

Engendering DDR

A case study for the Democratic Republic of Congo

Renske van Veen
Master thesis Conflicts, Territories and Identities
University of Nijmegen



Master thesis Conflicts, Territories and Identities

Author: Renske van Veen

Student number: 0829307

Supervisor: Ir. M. van Leeuwen

Second supervisor: Dr. W. Verkoren

University of Nijmegen

Amsterdam, 31st of August 2009



Woman is the companion of man, gifted with equal mental capacities.
She has the right to participate in the very minutest detail in the activities of man
and she has an equal right of freedom and liberty with him – Mahatma Gandhi

Table of contents

| | |
|--|----|
| <u>List of Abbreviations</u> | 5 |
| <u>Preface</u> | 6 |
| <u>Executive summary</u> | 7 |
| <u>Introduction</u> | 9 |
| <u>Chapter 1: Theoretical background on gender and conflict</u> | 16 |
| 1.1 Gender and the history of feminism | 16 |
| 1.1.1 Feminist theory | 16 |
| 1.1.2 Definitions of gender and gender mainstreaming | 17 |
| 1.1.3 Gender relations | 18 |
| 1.2 Gender and conflict..... | 19 |
| 1.2.1 Female roles in conflict..... | 21 |
| 1.2.1.1 Victims of sexual violence..... | 22 |
| 1.2.1.2 Active involvement in warfare | 22 |
| 1.2.1.3 Involvement in informal peace processes | 23 |
| 1.2.1.4 Involvement in formal peace processes..... | 23 |
| 1.2.1.5 Surviving actors | 24 |
| 1.2.1.6 Heads of households..... | 24 |
| 1.2.1.7 Employment in the (in) formal sector | 25 |
| 1.3 Conclusions chapter 1 | 25 |
| <u>Chapter 2: Gender and DDR</u> | 26 |
| 2.1 Definitions on DDR..... | 26 |
| 2.2 Typical DDR process..... | 27 |
| 2.3 Gender perspective on DDR..... | 28 |
| 2.3.1 Women in DDR..... | 29 |
| 2.3.1.1 Disarmament | 30 |
| 2.3.1.2 Demobilization..... | 31 |
| 2.3.1.3 Reintegration | 33 |
| 2.4 Conclusions chapter 2 | 35 |
| <u>Chapter 3: Conflict background</u> | 36 |
| 3.1 First Congo War..... | 36 |
| 3.2 Second Congo War..... | 37 |
| 3.3 Understanding the conflict in the DRC and implications for DDR..... | 39 |
| 3.4 Gendered impact of the conflict in the DRC | 41 |
| 3.5 Conclusions chapter 3 | 43 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| <u>Chapter 4: DDR in the Democratic Republic of Congo</u> | 45 |
| 4.1 The Multi Country Demobilization and Reintegration Programme (MDRP) | 45 |
| 4.1.1 The implementation of MDRP in the Democratic Republic of Congo | 46 |
| 4.2 MONUC and DDR | 46 |
| 4.3 National DDR programme in the DRC | 47 |
| 4.3.1 Eligibility criteria..... | 49 |
| 4.3.2 Disarmament | 49 |
| 4.3.3 Demobilization | 50 |
| 4.3.4 Reintegration..... | 50 |
| 4.4 Problems, challenges and implications for gender | 51 |
| 4.5 Conclusions chapter 4 | 52 |
| <u>Chapter 5: Women in DDR in the DRC</u> | 54 |
| 5.1 MDRP and gender: LEAP..... | 54 |
| 5.2 Gender in planning of DDR | 55 |
| 5.3 MONUC and gender | 55 |
| 5.4 Disarmament and gender | 56 |
| 5.5 Demobilization and gender..... | 57 |
| 5.6 Reintegration and gender | 57 |
| 5.7 Challenges | 59 |
| 5.8 Conclusions chapter 5 | 60 |
| <u>Chapter 6: Dutch NGOs and women in DDR in the DRC</u> | 62 |
| 6.1 Definition and classification of NGOs | 63 |
| 6.2 NGOs roles in DDR programmes | 63 |
| 6.3 Dutch NGOs, gender and DDR in the DRC | 64 |
| 6.3.1 Cordaid | 64 |
| 6.3.2 ICCO..... | 66 |
| 6.3.3 Oxfam Novib | 68 |
| 6.4 Discussion chapter 6..... | 70 |
| <u>Conclusions and recommendations</u> | 74 |
| <u>Bibliography</u> | 79 |

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|----------|--|
| ADFL | <i>Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo</i> (Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo) |
| CBR | <i>Centre de Brassage</i> |
| CONADER | <i>Commission nationale pour la demobilization et la reinsertion</i> National Commission for Demobilization and Reintegration |
| CTPC/DDR | <i>Comité technique de planification et de Coordination du DDR</i> National Committee for Planning and Coordination of DDR |
| DDR | Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration |
| DRC | Democratic Republic of Congo |
| FAC | <i>Forces Armées Congolaises</i> Congolese Armed Forces (former government army) |
| FARDC | <i>Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo</i> Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo |
| GBV | Gender Based Violence |
| IDDRS | Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards |
| MDRP | Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Programme |
| MLC | <i>Mouvement pour la Libération du Congo</i> Congo Liberation Movement |
| MONUC | <i>Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies au Congo</i> United Nations Mission to Congo |
| NGO | Non-governmental organization |
| PN-DDR | <i>Programmeme National pour le Désarmement, la Démobilisation et de la Réintégration</i> National Programme for DDR |
| RCD | <i>Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie</i> Rally for Congolese Democracy |
| SADC | South African Development Community |
| SMI | <i>Structure Militaire d'Intégration</i> |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNIFEM | United Nations Development Fund for Women |
| UN SC | United Nations Security Council |
| WAFF | Women Associated with the Fighting Forces |

Preface

With the writing of this Master thesis I have brought an end to the Master Conflicts, Territories and Identities in Nijmegen and with it comes an end to my life as a student.

After five inspiring years in Groningen, in which I not only became known with the subject of International Relations, but also made new friends and learned many great things during various extracurricular activities, I finished my Bachelor in International Relations and set of to Nijmegen. The theoretical part of the Master Conflicts, Territories and Identities was both inspirational and though, in which our small group of students has learned to work hard and to be critical about everything we read, wrote and exercised.

During the Masters phase I also had the possibility to do an internship at the Evert Vermeer Foundation (EVS). This internship has given me a unique experience and the opportunity to combine theoretical knowledge and practical skills. It is with the EVS that the foundations for this thesis were laid down.

After having concluded my internship, I focused my full attention on the last part of my Masters programme; the final thesis. The document before you is the product of several months of research and writing conducted in the summer of 2009.

The chosen subject of women and DDR in the Democratic Republic in Congo has come from a personal fascination for the position of women in society in particular and the African continent in general. Combined with the inspirational classes on Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration during my Masters, it has become one great project around subjects that inspire me both in my personal as well as my professional life.

Both in my Bachelor and Master phase I have greatly enjoyed my studies, my fellow students and life in Groningen and Nijmegen. Still, I am deeply satisfied that by concluding this thesis the time for a new phase in life has arrived. My gratitude goes out to my supervisor Dr. Ir. van Leeuwen, as well as to my former colleagues at the Evert Vermeer Foundation, my fellow students, several proofreaders and others that have provided an enabling environment in which I was able to complete this thesis.

Amsterdam, 31st of August 2009

Renske van Veen

Executive summary

This study analyses the situation of female ex-combatants and women associated with the fighting forces (WAFF) in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). In particular, this study seeks to describe the role of different actors directly involved in the DDR programme and the role of Dutch non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on gender mainstreaming in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programme in the DRC and what efforts these actors and NGOs should make to better address the needs and concerns of female ex-combatants and women associated with the fighting forces. Furthermore, it tries to explain the importance of a gender perspective on DDR by means of lessons learned from this particular case study. This study combines literature review on gender, gender and conflict, and women in DDR programmes with secondary data and in-depth interviews with three Dutch NGOs; Cordaid, ICCO and Oxfam Novib.

Although the fighting forces in the conflict in the DRC consisted of around twenty percent women, little attention has been paid to this group during the National DDR programme (PN-DDR). Due to a lack of funding, exclusive eligibility criteria, coordination problems, political constraints, complex reintegration, a gender perspective was hardly integrated and only around 3,5 percent of the former female fighters and WAFF were included in the DDR programme. The DDR programme in the DRC was not adapted to the needs and interests of female ex-combatants and WAFF. Especially their security, health and social needs were not taken into account.

This research is also looking at the role of Dutch NGOs in this particular DDR program in the DRC. Moreover, earlier studies have showed that NGOs can play an important role in DDR programme in amongst other things; need assessments, advice, lobbying, process management, logistics, communications and information, financial support and emergency aid. Furthermore, these studies show that NGOs could supplement the DDR programs with regard to gender, as they are often experienced in addressing and standing up for vulnerable groups in society, such as women and addressing their specific problems as mentioned above. In addition, most NGOs are also already conducting programmes with regard to security, health and social needs of women in the DRC. It was therefore expected that the Dutch NGOs examined in this thesis would have played a large role in the DDR programme in the DRC and specifically with regard to gender mainstreaming.

