes that it is

important to conceptualize "what gender security can and might mean in post-conflict societies".

The ONHRI was succeeded by the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission (NPRC). Although it became operational in January 2018, it was initially established in 2016 in accordance with Sections 251 to 253 in the Constitution. Its main aim is to advance national healing, peace and reconciliation (National Peace and Reconciliation Bill, 2017). Moreover, the NPRC has a Five Year Strategic Plan 2018-2022. In both their Bill and Five Year Strategic Plan they seek to make provisions for the gendered effects of conflict and violence on women girls, and to allow victims to give an account of their experiences so that the NPRC can access their needs and establish measures of redress. However, it is still not known whether the government in this quest of national healing and reconciliation will allow an honest, willing and genuine conversation concerning the dark past without negating accountability. It is still too early at this stage to make an informed judgement on the possibilities of a successful or unsuccessful national healing and reconciliation mandate by the NPRC.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, it was examined how the lack of a well-defined gender policy, the marginalisation of women and the granting of an amnesty in the Lancaster House Agreement peace negotiations that assisted in the transition from the liberation war to independence structured the inequalities and discriminations experienced by women ex-combatants in the post-independence context. The Lancaster House Agreement set the tone for the transitional justice initiatives that were to follow hence determining the experiences of women ex-combatants in the post-conflict environment.

The chapter has shown how the governments' DDR process was not implemented in a broad and consistent manner resulting in deficiencies in gender-sensitivity and consolidating the lack of trust among the liberation armies of ZANLA and ZIPRA, leading to operation *Gukurahundi* in Matabeleland that caused severe human rights atrocities that included gender-based violations. Against this background, the policy of reconciliation declared by the new government was undermined and "worked against the building of trust and repairing of relationships" (Fisher, 2010:52). The inadequate DDR process informed the multiple social, economic and political discriminations that women ex-combatants endured. The government did not put in place sustainable reintegration structures that will enable a smooth transition to civilian life for women ex-combatants. As a consequence, women ex-combatants were ostracized by communities, families and the media. Further, considering that some women

combatants were victims of sexual violence, it was imperative for the government to provide "psycho-social rehabilitation and support" (Sadomba and Dzinesa, 2004:61). Gender intersected with other structural identities to inform the inequalities and exclusions that overshadowed women combatants.

Further, the chapter highlighted how the ONHRI was a good opportunity for the government to address both pre and post-independence human rights abuses perpetrated by the security forces. However, the ONHRI lacked gender provisions, therefore disregarding the gendered effects of political violence. This approach and other approaches adopted by the government of Zimbabwe post-independence have denied both women ex-combatants and civilians the opportunity to define justice according to their own terms by failing to have structures that hold perpetrators accountable for gender-based violations. In other words, this becomes a hindrance to gender justice and national healing because the voices of the victims are being silenced.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This research study examined how the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe has helped or hindered advances in gender justice for women ex-combatants. This chapter focuses on qualitative data presentation and the interpretation of the research findings. The chapter integrates the data from the research findings with the theoretical framework, the literature review and methodology and makes a link to the study research question (s) and the research objective (s).

The main objective of the research study was to analyse the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe using a gendered perspective. The sub-research objectives were to understand and identify respectively: the experiences of women ex-combatants; the contextual factors affecting the advancement of gender justice; strategies and mechanisms that can enhance gender justice using the transitional justice framework.

The initial definition of gender justice that the study had adopted focused on the changing patterns of sexual and gender based violence post-conflict, however based on the data collected from the interviews the definition of the term was changed to accommodate the views of the participants. Gender justice in this context has been used to refer to the changing patterns of gender inequality and equal access to redress post-independence. The interview questions were informed by the research question (s) and objective (s). The challenge faced

was that the interview participants (women ex-combatants) responded to most of the questions as ex-combatants instead of being clad in their identity as women-ex combatants. However, some of their responses reflected their individual experiences as women ex-combatants. This analysis refers to the interviews with 10 women ex-combatants that were held in Bulawayo in April, 2019.

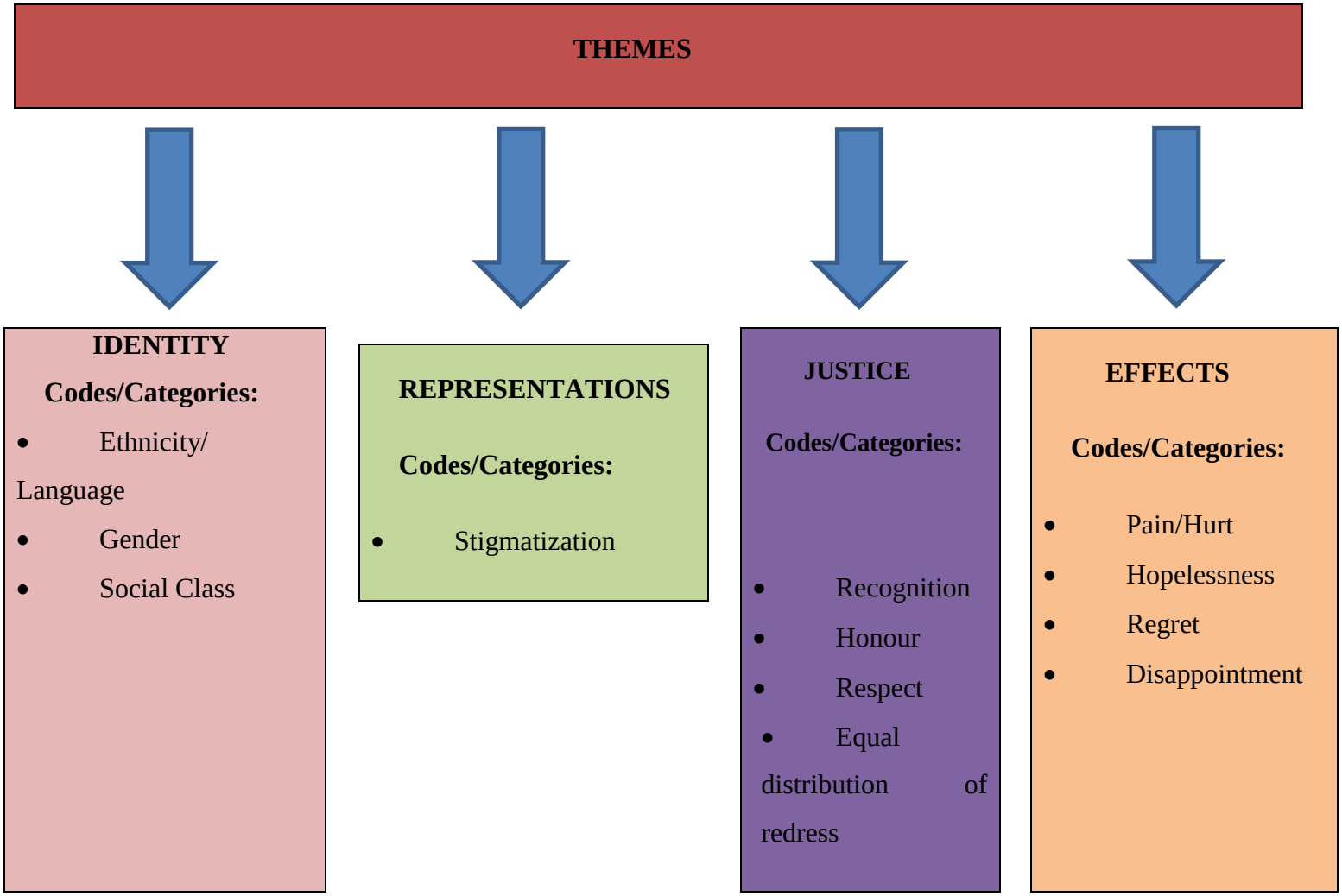
In the methodology section in chapter one, I described the research approach and design for the study; the data analysis method was based on a thematic analysis which was used to generate themes guided by the research question (s), objectives and theoretical framework. From the data analysis, four themes emerged from the data, namely identity, representations, justice and effects.

The central argument of this chapter is that the absence of gender discussions in the peace negotiations that led to the end of the liberation struggle, held at Lancaster House in 1979 effected the political and socio-economic position of women post-independence. Although the post-independence government made attempts of promoting gender equity, women ex-combatants were not considered as a specific social group. In this respect, the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe did not accord women ex-combatants the opportunity to define gender equality in their own terms. This was important to be taken into account because their experiences in the liberation struggle to a certain extent framed their needs in the transitional context. Yet also the research findings illustrate that the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe has been structured by the social divisions of gender, social class and ethnicity. The intersection of these social divisions has inevitably shaped the experiences of women ex-combatants in the transitional context.

4.2 Themes

For each of the following four themes, a number of codes were identified. This is represented in the diagram below (Table 4.3).

- **Identity** - group identities such as gender, ethnicity/language, social class being used to structure inequality and discrimination amongst women ex-combatants
- **Representations** - stereotypes using the ex - combatant identity
- **Justice** – the meaning of justice to women ex-combatants in the transitional context
- **Effects** - the effects of the transitional justice interventions in Zimbabwe on women ex-combatants



4.2.1 Theme 1: Identity

Interview participants, revealed in their narratives that in post-independent Zimbabwe they were discriminated against based on their structural identities of ethnicity/language, social class and gender. These identities will be discussed in this section.

Some women ex-combatants, who were particularly in the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) which mainly consisted of Ndebele speakers, expressed how their experiences of exclusion through the transitional justice framework post-independence was structured along ethnic lines. For example, Comrade Jane Ngwenya the former National Secretary for Women's Affairs for the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), revealed that "ZAPU was excluded on tribal basis post-independence" (15 April, Bulawayo). Similarly, some Ndebele speaking women ex-combatants who were deployed within the military camps of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in Mozambique narrated that they experienced discrimination by the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe based on ethnicity, a legacy

of the liberation struggle which has been consolidated post-independence. In the disclosure of her experiences in the ZANU camps, Sibongile whose real name has been replaced by a pseudonym an ex-combatant exclaimed "there was so much abuse in the Shona speaking camps in Mozambique…I couldn't really speak Shona, I was really traumatized for that. I used to get beaten during parade and they would really hold me to high code. I would be beaten to the extent that I couldn't walk" (11 April, Bulawayo).

Post-independence, another ex-combatant, Thandiwe, observed that the differential treatment in terms of the distribution of political power and redress in the form of compensation that some comrades experienced post-conflict is because "the history of the liberation struggle has been narrated to the public using tribalism as it seems the narrative represents ZANLA as the only liberation army that effectively contributed to the war, erasing the role played by ZIPRA" (19 April, Bulawayo). As mentioned in the previous chapters, the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) was the ZANU military wing, whereas the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) was the ZAPU military wing. Against this background, the responses from the interview participants are an illustration that they regarded the intersection of ethnicity and political affiliation to have been a contributing factor in the structuring of their discrimination.

The absence of gender sensitivity during the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 and the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration process has been cited by some on the interviewed women ex-combatants to have led to their post-independence exclusion and unequal treatment in comparison to their male counter-parts. Both former women-combatants from the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) shared the same sentiment that gender was used as a tool of exclusion. Former ZAPU National Secretary for Women's Affairs Jane Ngwenya recalled that there were no discussions of gender at the peace negotiations held at Lancaster House. She noted that discussions were generally just about "the people of Zimbabwe". In other words, there were no considerations of how the war could have potentially resulted in gender differentiated experiences. Also, although socialist influenced nationalist leaders such as Robert Mugabe had linked national liberation with women's emancipation (Lyons, 2002:306), interview participants expressed that post-independence they has not been evidence of gender equality. As a result, Jane Ngwenya highlighted that after independence it became apparent that women were being "suppressed" despite their "notable contributions" in the anti-colonial liberation struggle.

Since the country is historically traditional or patriarchal, Ngwenya believes tradition and culture played a major role in instilling differences between men and women during the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979. It is during this time she recalls that "we decided to challenge that notion as an attempt to foster gender equality in all spheres". She mentioned that although there were no gender roles in the ZAPU military camps during the liberation war, they still didn't have the privilege to challenge other gender inequalities in other contexts. However, although there were attempts to challenge gender inequalities through gender policies, it can be noted from the previous chapter that the policies that were put in place did not take into account that women were not a homogenous group. There were no gender policies that specifically focused on the needs of independent groups of women. For instance, some by virtue of being a woman ex-combatant meant that they had specific needs based on their direct participation in a militarized environment, experiences of changing gender identities and other post-war related traumas.

Both ZANLA and ZIPRA women ex-combatants were actively engaged and equally fought alongside their male counterparts in the struggle for independence however their military training and incorporation varied. It is only in the 1970s that women in ZANLA began to "negotiate their traditional gender roles" in the liberation struggle (Lyons, 2002:306). Women began demanding military training; moreover another driving force was that the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) drawing inspiration from "socialist revolutionary successes" began to recognize that the success and power of the liberation struggle was achievable if both women and men participated on the same level playing field (Lyons, 2002:306). On the contrary, women ex-combatants who were in ZIPRA during interviews, similarly revealed that they never discussed or enforced gender roles.

ZANU PF Senator, Molly Ndlovu who is a ZIPRA women ex-combatant recalled that "when it came to military training there was no distinction between women and men, they both would receive training" (9 April, Bulawayo). Ex-combatant Toriso also who used to instruct and train soldiers and guerrillas at Mkushi camp in Zambia remembered "they never treated us as women we were treated the same as men" (29 April, Bulawayo). Former ZAPU National Secretary for Women's Affairs, Jane Ngwenya revealed that in the ZAPU camps "what was important was how brave an individual was"; therefore gender was never used as criteria to determine who qualified to be trained as a soldier. It is against this background, that some women ex-combatants from both ZANU and ZAPU have expressed their disregard for the gender insensitivity that was demonstrated by the Zimbabwean transitional justice framework.