This study concludes that (I)NGOs could play a major role in addressing this group and should fill in the gaps of the DDR programme with regard to women. However, the case study has demonstrated that the three studied Dutch NGOs were not able to fully address the needs and interests of female ex-combatants and WAFF in the DDR programme in the DRC. Five major conclusions are drawn from the case study on the Dutch NGOs in the DRC. Firstly, the Dutch NGOs do stress the importance of gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes, but do not fully practice what they preach. This is explained by amongst other things, a lack of capacity and a focus on the female victims of conflict. Secondly, the organizations do make recommendations to governments and institutions to

pay more attention to the special needs of female ex-combatants and WAFF. They do this from their experiences from the field and their expertise in helping vulnerable groups such as women. However, the lobby and fight for the implementation of these recommendations is not always conducted by the NGOs. Thirdly, disarmament remains mainly a military operation in which NGOs are not welcome or not able to fully participate. However, they can have a supportive role during this phase.

Fourthly, NGOs could play a role in giving information about the necessity and benefits of the DDR programme for female ex-combatants and WAFF as they often did not choose to participate in the programme in the DRC. Working on local level and from a certain level of trust in communities, NGOs are particularly equipped to encourage these women to participate. Lastly, Dutch NGOs can, above all, play a role in the reintegration phase of the DDR programme as they work from the principle of community-based integration and through local organizations.

It is thus concluded that NGOs could and should improve their roles in DDR programmes with regard to women. The conclusion emphasizes the need for greater attention for gender and gender mainstreaming in all aspects of conflict and peace building. Despite the extensive progress in this area, DDR programmes are still not fully equipped to deal with gender issues. Therefore, female ex-combatants and women associated with the fighting forces still miss out on the benefits of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes.

This study found that future DDR programmes should be better designed and equipped to deal with the needs and interests of these women. It stresses that NGOs could and should fill in the gap in DDR programmes by designing special programmes and projects for these women as they have the necessary experience and expertise to support them. Consequently, this study presents some recommendations to improve the access of female ex-combatants and WAFF to the formal DDR programme and on how their interests and needs could better be addressed during the different phases of the programme. A better cooperation and division of tasks between the government conducting the DDR programme and the NGOs involved should be established to make sure that female ex-combatants and WAFF do not fall between two stools in future DDR programmes. Furthermore, it recommends that NGOs should better include gender mainstreaming in their programmes and pay special attention to the vulnerable group of female ex-combatants and WAFF who have no other support network to count on and some specific recommendations are made to the three Dutch NGOs to improve their gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes.

Introduction

In 2000 the United Nations Security Council adopted a groundbreaking resolution on women, peace and security. Moreover, Resolution 1325 addresses the ‘special needs of women and girls during the repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction and to encourage ‘all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependents’. With the passing of UN SC resolution 1325 the members of the Security Council for the first time acknowledged the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and those women associated with the fighting forces in DDR processes. As successful DDR processes form the key to post-conflict reconstruction and sustainable development, it is crucial to include both women and men in such process.

However, governments, international and national non-governmental organizations are reluctant to address the needs of female ex-combatants. Earlier studies have showed that gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes remains difficult to put into practice.¹ As a consequence, women who have been in or with the fighting forces are often forgotten during the process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. Hence, they do not equally benefit from services, cash incentives, health care and other support that flows to their male counterparts as part of DDR packages.

Furthermore, non-governmental organizations (NGO) do focus on vulnerable groups such as children and women, but they often only regard them as victims instead of also seeing them as important actors in and after war. However, NGOs could play an important role for female ex-combatants and Women Associated with the Fighting Forces (WAFF) as well as they often do not have access to the DDR programmes and they are dependent on support from other organizations and institutions. NGOs thus acknowledge the importance of gender mainstreaming, but struggle with the question how to implement this in practice.

Research aims and research questions

This research wishes to respond to the remaining question on how to include gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes in practice. It therefore aims at explaining the importance of gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes and to contribute to a wider understanding on how gender mainstreaming in DDR can be conducted in practice. In order to do so, a specific case study, namely that of the Democratic Republic of Congo, will be conducted. The choice for this particular case study will be explained later, but first the central research question and corresponding sub questions will be discussed.

¹ See for example: Farr, 2003; Mazurana and Clark, 2004 and de Watteville, 2002.

The main research question is: *How can gender mainstreaming be included in DDR programmes in practice? And what are the obstacles for gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes in practice?*

The research question will be answered with the help of the following sub-questions:

1. What is gender and gender mainstreaming and how has it become a focal point in academic research?
2. What is the relationship between gender and conflict and how has gender become integrated in conflict studies?
3. What is the context and content of DDR activities in the Democratic Republic of Congo?
4. How was gender mainstreaming included in the different DDR activities and the different directly involved actors in these activities in the Democratic Republic of Congo?
5. What does this teach us about the obstacles for mainstreaming gender in DDR programmes by directly involved actors?
6. How did Dutch NGOs implement a gender perspective in their projects on gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration in the Democratic Republic of Congo?
7. What does this teach us about obstacles for mainstreaming gender in DDR by NGOs?

Relevance

Scientific relevance

As aforementioned, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) has become an important area of discussion for scholars and policymakers in the field of conflict studies. DDR activities are thus seen as crucial components of both the initial stabilization of war-torn societies as well as their long-term development. As such, needs for disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration must be integrated into the entire peace process from the initial peace negotiations through peacekeeping and follow-on peace building activities. Furthermore, the last couple of years several scholars have done research and have written about the necessity to include female ex-combatants and WAFF in such programmes. However, the large part of these studies and policies focus on DDR in specific countries and on the argument that more attention should be paid to gender mainstreaming in DDR. Despite the interesting contributions this literature has offered, two main flaws in the literature can be observed. Firstly, though much has been written on the subject of gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes, a clear overview of the already available academic insights is missing. Secondly, while several scholars have argued the necessity of including gender mainstreaming in DDR, there are only limited resources on how gender mainstreaming should be included in DDR programmes in practice.

This study wishes to respond to these flaws by providing a review of contemporary research on the subject of gender and gender mainstreaming in DDR and to offer a clear overview of the insights on this subject that can already be derived from earlier studies. Furthermore, it aims at using the

general argument in reviewed literature that gender mainstreaming in DDR is necessary to see how this could be implemented in practice by means of a case study on the DRC

Societal relevance

This research aims to deliver information to policymakers in the Netherlands, international institutions and NGOs on how to include gender mainstreaming in DDR in practice. The outcomes of this research are in the first place of relevance to the Dutch NGOs in order to adapt programmes and projects that are specifically focused on the role of women in DDR programmes. Furthermore, governments, international organizations and NGOs could use the outcomes of the research to improve the cooperation and division of tasks in DDR programmes. Lastly, the results could be helpful to better satisfy the needs and interests of female ex-combatants and WAFF in future DDR programmes .

Case study DRC

To do this, the implementation of a gender perspective in the DDR programme in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) will be studied. The choice for this particular case study is both personal and practical. The Democratic Republic of Congo lies in the Great Lakes region, a region, which I have studied extensively during my Bachelor International Relations out of my fascination for the region and the many complex conflicts it had to deal with in the past decade. The specific choice for the DRC comes forth from the fact that this is one of the particular conflicts in the region I did not study specifically during my Bachelors.

In addition to the personal choice for the case study on the Democratic Republic of Congo, several other arguments can be made to support this choice. Firstly, the specific context of the DRC makes it one of the most challenging situations to conduct a DDR programme in. This context includes the rich history of the country, the geographic location and the many countries and different fighting forces involved in the conflict. Furthermore, of the currently conducted DDR programmes, that of the DR of Congo is unique in that it takes part in both a Multi-Country DDR programme (MDRP) for the whole region, a multi-year and multi-donor aid effort that supports the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants in the Great Lakes region and has a national DDR programme (PN-DDR) of its own. In the last program MONUC, the United Nations Mission to the Congo, also plays an important role. This peacekeeping mission of the United Nations is also interesting in that it has extensive responsibilities with regard to DDR. MONUC is thus no longer a solely peace keeping mission in the truest sense of the word, but has adopted a new role in the DRC. On paper, all these different actors involved in DDR activities in the DRC have given special attention to gender mainstreaming in all of their actions, which makes the country an excellent exemplary case to look at how these ideas on gender mainstreaming are to translate into practice.

Dutch NGOs in the DRC

Furthermore, not only will this thesis look at the different actors directly involved in the DDR activities in the DRC, it will also study Dutch NGO involvement in DDR with regard to gender. The choice for this extra case study has been made for several reasons. Firstly, in general NGOs are becoming more and more involved in DDR programmes and the crucial role NGOs can play in DDR is also stressed by the Integrated DDR Standards (IDDRS). This document, emerged from numerous UN, World Bank and bilateral donor agencies policy papers, states that 'NGOs often provide expertise in specific areas and can be a significant factor in ensuring that the needs of the community are met. The NGOs should be collaborated with and consulted throughout the DDR process' (UN, 2006). In addition, the extra study on NGOs can complement the research on gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes as NGOs differ from other actors involved in DDR in several ways. Firstly, NGOs are not concerned with involvement by and interests of states or governments as they operate independently. Secondly, NGOs are known for their attention and the fact that they stand up for vulnerable groups such as women. In addition, many of them have gender and gender mainstreaming high on their agendas. With their growing involvement in DDR activities, it is therefore also presumed that NGOs will try to put their ideas on gender mainstreaming into practice in these activities.

However, it lies without the reach of this research to study gender mainstreaming by all NGOs involved in DDR activities in the DRC and therefore a choice had to be made. As the research is conducted in the Netherlands, it seemed both logical and practical to concentrate on Dutch NGOs. To further define this extra case study, the author has chosen to focus on those NGOs gathered within the Co-Financing Consultative Body, a body of five major NGOs that receives around 11 percent of the total budget for the Development Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Of these five NGOs, only three organizations pay specific attention to gender, women in conflict and women in DDR programmes and next to it are active in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Therefore, the policies and projects of Cordaid, ICCO and Oxfam Novib regarding gender and women in DDR will be studied.

Methodology

To answer the central research question, different methods are being used. In particular, the several sub-questions ask for different methods. However, the majority of the data is collected through literature review, which is complemented by interviews with Cordaid, ICCO and Oxfam Novib, three major Dutch non-governmental organizations. In addition, a wide range of books, articles and theories on gender and the relation between gender and conflict were used to form the theoretical foundation for the research. Moreover, several reports on the DDR programme and the involvement of Dutch NGOs in the DRC were used to replenish the research. As the author was not in the position, because of limited time and financial resources, to conduct field research in the Democratic Republic of Congo herself, secondary data on the DDR programme and gender mainstreaming in the DRC were used to obtain the necessary data for the case study. Thus, the methods used for data collection include literature review, interviews and secondary data. These will be further explained below.

Literature review

The majority of this study is based on literature review. The aim of the literature review used in this study is to understand the specific concepts and processes and the academic and social debates that already exist on gender, gender mainstreaming, gender and conflict and DDR. The literature review thus is important because it gives an overview of the already existing insights on the topic of this thesis and the conclusions that can be made on basis of the already existing material (Hart, H. 't, Boeije, H. and Hox, J., 1996). Furthermore, relevant literature also is being reviewed in order to gain insights in the history and the conflict in the DRC. This thus serves as the basis for the case study on DDR in the DRC.

Interviews

In order to obtain more information on gender mainstreaming by Dutch NGOs in the DRC, several interviews are conducted with Cordaid, ICCO and Oxfam Novib. These interviews were held with the experts on gender and gender mainstreaming and those involved with the projects of the organizations in the Democratic Republic of Congo. As most information on the work of the three Dutch NGOs is not freely available to the public, the interviews should complete the general information the author could collect herself with more inside information from within the organization itself.

The eventually five interviews that were held, by email, telephone and in person, were semi-structured interviews. The interviews were conducted on basis of a flexible list of topics depending on the interviewee. Semi-structured interviews were favoured over structured interviews as they could lead to obtaining more information and researcher is better able to respond to the answers of the respondent (Hart, H. 't, et al, 1996).

Secondary data

In addition to literature review and interviews, secondary data are used throughout this study. Secondary data include '*research and other official and unofficial studies, reports on socio-cultural, political, ecological conditions, national and area-specific statistics, topical and area-specific articles from journals and newspapers, archives and files, aerial and satellite photos and maps*' (Mikkelsen, 2005, 88). The secondary data used in this research include working papers on DDR in the DRC, on gender mainstreaming in DDR, on NGO involvement in DDR programmes and on NGO involvement in the DRC. Furthermore, internal and other documents of Cordaid, ICCO and Oxfam Novib on gender and their projects in the DRC are used for the case study on Dutch NGOs.

Limitations and possible bias

The thesis is based on secondary material, including academic and policy documents. The author has selected those sources that cover the major trends in contemporary literature on the subjects of gender, gender and conflict, and gender and DDR programmes. However, there might be other important material that could have contributed to the study. Nevertheless, the sources are selected on the basis of their direct focus on gender, gender and conflict and/or gender and DDR programmes and the author has tried to only include those sources that are written in the last five years, with an exception for the theoretical chapter that is.

Furthermore, the planned interviews with the three major Dutch NGOs turned out to be quite hard to arrange due to the period in which this research was conducted, namely the summer period. Only a limited amount of interviews could be held as several experts were on summer holidays during the research period. The author is therefore fully aware of the fact that the amount of only five interviews is not enough to base general conclusions on. In addition, the research on the involvement of the three NGOs in the DDR programme in the DRC is solely based on information conducted from the NGOs themselves. Therefore, the conclusions based on this part of the thesis are biased towards their views and reports on their own work. Further research should therefore be conducted and should include views from other organizations and institutions involved in order to create more generalized and objective conclusions. Nevertheless, the author sees the interviews as a useful supplement to the literature reviews as they contain inside information on the views and projects of the three NGOs with regard to gender mainstreaming and the DRC.

As aforementioned, this study is merely based on the author's literary study of a variety of secondary resources. However, these sources tend to focus merely on the role of women in conflict rather than on that of men and therefore have a slight bias towards women. In addition, the resources are almost exclusively written by Western scholars and therefore might not include the non-western view on gender mainstreaming in DDR. Furthermore, the research is thus somewhat biased towards qualitative rather than quantitative or comparative data which would have allowed for more generalized conclusions.

Outline of the thesis

The thesis will start with a theoretical introduction on gender and how it has become a focus point with conflict studies. It shows how visions on gender have changed during the years and how it now has conquered an important place within academic research. Thus, this chapter shows that gender mainstreaming has become more and more integrated in international institutions and non-governmental organizations.

Thereafter the second chapter will scrutinize the link between gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration programmes. This chapter illustrates that a gender perspective on DDR programmes is important as women are increasingly actively involved in the fighting and the programmes are not prepared on their specific needs and interests. Furthermore, it shows that

including women in all phases of DDR is of utmost importance to contribute to the success of these programmes.

Chapter three will then be devoted to the background to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the impact of it on Congolese women. The chapter demonstrates that building peace in a continent-sized country with a large number of actors involved and several major conflict issues, is problematic. The complexity of the conflict and the many different fighting forces involved creates a challenging context to design and implement a disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme in the country.

The fourth chapter focuses on the DDR programme in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Several issues, including continued violence, the lack of adequate infrastructure or political institutions and the absence of operational capacity, created a context in which the integration of a gender perspective on DDR was of least priority.

The fifth chapter scrutinizes the role of women in the DDR programme in the DRC. It shows that mainly male former fighters benefited from the programme, whereas female ex-combatants and WAFF often could not even gain access to the programme and their needs and interests were chiefly not addressed. Therefore, these women were facing major gender problems such as stigmatization and traumas and were thus mainly depending on organizations outside the DDR programme for support.

The last chapter describes the role of the Dutch NGOs in the DDR programme in the Democratic Republic. By this means the chapter addresses the levels of integration of a gender perspective in the projects of Cordaid, ICCO and Oxfam Novib and their partner organizations, if and how they are involved in the DDR programme in the DRC and which lessons they have learned from their involvement.

Lastly, the conclusion summarizes the main results of the research and an answer to the research question will be given. Furthermore, the conclusion comprises some recommendations on including a gender perspective in DDR programmes, in what ways NGOs can fill in the gaps in DDR programmes to better address the needs and interests of female ex-combatants and women associated with the fighting forces.

Chapter 1: Theoretical background on gender and conflict

This first chapter defines the terms 'gender' and 'gender mainstreaming'; and offers an introduction to the history of gender and how it has become a focus point in academic research. As there is no widely accepted framework for understanding gender and its relationship to conflict, this chapter also aims at deriving a theoretical framework from existing literature on gender and feminism that will be used in the rest of the thesis.

1.1 Gender and the history of feminism

The history of feminism is usually divided into three waves of feminism. The first wave took place during the late 18th and the beginning of the 19th century in which women mobilized themselves to gain equal political and public rights. The main goal thus was obtaining rights equal to those granted to men. In both the United States and Europe the first wave of feminism ended when women were granted the passive and active right to vote. The second wave, around the 1960s, focused on a much broader spectrum of ideas and demands. Not only political and judicial rights were demanded, but women also tried to bring about changes in the thoughts on sexuality and mentality. During the second wave supporters of feminism divided themselves into smaller groups with own agenda's. However the main goal still was the struggle against every form of inequality and the promotion of women emancipation. During the third wave of feminism in the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century some new movements developed within feminism. Moreover, the third wave of feminism deals with all issues that oppress or limit women and also other marginalized identities. Moreover, the emancipation of minorities and migrants and equal payments for men and women are important themes.