Their sentiments were that they fought side by side with men therefore there was no reason for their exclusion in platforms of decision making concerning transitional justice mechanism.

In regards to Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) some of the participants evaded interview questions that pertained to the programme with the exception of ex-combatant Sibongile and Senator Molly Ndlovu. The participants did not disclose why they avoided discussing the DDR process. It could have been that they did not want to revisit the memories associated with that phase of their life. Ex-combatant Sibongile remembered that "I did not participate in the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration programme; therefore I did not even receive the demobilisation funds because most of those who got the benefits were men. As a woman they would make sure they discourage you by pushing you around when you went to claim the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration benefits until you gave up and realised that you are wasting your time and energy" (11 April, Bulawayo). Senator Molly Ndlovu revealed that "some ZIPRA women did not attend the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration programme which took place in the country because of challenges faced" (9 April, Bulawayo).

Since ZIPRA combatants were trained in Zambia, Senator Molly Ndlovu an ex-combatant for example highlighted that "the Zambezi River was too full to cross especially for women. It was much easier for men to cross than women. Some comrades for the country died crossing the river" (9 April, Bulawayo). In this respect, most women were not part of DDR; no provisions were made for them upon their return. Both gender and contextual factors contributed to the experience and trajectory of the DDR process in Zimbabwe. However, for those participants who avoided discussing the DDR they might have had similar or different experiences of the process, hence my analysis is subject to broadening. I used gender as a category of analysis in order not to silence the narratives of those participants who chose to talk about the DDR process.

Social class was another category that appeared to some participants as a structural identity that became a post-independence tool for exclusion by the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe. Ex-combatant Sibongile revealed that some of her female counterparts were having better experiences of post-independent Zimbabwe; she communicated that "post-independence there is nothing great that happened except for the chosen few who identified with the commanders".

Ex-combatant Toriso had this to say “life is so difficult we are currently dying of hunger but some people are living comfortable lives because of the lack of being accommodative to everyone”. She continued to highlight the dynamics amongst women who actively participated in the liberation struggle by conveying that “the focus of the government has been more on the party side of women and has neglected the women who were guerrillas. Even the parliament representation system opportunities are mostly given to elite women who represent the bottom power in the hierarchy of power relations, neglecting ordinary women combatants who were soldiers and guerrillas”.

Ex-combatant Martha had unpleasant feelings towards the lump sum ZW$50 000 given to war veterans in 1997 as compensation, she disclosed that “some women were given compensation even though they did not have any notable contribution to make them deserving of compensation” (20 April, Bulawayo). Although she did not illustrate what she meant by “notable contribution”, the assumption of the researcher was that she was talking about those women who did not fight in combat. However it was evident that they felt like there was a group of women ex-combatants who were prioritized by the post-independence government. Former ZAPU National Secretary for Women’s Affairs Jane Ngwenya also highlighted that “some were given farms and other properties yet I had received nothing as a former leader woman ex-combatant. Corruption penetrated within the government and the government officials prioritized their relatives and friends” (15 April, Bulawayo). Those interviewed thus seem to suggest that you have to be a women ex-combatant with a particular social status in order to have access to the gains associated with transitional justice in Zimbabwe.

4.2.2 Theme 2: Representations

Some interview participants disclosed that they have been stereotyped using their ex-combatant identity. Stigmatization is the single code that was identified under this theme. It was mentioned as one of the post-independence experience of ex-combatants as a group. I felt it was important to include representation as a separate theme because it is in this context that women ex-combatant experienced discrimination merely as war veterans without other structural identities such as gender, social class, ethnicity/ language interlocking to structure their experiences.

The stigmatization is related to being an ex-combatant regardless of gender, social class and ethnicity. According to those interviewed war veterans have been negatively portrayed by society and the media. Ex-combatant Sibongile explained, “The most painful things are the

comments that circulate on social media, the way they talk about war veterans". She feels that some people in Zimbabwe have used social media as a tool to spread hate towards all war veterans because of a few war veterans who have been implicated in issues of misconduct and mismanagement of state resources; and bad governance by the post-independence government, hence tarnishing the integrity of the contributions made by war veterans towards the independence of the country more broadly.

Ex-combatant Sibongile believes that a lot of people are angry at war veterans, she explained that "as a woman ex-combatant if I could wash away my combatant identities like dirt I would do so" (11 April, Bulawayo). She wishes not to be associated with war veterans because it hurts her most so she would rather not. Her feelings of hurt are informed by both her experiences during and after the liberation struggle. Although the experiences and roles of women in the war were glorified and misrepresented (Lyons, 2004:251), ex-combatant Sibongile recalls that there was a prevalence of army commanders engaging in sexual violation acts, and how she managed to escape rape by biting her perpetrator. Her experience of war was "horrendous" and "a painful situation" therefore for her to be stigmatized based on the actions of others undermines both her experiences and contributions as a woman ex-combatant.

The absence of an effective rehabilitation programme also had an effect on the reintegration of some of the participants on the return to being civilians. Senator Molly Ndlovu an ex-combatant notes that although the government made efforts towards psychological rehabilitation it was inadequate because of the lack of facilities for such services. She stated "this affected our reintegration back into society" as some ex-combatants were suffering from post-war trauma; moreover some people were disturbed by their presence "as they never treated combatants as normal people even up to date" (9 April, Bulawayo). They were stigmatized because of their ex-combatant identity. Such social stressors exacerbate their mental health challenges. However, she mentioned that the government was in the process of appointing a body that "will be a good platform to channel our complaints as ex-combatants" (9 April, Bulawayo).

4.2.3 Theme 3: Justice

Interview participants expressed different ways in how justice would look like to them in the post-conflict context. The codes that were identified under this theme include recognition,

honour, respect and equal distribution of redress. Some of the participants illustrated that justice as recognition was important to them because they are invisible in the post-independence discourses. Ex-combatant Toriso who is fortunate enough to be a recipient of the war veterans' pension fund explained that one of the most important things to her in the transitional context is visibility through recognition. She stated that "We were never given recognition. It should be known that there are women who were the first to train for the liberation war outside Zimbabwe and to fight within the country" (29 April, Bulawayo). Moreover, Toriso wants to be honoured as a woman ex-combatant as she continued to express that "They should acknowledge us even during Heroes Day, we should be included in the list of heroes that should be remembered in the history of the liberation struggle. When I attend such functions they should honour me as a woman ex-combatant to show that they are aware of my contribution" (11 April, Bulawayo). As one of the people who fought for the country's independence she wanted her efforts to be publicly acknowledged. Ex-combatant Sibongile wants the government to respect war veterans "not this whole tendency in Zimbabwe of stigmatizing war veterans. I know the armed struggle was orchestrated with the help of the masses but us we were directly involved" (11 April, Bulawayo).