1.1.1 Feminist theory

The theory on feminism was developed during the second wave of feminism in the late 1960s and 1970s. As social-scientific research has traditionally been very masculine, both theory and practice have been largely focused on men. However, as a result of long time lobbying campaigns feminist theory started to appear in academic research in de 1970s (Pettman, 2005, 670). Feminist theory has a bipartite function. Firstly, it offers a critical view to gender stereotypes and other theories that neglect gender. Furthermore it also has a constructive task, namely to offer alternative models to the already existing theories.

Feminism is not a uniform theory as it has many approaches to it. However, one could formulate some basic principles; as women suffer discrimination because of their sex, they have

specific needs that are neglected and the satisfaction of these needs would require radical change in the social, economic and political layers of society (Delmar, 1986, 8-9).

According to Smith and Owens (2005) feminist theory can be divided into five main perspectives, namely liberal, Marxist/socialist, standpoint, post-modern and post-colonial feminism.

Liberal feminism has its roots in the liberal principles of individual freedom and equal rights. Inspired by the 18th century Enlightenment movement, liberal feminism aims at equal political, juridical and economic rights for women as well as for the right to education and work. Moreover, liberal feminism had its peak during the first wave (Smith and Owens, 280-281).

To Marxist or Socialist feminists, it is not the reproduction of society in general, but the connection between the exploitation of women and capitalism. The drive for profit and its general need for reproduction led to a sex-divided work force and the oppression of the housewife (Smith and Owens, 2005, 282; Connell, 1987, 35).

The third approach is standpoint feminism, which is also founded in the Marxist ideology. However, this approach argues that the common ideas on the world have masculine behaviour and experiences as its basis and therefore are not equipped to represent a universal standard. Therefore, a feminist standpoint is needed to examine the systemic oppressions in society that, according to standpoint feminists, devalues women's knowledge. Standpoint feminism thus argues that women have different experiences and roles in society and therefore taking a feminist standpoint radically changes our understanding of the world (Smith and Owens, 283).

In the 1990s post-modernism arises, which criticizes all other ideologies and tries to deconstruct the truth. Moreover, it emphasizes the subjectivity and the construction of knowledge. Post-modern feminism introduced the distinction between 'sex' and 'gender' as universal categories. In this manner post-modern feminism argue that the distinction between men and women in the world is not based on biological differences, but is constructed by society. They also introduce the term 'gender performativity' which can be defined as the ability to think about gender as not given or rooted in sex, but as constructed by and in social relations (Smith and Owens, 2005, 283).

Lastly, Smith and Owens (2005) mention post-colonial feminism. This approach, sometimes also known as Third World feminism, is centred around the ideas of class, race and gender on a global scale. Moreover, post-colonial feminism criticizes western forms of feminism that, in their opinion, universalize women's issues and claim to represent women globally. However, interests and concerns of women in the West differ enormously from those of women in other parts of the world (Smith and Owens, 2005, 284.)

1.1.2 Definitions of gender and gender mainstreaming

While this thesis does not focus on the academic discussion and debate on definitions of gender and gender mainstreaming, it is necessary to clarify how terms will be used throughout the thesis.

Bouta, Frerks and Bannon (2005) offer a short and workable definition of gender, which will be used in this thesis. They define gender as '*a concept that refers to the socially constructed roles and differences ascribed to men and women, as opposed to the biological differences*'. However, gender is often misunderstood as being the promotion of women. Nevertheless, it also includes male patterns of behaviour and masculine constructed identities. Gender issues focus on women and on the relationship between men and women, their roles, access to and control over resources, division of labour, interests and needs. Gender relations affect household security, family well being, planning, production and many other aspects of life (Bravo-Baumann, 2000). Furthermore, the definition and interpretation of gender varies according to socioeconomic, political and cultural contexts and are influenced by many other factors. Gender is also constant subject to change and will therefore its meaning will vary over time and place.

During the years the focal point in gender studies has shifted from focussing on oppression and inequality to how roles of men and women are constructed. From this perspective international and non-governmental organizations have also come to pay more attention to the roles of men and women and this has practical implications for everything that is developed and executed in these organizations which is called 'gender mainstreaming'. Gender mainstreaming has been defined by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) as '*the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality*' (ECOSOC, 1997). Therefore, gender mainstreaming can be seen as a tool to achieve greater equality between men and women. It can thus focus on women exclusively, men and women, or men alone, in order to make both sexes benefit equally from development opportunities.

1.1.3 Gender relations

The transition of gender studies from focussing mainly on oppression and inequality to a broader concentration on the different roles of men and women in society has led to the creation of gender relations. Gender relations are the ways in which a culture or society defines rights, responsibilities and the identities of men and women in relation to one another (Bravo-Baumann, 2000).

Connell (2002) divides gender relations into four categories. First of all he talks about power relations, which is defined as the power that men have over women. This is manifested in the concept of 'patriarchy' in society and the media images portrait women as passive, trivial and dumb. This dimension of gender can also for example be ventilated in sexual violence or rape. Furthermore, Connell speaks about production relations. Gender division in labour has been common

in time and space. This is the structural basis of the Western gender order. Labour division is a part of a larger process, namely the gendered accumulation process. This process is the development of the global economy caused by colonization and housewifization. Women in the colonized world, formerly full participants in local non-capitalist economies have been increasingly pressed into the 'housewife' pattern of social isolation and dependence on a male breadwinner. The third gender relation is of emotional character and has been invented by Sigmund Freud. Emotional commitments can be positive as well as negative. Moreover, the emotional attachment of women to men is creating an unequal relation. The contemporary Western view that households should consist on the basis of romantic love, that is the strong individual attachment between two partners, intensifies this emotional gender relation. Lastly, Connell mentions the impact of symbolic relations. Language, clothing, make-up and photography can all have gender meanings. Language is for example subjective and mostly those words that are masculine are seen as better or stronger. These four structures interact and intermingle and can therefore not be seen as distinctive, but should rather be studied together.

Thus, Connell already defined the different roles men and women can have and how this is translated into different gender relations. His work however also shows that before the 1990s gender was mainly seen as the oppression of women and the inequalities between the sexes. This however changed quickly.

1.2 Gender and conflict

After the 1990s, gender studies started to mainly focus on how the different roles of men and women were defined. Gender issues were thus recognized to be found within economical, political and social aspects of society and to cut across all different sectors. As a consequence, gender also began to articulate in situations of conflict and warfare and the impact of armed conflict on gender relations and gender equality became a key issue (Moser and Clark, 2001). Conflict was recognized as a gendered activity in which women and men experience conflict differently and in which they have differential access to resources and violence (CIDA, 1998).

Nonetheless, it took relatively long before gender issues were also taken into account in conflict studies. This was mainly caused by the fact that the fields of military and foreign policy were long seen as male-domains; policy made and executed by men. Moreover, policy-making arenas of military and foreign policy were regarded throughout the world as areas least appropriate for women to be involved in (Tickner, 1992,3). Furthermore, conflicts were overwhelmingly fought by men, as they have been the fighting personnel of national armies, armed rebellions and militias (Moser and Clark, 2001).

However, since the early 1990s several trends in conflict created a context in which the gender dimensions of conflict could no longer be ignored. Firstly, the line between combatants and civilians has started to fade since the 1990s. Wars are no longer fought between two warring armies from

different countries, but rather are contested between regular armies, irregular fighting forces and even rebels operating within large or small groups (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, 2005). Although the majority of combat-related casualties remain male and more men than women are imprisoned during conflict, this fading line between and civilians has increasingly victimized women. Approximately 90 percent of the victims of modern conflict are civilian, the majority being women and children (Hauchler and Kennedy, 1994). Beyond the direct combat-related deaths, women have thus been hit hardest by indirect consequences of the 'new wars', such as displacement, famine, diseases and the break down of health services (Ramsbotham et al, 2005). In addition, the contemporary conflicts are not only no longer fought solely between regular national armies on assigned battlefields, but are also no longer fought by conventional means. Light machinery is now combined with new tactics such as rape, ethnic cleansing and starvation (Hilhorst and Van Leeuwen, 2005) Guerillas especially attack women to an unprecedented extent by taking not only food, but also property and sex in a usually violent manner (Turshen, 1998).

Analysis therefore started to pay attention to these changes in warfare and their impact on women. Nevertheless this mostly happened in the form of a simplistic division of male and female roles. Men were often seen as perpetrators as women were regarded as the victims of war (Moser and Clark eds., 2001). However, women are not only passive victims in this new-wars, but also increasingly choose to enter national armies as well as to take part in irregular fighting forces. The change in warfare therefore also breaks down the binary stereotype of active male/passive female and this should also be taken into account when looking at gender in relation to conflict (Turshen, 1998).

As a consequence of these changes in conflict, activist groups started to push the international community to pay more attention to the relation between gender and conflict and they forced the international community to put gender dimensions of peace and conflict on the agenda in the mid-1990s. Several influential international documents have appeared since. The first milestone reached was the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in 1995, which aimed at achieving greater equality and opportunity for women. It also established gender mainstreaming as a primary strategy for the promotion of gender equality around the world. Moreover, the main overriding message was that the advancement and empowerment of women could solely be achieved with a worldwide commitment to change deep-rooted attitudes and practices that perpetuate inequality and discrimination against women in all aspects of life and throughout the world.

The Beijing Declaration was followed by a seminar of the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations on 'Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations' in Namibia in May 2000. During this meeting the participants wrote *The Windhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action on 'Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective In Multidimensional Peace Support Operations'* (Windhoek declaration, 2000). This plan of action aims at gender equality and the full integration of women in all dimensions of peacekeeping, peace support operations and peace negotiations.

A second breakthrough was the adaption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, entitled *Women, Peace and Security*, on 31 October 2000. This groundbreaking resolution called upon the member states to provide for the equal participation and full involvement of women in all efforts for the maintenance of peace and security and the integration of a gender perspective into peacekeeping, peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction. Paragraph 13 pays special attention to women and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) and encourages all those involved in the planning of such processes to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants. (UN SC, 2000)

In response to these documents, two important studies have emerged. Firstly the Secretary General of the UN published its report on *Women, Peace and Security* (2002). Secondly, the United Nations Development Fund (UNDP) brought out a report entitled *Gender Approaches in Conflict and Post Conflict Situations* (UNDP, 2003). These reports scrutinize the major practical implications of the two aforementioned documents and have been the guidelines for international implementation of gender issues in conflict studies since.

1.2.1 Female roles in conflict

During the 1990s the field of conflict studies started to become aware of the fact that women are not a homogenous group and just as they experience conflict in different ways than men, they also play different roles within a conflict. They can be victims or perpetrators, stir up the conflict or be promoters of peace. In conflict situations they are forced to take up new roles and enforce old ones (ICRC, 2008). Since this realization, several efforts have been conducted to identify the various roles of women in conflict. This thesis builds on to the work of Bouta and Frerks (2002), who identify seven roles women can play in conflict. Women can be victims of sexual violence, combatants, involved in formal and informal peace processes, surviving actors, household heads and women working in the (in) formal sector.

As this thesis will particularly focus on the role women can have in DDR processes, and therefore the post-conflict situation, the roles of women during conflict are of less concern here. However, in order to understand the needs of women after conflict, it is necessary to understand what women have gone through during conflict and what roles they may have played. Furthermore, the various roles women play in conflict have practical implications for the post-conflict situations as these women have different needs and interests. Moreover, these roles are also useful to define the ways women have experienced the conflict in the DRC and how they should and can be integrated in DDR processes. For that reason, the seven roles Bouta and Frerks have identified will now be discussed more thoroughly.

1.2.1.1 Victims of sexual violence

As aforementioned, the civilian population is increasingly targeted in contemporary conflicts. Women often suffer from systematic rape or other types of sexual violence during conflict. Sexual violence is used as a deliberate strategy to humiliate an entire community or society, as women are often seen as the symbolic bearers of caste, ethnic or national identity (Bouta and Frerks, 2002).

Moser (2005) identifies three types of gendered violence during conflict, namely political, economical and social or interpersonal violence. Rape and sexual violence are, according to Moser, not only part of social or interpersonal violence, but also are used in a political and economical way. It thus is a gendered continuum of violence, rather than the more general view that gender-based violence is only 'social' in nature.

Political violence is defined, as '*the commission of violent acts motivated by a desire, conscious or unconscious, to obtain or maintain political power*'. Rape and abuse have become more and more systematic, deliberate strategies of war. Moser classifies economic violence as '*the commission of violent acts motivated by a desire, conscious or unconscious, for economic gain or to obtain or maintain economic power*'. The third type of gendered violence is social and defined as '*the commission of violent acts motivated by a desire, conscious or unconscious, for social gain or to obtain or maintain social power*'

Rape thus not only has implications for women during the conflict, but will also after the conflict has long ended. They have lost property rights, but also lose their own asset as 'good behaviour' and 'cleanliness' are still highly valued in most war-torn societies (Turshen, 2001, 65).

1.2.1.2 Active involvement in warfare

As opposed to the general view that women, together with children, are the main victims of conflict and that they are more peaceful than men, women are increasingly actively involved in conflict. In the last decades female combatants have been active in fighting forces in Eritrea, Ethiopia, Namibia, Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Liberia and Algeria. Moreover, the proportion of female participation in state and non-state fighting forces varies, but generally lies between the 10 to 33 percent (Barth 2002).

Women adopt different active roles, which Bouta et al (2005) have divided into four main categories. First of all women are increasingly fighting within recognized military institutions as well as with non-state actors and therefore play a role as *combatant* (Bouta et al, 2005). Another way in which they can negatively be involved in warfare is that of *support worker*. In so doing, women are working as, for example, cooks, porters, administrators or spies. Women can also play an active role in warfare without joining one of the warring factions. They then support warfare as civilians by, for example, broadcasting hate speech or instilling hatred of enemy groups in new generations. In that way they contribute to the militarization of men and society. Militarization can creep into ordinary daily routines and is thus hard to uproot (Bouta, 2005, 6; Enloe 2000, 2). Moreover, women can also

be kidnapped to join the army as *abductees*. In a growing number of contemporary conflicts women are forced to become part of, especially irregular, armies. They then become subject of sexual violence, exploitation and are even forced to marry army commanders (Bouta, 2005).

However, in practice women's active involvement in conflict has not been limited to one of the aforementioned roles, but tend to be more complex as research of Mazurna and Carlson (2004) on Sierra Leone shows. Women tend to fulfil multiple roles, which cannot be seen separately.

Women can have similar reasons as men to join the fighting forces during conflict, including forced recruitment, agreement with the war goals, patriotism, religious or ideological motives, a lack of educational opportunities and economic necessity (Sörensen, 1998). However, sometimes women's motives differ from those of men as they see their involvement in the fighting forces as a way towards empowerment. During conflict, gender barriers are often diluted and women's active involvement in the fighting forces can create gender equality and erase gender differences (Brett and Specht, 2004; Afshar, 2004).

1.2.1.3 Involvement in informal peace processes

Women are also increasingly involved in all kinds of issues related to the peace process. Moreover, this process is often divided into two trails, namely the formal peace negotiations that are conducted by the political leaders and a wide range of informal activities. Women are often the key to this informal peace processes, which consists of several activities including preventing violence from re-emerging, resolving ongoing conflict, and rebuilding societies once the guns go silent

Women are also, more often than men and in larger numbers, involved in these informal peace activities, which can influence the formal process (Bouta et al, 2005, 65; Sörensen, 1998). This is partly explained by the fact that women are frequently excluded from the former peace negotiations and the political institutions in the post-conflict state. Which then can be explained by the old argument that politics are not a domain for women and the lower level of education of women in the post-conflict state. Informal peace activities can then be a, and sometimes the only, way for women to enter public and political arenas and to become organized (Bouta et al, 2005, 65).

Informal peace activities can be organized on individual level, but are more often conducted through civil society organizations (CSO). Both men and women can run such organizations, but Moser and McIlwaine (2001) show in their study on Colombia and Guatemala that people tend to have higher levels of trust in women-led organizations. In addition to trust, women can also draw upon their moral authority as mothers, wives or daughters when claiming peace (UN, 2002, 53).

1.2.1.4 Involvement in formal peace processes

UN SC Resolution 1325 calls for the increase in the participation of women in the formal peace processes. Inclusion of women in the formal peace negotiations is of utmost importance to create greater gender equality in the post-conflict situation and to ensure a more inclusive peace.

However in formal peace processes around the world the number of women around the negotiation table have been limited for reasons already stated in the above subchapter. Yet, women's involvement in formal peace processes should be supported, as there are several issues that women do bring to the table, but men do not. Women not only tend to pay more attention to gender issues; they also raise issues that affect the whole society. Furthermore, they often bring conflict experiences to the table and set different priorities for peace building and rehabilitation. They fight for women's rights and concerns, but as sole caretakers in most societies, also stress the importance of issues as education, health, nutrition, childcare and human welfare. Including women in formal peace processes also brings with it the opportunity to build on a more gender-balanced political participation in the post-conflict state (Anderlini, 2007; Bouta, 2005, 50-51; UN, 2002, 61).