As recipient of the war veteran pension fund, Sibongile expressed feelings of discontent highlighting that "it is way too little" therefore the government should increase the amount especially considering that inflation is soaring in the country hence the cost of living has followed suit. Sibongile also said "the government should build old people's homes in honour of war veterans so that when they get old they don't become destitute" (11 April, Bulawayo).

Ex-combatant Florance never received the DDR fund and has never been a recipient of the war veteran pension fund. She was involuntary recruited by ZAPU guerrillas in her early teenage years; in the interview she narrated how life was difficult in the military camps in Zambia. In the interview she revealed that their living conditions were poor; they only started improving towards 1980. Florance remembered that "we rarely had any food to eat, as we sometimes ate one meal per day". During the early years she explained that "we did not have soap to wash our bodies with and we washed or clothes using muddy water, using grease from cars as lotion" (18 April, Bulawayo). Although Florance didn't receive military training because of her young age, she however was taught how to use a gun in classes.

Moreover, she explained how military were stored and hidden in their classes to raise less suspicion, these were "traumatic and sights and experiences" for her. In view of this, she declared that "It is not fair for the government to deprive us the war veteran pension on the

basis that some of us were not military trained. Our experiences of having been there are good enough to qualify us for compensation" (18 April, Bulawayo). For Florance, justice would entail the government thanking her in the form of compensation. She expressed "my wish is that the government assists me with capital for business so that I can be able to sustain myself. This would be a form of compensation for the four years I spent in the training camps in Zambia" (18 April, Bulawayo).

Although justice entailed different things to the participants, what was similar was that they reflected the need of being recognized and honoured but in distinct ways. Ex-combatant Senator Molly Ndlovu highlighted with concern the fate of the ZAPU combatants who died while crossing the Zambezi River from Zambia after independence. She mentioned that "they are not even recognized or honoured today" although they fought for the country (9 April, Bulawayo). Hence the acknowledgement of these comrades is a form of justice as recognition or honour to the fallen heroes.

4.2.4 Theme 4: Effects

The transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe has left feelings of pain/ hurt, hopelessness, regret and disappointment in the lives of the interview participants. Few positive emotions were described in relation to the transitional justice framework although individuals described efforts they themselves had taken to engage with gender-related concerns post-independence. For example, Former ZAPU National Secretary for Women's Affairs Jane Ngwenya stated that the life she is living after independence was far from what she expected but that "but in order to promote gender sensitivity we have decided to stand together as women and voice out our concerns" (15 April, Bulawayo). In general she highlighted that although they have made strides after independence to promote gender equality, women emancipation has not been achieved. Ngwenya explained how the policy of national reconciliation and amnesty declared by the post-independence government is still a "painful memory" even today. She believes that this is where the corruption that is still prevalent today was birthed because of the culture unaccountability.

Ex-combatant Toriso indicated that she was disappointed with her poor living conditions. She expressed that "this is not what I fought for; I wanted my efforts to be for all Zimbabweans to be free and for me to be free". Toriso highlighted that it is difficult for her to live a life that does not enable her to access economic, social and economic goods. She also declared that she wanted a Zimbabwe with an effective devolution of power. This echoes the writing of Zimbabwean scholars who have called for political decentralisation where political power and

the distribution of resources are not concentrated in the hands of the central government but are accessible to citizens through "their democratically regional, provincial or local authorities" (Moyo and Ncube, 2014:293). Toriso revealed that "I want a Zimbabwe that is not corrupt in regards to distributive justice". Her disappointment is that she fought for a better life that which would free her and all Zimbabweans, but her experience of the post-independent Zimbabwe has seldom changed for better living conditions. Ex-combatant Florance explained that the government is always promising to do things for them as women ex-combatants but nothing has materialized to date therefore "we have even lost hope" (18 April, Bulawayo). She mentioned that she has even stopped attending their political meetings. She is in a state of hopelessness especially that she is unemployed, uneducated and also did not qualify for the war veteran pension fund.

Ex-combatant Sibongile regrets having been abducted to Mozambique and hence becoming a woman ex-combatant. She believes this disadvantaged her. She expressed herself saying "if I had not gone there I would have been very far in life because my parents could afford to send me to school and do everything accordingly and exceed my expectations". She is certain that being at the military camps in Mozambique "back warded" her in life. Similarly Sibongile expresses regret because she is currently living in between two countries "hustling" as she calls it as a result of the inadequate war veteran pension. She also has feelings of resentment about her experiences during the liberation and post-independence. She said "that is the darkest phase of my life I hate it to say the least, I detest it". In regards to gender justice, she commented that "they used to talk about the possibility of women emancipation and gender equality when the liberation struggle ends and independence has been achieved" however she recognizes that "it was just politicking to make you adhere and happy about the painful situation because war is not an easy thing". This being the case, Sibongile feels hurt by the post-independence government as it has failed up to date to fulfil the promise they made to women during the liberation struggle.

Contrary to other participants who were deployed in ZANU military camps in Mozambique, Ex-combatant Thandiwe who was in the ZAPU military camps in Zambia revealed that "there was no special discussion about women" pertaining the benefits women would receive after the liberation war had ended (13 April, Bulawayo). Instead they used to talk about the "problems of Zimbabwe for the people of Zimbabwe both men and women". In other words, they never discussed women emancipation as a conversation subject. This connects to how all participants who were deployed in the ZAPU camps revealed that gender roles were never

enforced, perhaps this might have created an illusion that there was gender equality. Regardless of how this can be understood although ZAPU did not enforce gender roles in their military camps as narrated by the participants, the reality is that the absence of gender roles does not translate to women emancipation. This has been demonstrated by the exclusion of women in the Lancaster House Agreement which would eventually determine the transitional justice framework to be implemented.

4.3 An Intersectional Analysis

The significance of intersectionality in transitional justice is its ability to account for the complex experiences of women in post-conflict contexts. It allows for an analysis of the interlocking gendered, structural, cultural, socio-economic and legal aspects of societies in transition and the effects they have on the lives of women (Rooney, 2011:3). Most academic, political and policy analyses have neglected the gender aspect of transitions hence resulting in the exclusion of women in post-conflict societies (Ni Aolain and Rooney, 2007:339). My study focused on women ex-combatants in Zimbabwe; however it does acknowledge the contributions of other women in the successful execution of the liberation struggle.

In their interview responses some of the study participants seemed to be more comfortable sharing their experiences as ex-combatants instead as women ex-combatants. Yet also from the responses they gave, their experiences of the transitional justice framework as women ex-combatants were evident. Although my coding of themes was largely guided by my research question(s) and objective(s), I was also guided by the theoretical lens of intersectionality as the theoretical framework for the study. Accordingly, the research findings will be integrated within this theoretical framework. The theoretical lens of intersectionality assisted in investigating the individual post-conflict transformation experiences of discrimination and exclusion by women-combatants. It helped with understanding both gender inequalities and also "the structural inequalities between women and within social groups" (Ni Aolain and Rooney, 2007:342).