1.2.1.5 Surviving actors

In order to survive in times of crisis, women use coping mechanisms. Bouta and Frerks (2002,) identify four of such mechanisms, namely adaptation, migration, taking up socially unacceptable activities and former men's activities. The first mechanism is adaptation of the existing roles women have. Due to conflict the environment women live in changes drastically and this means that they might have to cope with the break down of services and a lack of restricted access to resources. By adapting their roles they are able to still function in situations in which the whole setting of their normal life has changed. Furthermore, women can cope with conflict by migrating to safer surroundings. Although migration can have major downsides such as the dangers of the journey and the leaving behind of resources and family, it is sometimes the only way to survive. Women choose to migrate more often than men, as approximately eighty percent of all internally displaced persons (IDPs) are women. Moreover, women tend to adapt much better to their new environment and more easily take on their new roles and continue their households. A third mechanism is called distress coping mechanisms in which women take up new roles that are not socially accepted, such as prostitution or illegal trade. In this way women try to compensate for the loss of resources and income. Lastly, women also take over roles previously occupied by men, which will be discussed in depth in the following paragraph (Bouta and Frerks, 2002, 63-64).

1.2.1.6 Heads of households

In conflict, women are also frequently widowed and find themselves forced to take on new and unaccustomed roles - for example, as heads of household. Conflict mainly drives men from society and the women that are left behind are obliged to take over the men's jobs. Moreover, conflict can also be a means of empowerment for women and strengthens their ability to sustain and protect themselves and their families. During conflict, traditional systems and divisions of tasks break down and women are often granted access to land to ensure their survival and that of their families (ICRC 2008).

Nevertheless, taking over men's roles is often not an easy task as women bear sole responsibility and due to conflict cannot rely on training and support mechanisms to help them enquire the necessary skills for their new tasks (Bouta and Frerks, 2002, 64-65).

1.2.1.7 Employment in the (in) formal sector

Women are frequently the sole breadwinners during conflict as their husbands and sons have joined the fighting forces, are wounded or killed or are looking for employment elsewhere. However, caused by prevailing socio-economic and socio-cultural norms, women normally did not work outside the house before conflict started. As a consequence they are not skilled or trained for most regular jobs and women are therefore often forced to accept badly remunerated work. These jobs are frequently found in the informal sector, which has a propensity to grow drastically during conflict. The formal sector is harder to access and is also often (partly) destroyed due to state collapse and the closure of private companies during conflict (Bouta and Frerks, 2002, 37-38).

1.3 Conclusions chapter 1

This first chapter has defined the terms 'gender' and 'gender mainstreaming' as they should be clearly understood before one can understand their importance in conflict situations in general and DDR programmes in particular.

Moreover, feminist theory gives the background on how these terms gained importance and were introduced in academic research. This is necessary to understand the meaning of gender today. Over time, the meaning of gender has changed and from focussing on oppression and exploitation, the focal point changed to constructivist theories on gender. This has led to the realization that organizations, including NGOs can no longer ignore gender and gender mainstreaming, but are to integrate it in all aspects of their organizations.

So, this resulted in a growing attention for gender within conflict. Moreover, it is recognized that conflicts have enormous impact on women and these effects often differ from those on men. Within conflicts, several roles of women are identified of which some are passive or negative, but others are active or positive. The focal point has shifted from women as merely victim of conflict to their more diverse roles during conflict

This chapter thus defines the symbolic use of the term gender and what meaning it has in contemporary conflicts. It constructs the necessary historical context for the following chapters in which the meaning of gender and the importance of a gender perspective in DDR programmes will be scrutinized and thereafter tested through the case study on the Democratic Republic of Congo.

This thesis tries to contribute to the discussion on gender and the roles women can play in conflict. Furthermore, it will try to demonstrate that, although the focal point of feminist theory and gender is no longer on the oppression of women, women in conflict are still too often only regarded as

victims and the active roles they can play are neglected by governments, international institutions and NGOs. The shift in attention has thus solely occurred in theory, but is not yet implemented in practice. This research will try to find out why this is happening and why gender mainstreaming seems difficult to apply in conflict situations.

Chapter 2: Gender and DDR

Successful DDR programmes are crucial to stabilize post-conflict societies and to initiate long-term development of these societies. As potential return to conflict and violent crime is high, due to the availability of arms and weapons in society the lack of livelihood and support networks for ex-combatants, DDR is essential to address these problems in two different ways. Firstly, by decreasing the number of weapons and arms in society by voluntarily disarmament in exchange for access to all benefits of the programme. And secondly, by offering the ex-combatants, through a symbolic as well as a practical process, a new identity that is compatible with peaceful development and sustainable growth (Farr, 2003).

The international community Moreover also has begun to recognize the importance of DDR programmes. Therefore, most contemporary official peace agreements address the issues of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) and it has become an integral part of UN peacekeeping missions and post-conflict reconstruction worldwide (Gleichman, 2004, 12).

2.1 Definitions on DDR

United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan has defined the terms disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in his follow-up study of the UN SC Resolution 1325 of 2002. His definitions are very workable and have become applied will therefore be utilized in this thesis as well.

Disarmament Moreover refers to the collection of small arms and light and heavy weapons within a conflict zone. It often includes the assembly and cantonment of combatants. Furthermore, it also comprises the development of arms management programme, including the safe storage and final disposition of weapon, which may entail their destruction as well. Lastly, de-mining can also be part of the disarmament process (UN, 2002).

Demobilization is defined as the formal disbanding of military formations, which is sometimes done in camps designed for this process like cantonment sites, encampments of assembly areas. At the individual level, it is the process of releasing combatants from a mobilized state. Moreover, demobilization is the start in on the ex-combatants transformation into civilian life and generally encompasses a support package and transport to their home communities (UN, 2002).

Reintegration is the process by which ex-combatants acquire civilian status and gain sustainable access to their communities. Therefore, ex-combatants usually get economic and social support and training to adapt to their new lives. For reintegration to be successful it is crucial that this process goes

hand in hand with economic development at local and national level, assistance to returning refugees, truth and reconciliation efforts and institutional reform (UN, 2002). Reintegration normally consists both reinsertation and reintegration, in which reinsertation is a short-term process in which the ex-combatants arrive at their home or new communities and in which their basic needs are satisfied. The reintegration phase is, opposing disarmament and demobilization, a long-term process, which aims at creating permanent disarmament and sustainable peace (Anderlini and Conaway, 2004).

2.2 Typical DDR process

Although there is no uniform model for designing and implementing DDR processes, as these should be adapted to every unique post-conflict situation, Body (2005) has tried to describe a typical DDR process. The subsequent models are adapted from his work.

Table 1: The typical DDR programme (Body, 2005)

| |
|---|
| Disarmament phase |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weapon collection or buy-back programmes (a successful UNDP programme for Albania offers development incentives to communities in return for the voluntary surrender of weapons) |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collection, and storage or destruction of weapons |
| Demobilization phase |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Verification of individuals' combatant status |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Separation of child-combatants from adult combatants • Separation of coerced partners from combatant spouse |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Registration and issue of ID cards • Data collection (socio-economic survey to establish needs & resources profiles of ex-combatants) |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cantonment or housing during transition stage • Pre-discharge orientation for combatant and dependents, which may include rights and benefits, life skills, literacy courses, and civic education |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Medical check-up (for Tuberculosis, sexually-transmitted diseases, malaria, HIV, mental health) • Counselling, referral to other health-care facilities if required Psychological counselling to adjust attitudes and expectations |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sensitization of receiving communities |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Issue of Skills Verification Certificate to correlate military experience to civilian occupational counterparts |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discharge (provision of documents, transport to home region, information on local communities) |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Settling-in package / Transitional Safety Net Allowance to bridge the difficult period of several months between demobilization and reintegration (monetized or in-kind, e.g. food, clothing, household goods, tools, seeds, fertilizer, livestock) |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Post-discharge orientation in the community of settlement, on available social support and economic |

| |
|---------------|
| opportunities |
| |

| |
|----------------------------|
| Reintegration phase |
|----------------------------|

| |
|------------------------------|
| Social reintegration: |
|------------------------------|

- Acceptance of the ex-combatants and their families into the receiving communities;
- The degree of the ex-combatants' participation in community social life, frequency of interaction.

| |
|--------------------------------|
| Economic reintegration: |
|--------------------------------|

- The incidence of crime/illegal activities attributable to ex-combatants;
- The level of poverty/financial autonomy among ex-combatant households as compared to the community average.

However, Body mainly focuses on the demobilization part of the DDR programme. He Moreover identifies numerous points, which should be taken into account. Looking at his definition of the reintegration phase, he only has several points that should be addressed. Yet, experience over the years has however indicated that (long-term) reintegration of demobilized ex-combatants remains the largest challenge (Specker, 2008). Another point of criticism on his typical model of a DDR process is that it has not incorporated a gender perspective what's however. Thus, special attention should be paid to the ways in which the special needs and interests of female ex-combatants and WAFF can be integrated in the DDR programmes.

2.3 Gender perspective on DDR

Gender and disarmament linkages are not immediately apparent. However, as women have become part of the fighting forces in contemporary conflicts in large numbers, the importance of a gender perspective on DDR becomes apparent (Farr, 2004; De Watteville, 2002). This becomes evident in several ways. Firstly, women and men are differently affected by, and involved in, issues related to weapons of mass destruction, small arms and light weapons, landmines and disarmament and development. Furthermore, women are often excluded from reconstruction and peace building initiatives and have not been significantly or substantially involved in DDR processes (Gardam and Charlesworth, 2000; Farr, 2004). Lastly, including women in all phases of the DDR process is essential to make these programmes a success and to secure sustainable peace and development of the post-conflict country.

The importance of a gender perspective on DDR was Moreover firstly internationally recognized in United Nations Resolution 1325. This resolution calls upon ‘all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants’ (UN, 2000). Including a gender perspective on DDR is important, because female ex-combatants are often more vulnerable than their male counterparts and have different needs during the process. Furthermore, experience in post-conflict reconstruction suggests that the demobilization and reintegration phase poses particular difficulties for women and girl soldiers (De Watteville, 2002).

The United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs has published several documents on gender and disarmament including *Gender Perspectives on Disarmament* and *Guidelines for Gender Mainstreaming for the Effective Implementation of the UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in all its Aspects*.

Moreover, the Office for Disarmament Affairs was the first UN entity to develop a Gender Action Plan in 2003. The Office also promotes and supports the implementation of gender-related UN mandates and policies; in particular the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000).

Yet the question how to engender DDR processes still remains unanswered. Part of the marginalization of women in DDR comes from a focus and discourse that sees women primarily as victims of conflict. However, attention should also be paid to the role women can have as active actors in conflict, peace and reconciliation processes (Bouta, Frerks and Bannon, 2005).

2.3.1 Women in DDR

There are several reasons why a gender perspective on DDR should be better addressed. In some cases, such as Sierra Leone, women are excluded from DDR programmes, as they are not identified as fighters. Other programmes, for example that of El Salvador, do include female ex-combatants, but women often faced discrimination later. Women associated with the fighting forces, such as cooks and partners, are even more often denied access to DDR programmes. (Anderlini and Conaway, 2004).

Nevertheless, as a result of the effective lobbying of the Office of the Gender advisor in Liberia, the term Women Associated with Fighting Forces (WAFF) was introduced instead of the commonly used term Camp Followers. UNIFEM defines WAFF as ‘*women and girls who participated in armed conflict in supportive roles, coercedly or voluntarily. Rather than being members of a civilian community, they are economically and socially dependent on the armed force or group for their income and social support (e.g. administrator, camp leader/coordinator, cook, health care provider/nurse, informant, messenger, mine worker, mobilizer of public support, porter, radio operator, sex worker, translator/interpreter*’ (UNIFEM, 2006). The adaption of WAFF instead of Camp Followers is a first step in getting those women who have not been actively involved in the fighting accepted into the DDR programmes.

UNIFEM has formulated a checklist for gender-aware DDR and Moreover distinguishes three groups of female DDR beneficiaries which all require a different approach (UNIFEM, 2008). These groups are; female combatants and girl soldiers, female supporters or women associated with the fighting forces (WAFF) and female dependants.

When women are able to join the DDR programmes, they are often not willing to identify themselves as former combatants as they fear negative stigmatization and association with for example killings, rape and illegitimate children. Furthermore, those women that were forced to join the fighting forces often disappear directly after the conflict has ended. They flee to their home communities as soon as they get the change and spontaneously reintegrate. However, these women often need psychical, material and psychosocial help, which is not, offered to them outside the DDR programmes (Bouta, 2005; McKay and Mazurana, 2004).

As DDR programmes are generally decided upon during the peace negotiations, women should be involved and a gender perspective should be included already in the process towards peace. However, this remains the major challenge for future DDR programmes as recent peace agreements such as that of Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone did not include significant numbers of women (Anderlini and Conaway, 2004; Farr, 2004).

2.3.1.1. Disarmament

The first phase of the DDR programme, disarmament, generally begins with the handing over of the weapons. The main requirement to access this first phase is Moreover often the turning in of a weapon, also known as 'one man, one gun policy'. However, experiences show that due to this obligation women are often excluded from the DDR phase (Conaway and Martínez, 2004; Farr, 2004).

Only accepting those combatants who can hand in a weapon to the DDR programmes leads to a general exclusion of non-combatants, mostly women, from these programmes. If they did have a weapon, the commanders, who later handed them out to chosen recipients, generally collected these. Moreover, women also face discrimination, as the selective groups of recipients are most likely to be male dominated (Conaway and Martínez, 2004; Mazurana and Carlson, 2004). Furthermore, their male colleagues can discriminate against female ex-combatants, especially when they do not have official rank and have to rely on men to confirm their grade and status to gain access to the DDR programme (Farr, 2004). In addition, all men and women that have been involved with or in the fighting forces should be targeted by DDR programmes, and not only those who can hand in a gun. When limiting the access to DDR programmes to actual fighters, the impression can be aroused that women and men who did not have a weapon and who did not were actively involved in the conflict are punished. This could even lead to more killing and fighting by combatants in order to become eligible for DDR programmes. Also, excluding those men and women without a weapon can leave them in a disadvantaged civilian position, from which they might not recover (Bouta, 2005). Moreover, the resources of DDR programmes tend to be scarce and therefore they narrowly target and define an ex-

combatant. Moreover women have a hard time identifying their selves as ex-combatants and are often relying on male superiors to confirm that they played an active role in one of the warring factions (Bouta, 2005).

When weapons remain in circulation after conflict, all women become more vulnerable in several ways. Firstly, violence between the warring factions is replaced by interpersonal violence. Women then run the risk of facing lethal domestic violence and their daily work becomes harder to manage. Furthermore, during the phase in which weapons are still available in society, women also often carry the burden of carrying for those wounded or disabled by gunfire (Farr, 2004). Next to these general vulnerabilities, female ex-combatants and WAFF who are not included in the disarmament phase miss out on an important symbolic part of the DDR processes, namely the transformation from combatant to civilian. Although they still need to adapt to their new status, saying their weapons officially goodbye also means saying goodbye to their old lives as combatants (Farr, 2004).

Including female ex-combatants and women associated with the fighting forces in the first phase of DDR has important advantages. Firstly, women's attitudes to weapons often radically differ from those of men and they are generally focused on the downside of weapons. Men on the other hand tend to be focused on the positive sides of weapon ownership and they often see weapon possession as a symbol of masculinity for which they are prepared to take security risks. Disarmament campaigns should therefore be aimed more on women as they will be more prone to support disarmament and can use their influence to encourage others, especially men, to disarm (Farr, 2004). In addition, research on DDR in Albania has shown that the involvement of women in DDR increases the amount of weapons collected. They also stated that their knowledge on disarmament and Moreover their capacity to assist in the programme increased. In addition, women had the previously unappreciated capacity to support the beginning of a new culture of resistance to arms proliferation and Moreover sustained a more comprehensive disarmament and peace building process (Farr, 2004).

Therefore, the major challenge in the demilitarization phase of the DDR programme remains the including of all those who have been actively involved in the fighting. The one man, one weapon policy leads to exclusion of women of the programmes. Thus, less attention should be paid to the handing in of weapons to gain access to DDR programmes.

2.3.1.2 Demobilization

Female ex-combatants are de-prioritized during the demobilization phase as well, as they usually do not represent the same level of threat as male former fighters. Additionally, demobilization often takes place in countries where institutions are not only relentlessly incapacitated by the conflict, but also have a history of excluding women. Moreover, the funding for demobilization commissions and other government institutions is often lacking, which especially creates a scarcity of funds for the support of female ex-combatants as a special group (Farr, 2004a). Furthermore, women are often not willing to join demobilization camps. By identifying themselves as combatants, they fear

stigmatization ones they return to their home communities. They therefore often choose to avoid the demobilization phase and return to their communities of origin anonymously.

However, integrating women in the demobilization phase is very important to ensure peace and security in the long run. In order to do so, not only men, but also women who have been in or with the fighting forces need support taking their first steps back into society. Thus, women need for example help by their psychological recover from conflict and the rebuilding of their social skills (Bouta, 2005).

Especially during the encampment, women have shown to have special needs such as the provision of basic health care and sanitary facilities. However, the provision of such basics as feminine hygiene products is often not covered during the demobilization phase of the DDR programmes (Conaway and Martínez, 2004). Moreover, cantonment sites often do not take into account the humanitarian and security needs of women. Separate accommodations could increase the satisfaction of these needs. Furthermore, regular patrols, the placement of dividing fences and the inclusion of necessary measures to protect women from sexual violence and other forced labour, should be taken care of during this phase of the DDR programme. Violation prevention activities, such as sensitization projects in the demobilization camps should be targeted at men as way to improve the security in the camps and to prevent violence upon reintegration (UNIFEM, 2004).