Intersecting identities that emerged during the interviews include those of gender, ethnicity/language and social class. Some participants stressed gender as being central in itself reflecting for example, the absence of women representatives in the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979, a peace agreement that influenced the post-independence political and socio-economic policies. The invisibility of women delegates demonstrated how gender was used as the focal point of inequality and exclusion in the peace negotiations, a process that

shaped the lives of some women ex-combatants in transitional Zimbabwe. The experiences of the consolidation of gender inequalities by some participants after independence illustrates that in a transitional justice framework "political and social inequality have to be part of the conversation that enables a future which all parties are included on an equal basis" (Ni Aolain and Rooney, 2007:345).

The high expectations of women combatants when the war ended emerged from multiple factors. These included the nationalist rhetoric of equating the success of the liberation struggle with the emancipation of women from gender inequality, but also from both colonial and traditional patriarchy. Moreover, their notable contributions, roles and traumatic war experiences in the liberation war justified high expectations from the post-independence government. In this regard, they were supposed to be on level playing field in the platform that would determine how they would experience the post-conflict context.

From the interview data collected 7 of the participants were deployed in the ZAPU military camps in Zambia and 3 deployed in the ZANU military camps in Mozambique. Of all the participants there were only 2 who revealed they occupied high ranking positions, ex-combatant Former ZAPU National Secretary for Women's Affairs Jane Ngwenya and Toriso who was deployed in Zambia and was a guerrilla instructor and trainer. Ex combatant Sibongile and Florance revealed that their enlistment in the liberation armies was involuntarily revealed as they were abducted. On the other hand, Former ZAPU National Secretary for Women's Affairs Jane Ngwenya voluntarily joined as she was in active politics as an activist before the liberation struggle. Some participants reserved discussing the events leading to their enlistment in the liberation armies.

The transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe was not a linear process such as the integrative transitional justice process that draws on legal standards designed to attain some of the core goals of transitional justice that include but are not limited to accountability, truth recovery, reconciliation and institutional reform. Instead the compromised political settlement that led to the of the end liberation war resulted in the declaration of an amnesty (Magaisa, 2016). Although amnesties are also transitional justice mechanisms they are a controversial tool as they sabotage the goal of accountability in post-conflict societies (Orentlicher, 1991:2604). The transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe, on paper at least, embraced restorative justice through a policy of national reconciliation. Nonetheless, generally the core goals of transitional justice were undermined in the transitional justice framework in

Zimbabwe as a result of a context that was exclusionary and unequal. In regards to a gendered form of justice, the absence of women and gender sensitivity in the peace negotiations that resulted in the signing of the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 compromised post-conflict rights critical to women. The exclusion of women in the process of formulating and implementing the transitional framework denied women the opportunity to define justice and national reconciliation in their context in order to ensure the achievement of gender justice according to their own terms.

Using intersectionality as a theoretical framework also enables an analysis of how gender interlocked with other structural inequalities within women ex-combatants. Middle class nationalist women leaders led the women's movement after independence neglecting matters that concerned lower income women who were mainly made up of women ex-combatants. Although women ex-combatants were celebrated during the liberation war because of their bravery and resilience, their rights and needs were abandoned post-conflict by both the post-independence government and women's movement.

Women ex-combatants were used as a symbol of revolution and "came to be used a weapon to advocate for gender equality in legislation…Yet as much as the women's party wing was making gains, not as much was seen in terms of gains for women ex-fighters" (Chogugudza, 2006:49). In this regard this might have been why both ex-combatant Sibongile and Toriso commented that women who were members of the bourgeoisie and were affiliated with man in the ruling-class benefited most politically and socio-economically as far as the post-independence gains were concerned. In other words, there were group structural inequalities amongst women ex-combatants where gender intersected with class and position to shape the experiences of some of the women, hence creating a hierarchy.

Although government institutions made attempts to promote women's political representation post-independence, class became a barrier for some women ex-combatants. Ex-combatant Toriso, for example observed that only the party side of women were elected into positions of power. Most women who occupied influential positions were from the middle class, and only few women ex-combatants had access to platforms that designed gender equity policy frameworks. It is against this backdrop that Chogugudza (2006:51) comments that "there was in general a fundamental mismatch between the needs of the women ex-fighters and those of the elite civil societies…it was middle class values which were used to dictate what actually came to be drafted into the constitution". In other words, women did not participate as equals

in the transitional context in Zimbabwe. Thus as Rooney (2007:8) has argued, "If the transitional framework is to aid a society to deal with the trauma of its past and to create a stable future then intersecting structural socio-economic harms have to be examined in order to be tackled".

In the theme of identity, intersectionality is located within various analytic levels. Women ex-combatants did not experience discrimination and exclusion sorely 'as women' and as 'working -class people' instead these social divisions intersected with the division of ethnicity. The research findings revealed that some women ex-combatants who were former ZAPU members and ZIPRA guerrillas experienced marginalization based on their belonging to the Ndebele ethnic group. In this context, ethnicity was used as a central axis to perpetuate disadvantages between social groups. The nature of the relationship between the Shona and Ndebele ethnic groups has always been an issue of controversy. They have always had strained relations since the pre-colonial context, however the colonial era consolidated the dysfunction between the two groups (Stauffer, 2009:115). But during the liberation struggle they had to join forces to fight their common enemy whose presence had equal effects on both of them. In other words, they formed "non-ethnic based associations" (Muchemwa, 2015:78).

Although the struggle against colonial rule united the Shona and Ndebele, this phase was short-lived as there was a transformation of ethnicity to 'tribalism' amongst nationalist leaders (Stauffer, 2009:134). Towards the end of the liberation struggle ethnicity which had culminated to tribalism worsened. The Ndebele people of Zimbabwe are made up of different ethnic groups which were inclusive of some Shona people and others who were assimilated into the pre-colonial Ndebele state, as such this reflects "the Ndebele nation as a pre-colonial form of a rainbow nation" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008:35). Therefore, in the context of the liberation struggle the Ndebele identity through ethnicity was defined in relation to speaking the language, that is to say "Ndebele-ness linguistically" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008:35). However, ethnicity culminated to tribalism during parts of the liberation struggle and post-independence when being Ndebele became politically equated and limited to being affiliated with Joshua Nkomo, ZAPU and also being geographically-located in Matebeleland (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008:35). In this regard, ZANU became a symbol of the Shona tribe and ZAPU the Ndebele tribe. This resulted in exclusionary politics. As put by Abraham (2006:60) the meaning conveyed was that "ZAPU is connected with dissidents and ZAPU is Ndebele therefore the Ndebele are dissidents".

According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007:280), ethnic divisions were heightened by nationalist leaders who were in pursuit of taking over the state. Although ZANU and ZAPU presented a united front during the Lancaster House negotiations, it was just for a short moment that ended after the signing of the ceasefire agreement. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007:870 observed that "Rather than nationalism and the armed struggle giving birth to common national identity, it became a terrain of politics of tribalism and fragmentation of the supporters of ZAPU and ZANU as though they were not of the same country". There was a short honey moon phase post-independence when ZANU won the elections and announced a policy of national reconciliation and declared an amnesty.

This moment gave hope to possibilities of ethnic cohesion, as both parties also formed the new government although ZANU was dominating with more fifty percent of the parliament seats. These hopes were soon erased as mistrust grew between the two liberation armies resulting in the deployment of Shona speaking soldiers to unleash violence in Ndebele speaking areas through operation *Gukurahundi* from approximately 1982-1987. An estimated death of more than 20 000 people has been documented, including torture and rape (Yap 2001:16). The justification of this massacre was that the mission was targeted at dissidents that were a threat to the newly elected government (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011:5). This is an illustration that forms part of the failure of the policy of national reconciliation. Against this context, the existence of ethnic divisions between women ex-combatants is not an issue that's unique instead it might be a reality that can be traced as far as during pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial contexts.

It is therefore critical especially for post-conflict societies that are deeply divided, to apply an intersectional analysis when mapping the transitional justice framework. Post-conflict legislations and policies must not fall into the trap of homogenizing social groups this perpetuates the assumption that they have uniform experiences. In her essay *Intersectionality and Feminist Politics* Yural-Davis - (2006:199) has noted that it is significant to analyse the categorical attributes of people belonging to the same social category because these "are often used for the construction of inclusionary/ exclusionary boundaries that differentiate self and other, determining what is 'normal' and what is not, who is entitled to certain resources and who is not". When the different structural identities of gender, class, ethnicity and others interlock they "tend to create, in specific historical situations, hierarchies of differential access to a variety of resources- economic, political and cultural" (Yural-Davis, 2006:199). Societies in transition are no exception; the research findings under the identity theme have illustrated a

need to conceptualize the interdependence of gender, class, ethnicity and other social categories in creating individual experiences.

4.4 Interpretation of the Research Findings

The central research question of the study was to explore how gender justice for women ex-combatants has been advanced or hindered by the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe. According to the study research findings, as a result of the absence of gender sensitivity and, amongst other issues, women representatives to present the issues that specifically affected women ex-combatants in the transitional context – the needs of women were not considered. Although all women were not represented during the Lancaster House peace negotiations, their post-independence individual experiences differed as there were structured by the intersecting social categories of gender, social class and ethnicity.

In other words, each social division determined how an individual experienced the transitional justice framework. This is not to say that the new government that took over from the colonial administration completely abandoned issues that pertained gender equality. Attempts were made at putting forward gender equity policies that were aimed at improving the position of women is society. Yet they did not consider that the women in question belonged to separate social groups, and that therefore gender equality might not look the same for all women. Moreover, in the process of designing and implementing the post-independence gender legislations women ex-combatants were not given the opportunity to specify who they wanted to become in the post-independence society and what gains they wanted to receive. Rather women nationalist leaders who occupied influential positions made that decision on their behalf (Chogugudza, 2006:51). As a result, some women ex-combatants are convinced that during the liberation struggle the promises of the achievement of women's emancipation and gender equality post-independence were not genuine, but were used as a tool for mobilisation and also to encourage them to remain steadfast during the war.

In regards to equal access to redress, Senator Molly Ndlovu was the only one not to talk about the topic, possibly because she is one of the few women who occupy an influential position among women ex-combatants. However this does not erase her experience as a woman ex-combatant especially as she belongs to the Ndebele ethnic group in Zimbabwe. Most of the participants pointed out that they have experienced unequal distribution of redress within their social group as women. However, Sibongile a women ex-combatant who is also a beneficiary

of the war veteran pension indicated that her ordeal to get access to her share of the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) funds was characterized by discrimination that was informed by her gender. In other words, gender, class and ethnicity intersected to inform the unequal distribution of redress women ex-combatants have been subjected to by the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe.

The research findings indicate that the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe has had different effects on women ex-combatants. It has affected the political, economic and social position of women combatants. As a result, most women ex-combatants expressed feelings of despair in relation to their post-conflict experiences as they have suffered disadvantages. Moreover, more war veterans describe being stigmatized by society in many ways because of their combatant status. This becomes an assault on their self-esteem because instead of them being confident in wearing their combatant identity and their contributions in the liberation of the country, some of them regret that phase of their life.

Otherwise stated, although the political rhetoric during and towards the end of the liberation struggle raised women ex-combatants to the level of heroes, the post-independence government did not however ensure that rehabilitation programmes were put in place in order to prepare the civilian society for a smooth return of war veterans into civilian life. This negatively impacted the reintegration process and the mental and emotional healing from post-war trauma by ex-combatants as they experienced unnecessary social stressors.

The new government declared an amnesty in the Lancaster House Agreement hence general transitional justice mechanisms such as truth and reconciliation commissions or criminal prosecutions, or effective institutional reform were not implemented. The state security sector has done questionable activities post-independence, such as that it unleashed a campaign of terror in Matabeleland against Ndebele speaking people and in some parts of Midlands. Moreover, the security sector in Zimbabwe has been marked by a violation of human rights include gender -based violence. These have been disturbing experiences for some women ex-combatants because they fought for nation-building amongst the people of Zimbabwe.

Justice to these women would mean recognition, honour, respect, and equal distribution of redress in the form of compensation. In short, for their struggles during the liberation war they want to be appreciated. However, if given a platform that would protect them while they channel their needs, there is a possibility that justice could mean many more other things. They might be in fear of protesting their plight. As Chogugudza (2006:55) has noted “Women

who attempt to establish their own participation by articulating their own agenda are quickly seen as undermining the revolution and thus being unpatriotic".

The research findings demonstrate that if gender justice is to be achieved for women ex-combatant, there is a need for gender policies that are designed to serve their specific needs. Furthermore, an intersectional analysis of the social categories of gender, class, ethnicity and other social divisions must be taken into account when addressing issues that concern women ex-combatants. The research findings illustrate that using gender alone to analyse the experiences of women ex-combatants is inadequate; other structural identities within a social category are important in understanding their political, economic and social position.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I interpreted and presented the research findings of the study. The research findings were integrated with the theoretical framework, the literature review and methodology. The key themes that emerged from the data analysis process included: identity, representation, effects and justice. The chapter argued that although all women were excluded in the process that designed and implemented transitional justice mechanisms, they had individual experiences of the transitional justice framework. Subsequently, although the post-colonial government made efforts to promote gender equity and equality through legislations and policies, they did not consider that women had different structural identities. In this regard, they experience gender inequality distinctively therefore their post-independence needs and understanding of gender equality are also not the same. The research findings revealed that the experiences of women ex-combatants post-independence were framed by the intersection of their gender, social class and ethnicity.

The next chapter recaps the research study, key findings and provides recommendations on the account of the research findings of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION: RESEARCH SUMMARY AND MAJOR FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

The central aim of this research study was to analyse the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe using a gendered perspective. The study objectives were to:

- Understand the experiences of women ex-combatants in the transitional context in Zimbabwe.
- Identify the contextual factors affecting the advancement of gender justice through the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe.
- To identify strategies and mechanisms that can enhance gender justice using the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe.

This chapter will give a summary of the research and recap of the major findings using the research objectives. The chapter also gives recommendations based on both the research objectives and findings of the study. The chapter concludes the dissertation by restating the findings of the study and identifying areas that need further study.

5.2 The Research Summary

The research study used a qualitative case study approach to explore how the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe has helped or hindered advances in gender justice for women ex-combatants. Purposive sampling was used to select the 10 women ex-combatants from the Bulawayo province. The research study was guided by the research question(s), objective(s) and theoretical framework.

Through the use of literature on women in anti-colonial struggles in Africa, the research study has shown that women made significant contributions as freedom fighters, political activists and through supporting roles. Yet on numerous occasions their role, identity and experiences are invisible because narratives about women ex-combatants "…do not account for the context that structured the ways in which women participated" (Magadla, 2015:391). The historical stereotyping of the relationship between women and men in gender and war studies has led to the tendency of reducing the former as merely victims, whilst the latter as perpetrators. Such

classifications risk undermining the agency of women in armed conflict, and overestimate the predominance of men as active combatants in armed conflict (Mudeka, 2014:84). Yet it also puts them in a precarious or invisible position post-conflict. Notwithstanding the reality that women ex-combatants are sometimes victims of gender based violence and discrimination (Lyons, 2004; Urdang, 1979; Cock 1991), they are not simply helpless victims but rather have political agency and are active participants in armed conflict.

Using the lived realities of women ex-combatants in the Zimbabwean liberation war referenced from previous literature, the research study has demonstrated the gendered nature of armed conflict. It has been shown that women who participated in the anti-colonial struggle in Zimbabwe were both victims and agents. By being sexual and gender violence targets, their bodies became sites of victimization; in the war between the Rhodesian Forces and liberation armies of ZANU and ZAPU were used as collateral damage. However, their participation redefined gender norms as they competed in military and masculine spaces, taking combat roles while some were transporters of life threatening military arms and ammunition. In this regard, they were agents. Women ex-combatants in Zimbabwe were applauded for defying all odds through their participation, but this process was at the expense of not capturing their lived realities of gendered structural power relations that intersected with other structures of inequality. Hence, post-independence the transitional justice framework disregards meeting the needs of women ex-combatants in a way that speaks to their liberation war experiences.

Using feminist scholarship, the dissertation has shown the importance in transitional justice of integrating gender sensitivity into processes that design and implement transitional justice mechanisms (Franke, 2006:813-827). The introduction of a gender perspective in the transitional justice framework helps address gender specific needs in the post-conflict context, each gender has a unique experience of armed conflict hence their needs differ (Ni Aolain and Rooney, 2007:351). In essence, in order for the transitional justice mechanisms to be able to deliver justice for women in post-conflict societies it needs to take into account the gendered experiences of armed conflict, allowing women to define justice according to their own terms. The dissertation has illustrated that the negotiated settlement reached through the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979, undermined the legacy of the liberation war on women ex-combatants. An amnesty was declared and a policy of national reconciliation adopted without consulting the population affected by both the colonial administration and the liberation struggle. The context in which the transitional justice mechanisms were designed and implemented, excluded women.

The absence of gender considerations in the peace negotiations held at Lancaster House has had a severe impact on the political and socio-economic position of women post-independence. These were peace negotiations that resulted in the end of the liberation struggle; and also determined the transitional justice framework that was to be adopted by the newly independent country. Despite the fact that gendered ways were used to discriminate women in the transitional justice process, post-independence the state established legislations and policies that were designed to promote gender inequality. Yet it became visible that these frameworks were designed in a way that does not accommodate the needs of women ex-combatants.

Through the theoretical lens of intersectionality, the dissertation demonstrated that the experiences of women in the transitional context are formed by the intersection of their social identities of gender, class and ethnicity and other structural identities. They intersect to structure inequalities in their lives in the post-conflict environment.

In accounting for the key research findings, this dissertation has shown that the experiences of women ex-combatants and their access to redress post-independence was framed by the interaction of their identity categories of gender, social class and ethnicity. These confounded and constricted their "life possibilities" of elevating from their structural subordination and "...the possibilities of those living at more privileged points of intersection" (Cooper, 2015:6). These social categories structured their individual political and socio-economic position and experience of inequality. The research study has shown that gender justice as gender equality through the transitional context framework in Zimbabwe did not take into account that the respective concepts may not have a universal meaning to the women concerned.

Using the narratives of women ex-combatant who participated in the study, the dissertation has shown that the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe has been viewed by some as a process that lacked genuine intentions towards improving the political and socio-economic dimensions of gender inequality. Some narratives from the participants illustrate dissatisfaction with the policy of national reconciliation because ethnical and tribal divisions have worsened post-independence; as a result others have been treated as second class citizens.

The gap in the literature that the study sought to further close was the neglected gendered experiences of armed conflict which results in the exclusion of gender sensitivity in the processes that create and implement transitional justice mechanisms. Using women ex-combatants in Zimbabwe as a case study, it has been demonstrated that in examining the potential of the transitional justice framework in advancing justice for women, the starting point should be examining the dominance of masculinities and the invisibility of women in peace negotiations. The research study also shows that in order to meet the needs of women ex-combatants in the transitional context, it is importance to investigate their "multiple grounds of identity" (Crenshaw, 1991:1245). This will assist in accounting for the intersection of these identity categories to with the goal of improving their political and socio-economic positions using the transitional justice framework.

5.3 Major Findings

The research findings are outlined using the research objectives.

5.3.1 Objective 1: Understanding the experiences of women ex-combatants in the transitional context in Zimbabwe

The first objective was to understand the experiences of women ex-combatants in the transitional context in Zimbabwe. This was sought by examining whether women ex-combatants had experienced gender justice in the form of changing patterns of gender inequality and equal access to redress, since independence. I used intersectionality as the theoretical framework to account for the complex individual post-conflict experiences of women ex-combatants. The research findings have shown that the issues that affected women ex-combatants were not discussed during the Lancaster House peace negotiations that ushered the country into independence. Therefore, women ex-combatants were required to reintegrate into the post-independence society without stipulating who they desired to become and what form of redress suited best their needs. In the process their reintegration was challenging because of the lack of gender specific rehabilitation programmes that would ensure a smooth return to civilian life and assist in dealing with post-war trauma.

The research findings have also shown that there was an unequal access to and distribution of redress and other post-independence gains associated with the transitional justice framework. The research findings that their experiences were not universal in that they differed on the basis of the intersection of the identity categories of gender, social class and ethnicity. This

explained clearly in the next objective as it addresses the contextual impediments to equality both between and within social groups.

5.3.2 Objective 2: Identifying the contextual factors affecting the advancement of gender justice through the transitional justice framework

The second objective was to identify the contextual factors affecting the advancement of gender justice through the transitional justice framework. The paradigm of intersectionality was used to map the discrimination and exclusion of women ex-combatants in order to understand the contextual factors framing these experiences. Through the identity theme generated from the data analysis, it emerged that gender, social class and ethnicity were identity categories that largely determined their experiences of gender justice and access to redress in the transitional context. The research confirms gender as the central axis of political, social and economic inequalities between men and women. The research findings established that the intersection of gender with social class and ethnicity constructed inequalities between women in regards to accessing redress post-independence. According to the research findings also being affiliated with the liberation armies of either ZAPU or ZANU shaped the individual experiences of women ex-combatants in relation to the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe. The research findings illustrated a need for societies in transition need to consider how gender, social class, ethnicity and other identity categories reinforce each other to create individual experiences of inequality.

The research findings have also shown that the initiated DDR process did not account for the socio-economic needs of women ex-combatants. As a consequence, their gender-specific needs were not considered. Some of the women ex-combatants revealed that they had encounters of sexual harassment, physical and emotional abuse during the liberation war. Others by participating in a militarized environment and living under severe conditions in the military camps were suffering from post-war trauma that they have navigate through up to currently. The state did not provide "psycho-social rehabilitation and support" for the transition of women ex-combatants into the post-conflict environment. (Sadomba and Dzinesa, 2004:61). Although post-war trauma was not the main concern of the study participants, they however emphasised on their traumatic experiences in military camps during the liberation war.

Some women ex-combatants expressed their dissatisfaction of the war-veteran pension fund stating that it was inadequate for their livelihood; on the other hand some were excluded from received since independence because they did not fit in the state's criteria of a war-veteran.

The definition of a war-veteran according to the vetting process was dependent on military training a revealed by one of the women-ex-combatants in an interview. This discriminates against most women because only few were military training trained.

5.3.3 Objective 3: Identifying strategies that can enhance gender justice using the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe

The third objective was to identify strategies and mechanisms that can enhance gender justice using the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe. There are different notions of justice from women ex-combatants that emerged from the research findings, namely justice as recognition, honour, respect and equal distribution of redress. However, if given an effective opportunity and platform by the state to channel their grievances and needs, the list on their notions of justice might expand. While each transitional justice framework is context-specific, the state can enhance gender justice in the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe by using the following strategies and mechanisms:

- Involve women ex-combatants as key stakeholders in the process of creating and implementing gender-specific structures in the transitional justice framework so that they can use this platform to communicate their specific needs according to their own terms.
- Formulate equality and gender legislations and policies that will account for the entrenched structural inequalities that are caused by the identity categories of gender, social class and ethnicity. This will enable development of a mechanism that will enable equal distribution of redress.
- Formulate a comprehensive national reconciliation initiative that will foster national healing and challenge ethnic and tribal divisions that resulted in gross human rights violations post-independence, such as operation *Gukurahundi* that unleashed terror in the Matebeleland and Midlands provinces. The failure of an effective national reconciliation policy has had a negative impact on some women ex-combatants in regard to the distribution of redress, as ethnicity has been used as tool to include/exclude. However, national healing and reconciliation is only possible if the government takes responsibilities for the wrongs of the past.
- Design effective community programmes that will create awareness of the significance of an inclusive and gender-sensitive rehabilitation and reintegration process for ex-combatants. This will assist in addressing post-war trauma related disorders and stigmatization against ex-combatants, respectively.

- Review the war-veteran pension allowance and adjust the amount according to the demands of the economy so that ex-combatants who are dependent on it can have a decent source of livelihood.

5.4 Conclusion

The research study has shown that women have played a pivotal role in anti-colonial armed struggles in Africa with reference to women ex-combatants in Zimbabwe as a case study. Their participation was significant in the success of the liberation war. Through the literature on the lived realities of women who participated as combatants, the dissertation has shown how gender structured the experiences of women in armed conflict. Their participation in the liberation war challenged the notion that women were incapable of engaging in masculine and military spaces, yet this did not abolish patriarchal gender relations. Patriarchy as a system has been documented to have existed in Zimbabwe during the pre-conflict, armed conflict and post-conflict context (Walker, 1991; Kriger, 1992; Geisler, 2004).

The dissertation has shown that the legacy of patriarchy has been consolidated post-independence; this has been illustrated by the lack of a clearly defined gender-policy by the transitional justice framework in Zimbabwe. In addition, the processes that led to the formulation and implementation of the transitional justice mechanisms that were to be used post-independence were not gender-sensitive. Women were not represented and gender issues were not part of the agenda. There was a narrow and inconsistent DDR process that lacked gender considerations. In this regard, there were no sustainable rehabilitation and reintegration structures, triggering stigmatization of ex combatants by communities and the media.

The study has shown that although the state put in place gender equality legislations and policies, these were not effective in responding to the day-to-day realities of women ex-combatants because they did not address their needs as a specific group. The state treated all women as a homogenous group, neglecting the reality that their direct participation in the liberation struggle meant that their experiences differed than those of civilian women, although they all contributed to the success of the liberation struggle in different ways. In this context, their post-conflict needs and their notion of equality might not be the same, and to effectively address this difference, women ex-combatants should be included as stake holders in the processes that formulate and implement legislations and policies concerning their transitioning back into civilian life.

Through the lens of intersectionality, the study has revealed that the failure by the post-independent government to address deep-seated structural inequalities has led to the complex experiences of women ex-combatants. The theoretical lens of intersectionality has been used to illustrate how the discrimination and exclusion of women ex-combatants was an individual experience for each woman framed by the identity categories of gender, social class and ethnicity. Gender was central in consolidating inequalities between men and women ex-combatants during the Lancaster House peace negotiations and in the designing and implementation of the transitional justice framework, and also in determining the political and socio-economic position of women ex-combatants.

This research has shown how the intersection of gender with social class and ethnicity also framed individual experiences of the inequality of the transitional justice framework by women ex-combatants. It has revealed the hierarchy that has emerged between women ex-combatants in regards to accessing political, social and economic post-independence gains. The dissertation has established that in order for the transitional justice framework to effectively advance gender justice, it needs to apply an intersectional analysis of the power relations that entrench structural inequalities between women in the post-conflict context. Gender on its own is inadequate to account for inequality. Rather, other social categories such as, but not limited to, social class and ethnicity should be investigated in order to address the struggles faced by women ex-combatants in post-conflict societies in order for all to have equal access to gender justice and redress.

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