Otherwise, women can easily become victims of exploitation by male participants of the demobilization phase. Women are more vulnerable during the encampment period, as male ex-fighters still have violent attitudes, behaviours and identities. This is an inheritance of their time in the fighting forces, when these kinds of expressions of masculinity were required and rewarded. As these men can no longer express these feelings during warfare, they then tend to bring it of on the female participants of the DDR programme. (UNIFEM, 2004).

Farr (2004a) emphasizes the opportunity the demobilization phase of the DDR programme can offer to collect the stories of women who have been with the fighting forces. She argues that 'these accounts will not only offer a unique perspective on why women choose to join liberation movements as fighters, but will also help us understand how they manage a return to civilian life. Acknowledging their unique stories is a means by which to restore women former combatants to full and dignified participation in their communities, and doing so in a comparative project will allow for broader conclusions to be drawn about women's post-conflict recovery within the region'.

Women are more likely to join DDR processes when they feel safe and welcomed in the programmes. Experience shows that otherwise women will choose to 'self-demobilize' and Moreover miss out on the opportunities, like job retraining and healthcare, of the programmes. Single-sex camps could be a way to improve the feelings of security amongst female ex-combatants (Coulter, 2005;Farr, 2004). Furthermore, the presence of female peacekeepers and police also tends to increase the participation of women in the demobilization process. However, experience shows that there is still a

lack of female presence in the demobilization sites, as only five percent of civilian police and one percent of military personnel of the UN peacekeepers are women. (UNIFEM, 2004).

2.3.1.3. Reintegration

The reintegration phase of the DDR programme also gives away several restraints for the participation of female ex-combatants, although this is by far the most important phase to give these women an equal change in post-conflict society and to support a sustainable and inclusive peace. Moreover, women are often not able to attain the reintegration programmes as they are forced to do traditional female activities rather than to participate in programmes to gain marketable or transferable skills (Farr, 2003). Additionally, integrating female combatants into DDR programmes is of utmost importance to prevent a gendered division of labour in post-conflict societies. Otherwise men will probably gain a greater access to resources, and Moreover to power, as women will be more likely to be burned with domestic chores. When women ex-fighters do not get the same changes to learn new skills in the DDR programme, the change will be bigger that the position of these women in post-conflict society will be less than that of male ex-combatants. Women often have a lower level of education than men and therefore have poorer access to employment. Reintegration programmes should therefore pay special attention to skills training for women and also should target employers to encourage them to hire women (World Bank, 2003).

Offering training in traditional women' activities, such as sewing and secretarial work, which often happens in DDR programmes, is therefore not very useful in the long term as it will not increase labour equality (Chafetz, 1990; Anderlini and Conaway, 2004).

During the reintegration phase women face several needs that are different from those of men. To start with, women especially need housing, as the home is often the main site of women's work. Housing is also important to make sure that female ex-combatants can start to pick up their pre-conflict lives and start taking care of their families again. In addition, women have specific needs as regards of health care, including services for pregnancies and treatment for injuries caused by sexual abuse (The World Bank, 2003). Furthermore, reintegration programmes should include incentives for mothers, including feeding programmes, day care and micro-economic schemes in order to eliminate the objections against participation and to give them the possibility to combine the traditional task they are supposed to do with the reintegration programme (Farr, 2003).

During the reintegration phase of the DDR programme, women are more vulnerable in several ways. Firstly, they are often overwhelmed with the burdens of housework, agricultural world and the care of their family as soon as they have come home to their communities. They are therefore less able to benefit from the trainings offered by the DDR programmes and are not able to obtain economically

profitable skills, which would allow them to become economically independent. (Farr, 2004) Moreover, contemporary studies have shown that recently reintegrated men do not necessarily feel obliged to share their payments with their dependants. Women Moreover often suffer from the short- and long-term consequences of the reckless spending of money by men. Moreover they become are confronted with hunger or drug and alcohol-induced abuse and also with the danger that their men are infected by HIV (Farr, 2004).

In addition, female ex-combatants and WAFF face various problems during the reintegration phase. One of these problems is that 'traditional' relations between men and women change. During conflict and especially within the fighting forces, gender differences tend to become smaller. However, when returning to their home communities women are often confronted with pre-conflict gender relations and gender stereotypes (Conaway and Martínez, 2004). Additionally, were male combatants are frequently regarded as heroes; women who have been in the fighting forces have a lot of problems getting accepted in their home communities. Moreover, women are also reluctant to join DDR programmes as identifying themselves as former combatants will have negative influences on their future prospects including marriage (Conaway and Martínez, 2004; Coulter, 2005).

Integrating women in the reintegration phase is beneficial in several ways as well. Firstly, it is advantageous because female ex-combatants handle money in radically different ways than their male counterparts. Women tend to spend the money on familial support from which it will move on to the broader community. Men, on the other hand, are more likely to go on spending sprees. Money given to female ex-combatants is therefore much better spent and will also empowers the women economically and protects them from exploitation by men (Farr, 2004). Furthermore, special attention should also be paid to the new skills and knowledge women have obtained during their time in the fighting forces. Women who have been cooks, radio operators, transporters of ammunitions or medical caregivers have gained expertise which will get lost when women return to traditional and pre-conflict roles. This loss of social capital can be prevented when women receive training in their new areas of expertise (Anderlini and Conoway, 2004). Moreover, as their main caretakers, women can be an enormous asset in the reintegration and rehabilitation of child soldiers. However, they do need the training to understand and cope with the trauma's these children often have (Farr, 2004).

Several major challenges remain to constructively include women in the reintegration phase of DDR programmes. Firstly, training programmes should not only offer trainings in traditional skills to women, but also should focus on the skills they already obtained during the war and especially on those skills that will make women economically independent. Furthermore, to make it possible for women to benefit from the offered trainings, reintegration programmes should offer practical support to decrease the housework burden, such as childcare (Conaway and Martínez). In addition, women associated with the fighting forces and female ex-combatants are generally not included in the new security structures such as the new army and police. It is also not likely that they will be incorporated into the new political structures. To come to a more comprehensive and sustainable peace, women

should be included in the new security structures during the reintegration phase (Coulter, 2005). The reintegration phase of the DDR programmes should also pay attention to the cultural stigmas in post-conflict societies to make sure that female ex-combatants are fully accepted. Traditional purification rites for example could be a way to give women a clean start. Furthermore, the recognition and respect for the roles women have played during the conflict could help to increase their acceptance (Farr, 2004a). Moreover, special attention should be given to the social reintegration of women who have experienced sexual abuse, who have rejected the patriarchal structure of their home communities or who are isolated because they have been rejected by their families and/or their communities of settlement (Farr, 2004a). These factors still too often lead to the social exclusion and isolation of female ex-combatants and WAFF and should be addressed more properly.

2.4 Conclusions chapter 2

This second chapter has offered the definitions of DDR and the typical DDR phases, which are necessary to understand how these programmes and the corresponding phases are designed. However, they do not reveal a gender perspective on their own. Therefore, the chapter also includes a summary on how gender mainstreaming in DDR got integrated in international institutions such as the United Nations.

Furthermore, chapter two reveals the importance of integrating women in the different phases of the DDR programme and why and how this often does not happen. It thus demonstrates that there is a gender component to these programmes and therefore more attention should be paid to female ex-combatants and WAFF in DDR. The disarmament phase Moreover creates several gender issues. These include the fact that women are often not acknowledged as fighters, both by the programme and the male counterparts they rely on to confirm their military status. The one-man-one-gun-policy contributes to this problem. Furthermore, extra vulnerability of women when weapons remain in circulation and the contribution women can make to disarmament different from men are mentioned. During the demobilization phase women come across particular threats and needs in the demobilization camps, which are often not addressed. In addition, they often cannot be included in this phase, as they have often disappeared from the DDR radar before the demobilization phase starts. Yet, to ensure a smooth return back into society, women should be included in the demobilization phase. The largest gender problems appear however during the reintegration phase as women especially have difficulties to be accepted again in society and to adapt to the traditional and new roles of women in society.

So, the significance of a gender perspective in all phases is established. Yet, this chapter has solely demonstrated the experiences from former DDR programmes and the ideas on gender and DDR in general. Therefore, the following chapters will show how gender is integrated into one particular and recent case, namely that of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Furthermore, this thesis will see if

NGOs, as opposed to governments and other institutions conducting DDR, do pay attention to gender mainstreaming.

Chapter 3: Conflict background

Since the Democratic Republic of Congo gained independence of Belgium in 1960, the situation in the country, which was then called Zaire, has been largely unstable. Under the reign of dictator Mobutu Seso Seko the country falls into a negative coil from which it is not able to escape. Moreover, geographical proximity, natural resource abundance and the lack of strong institutions have historically made the Democratic Republic of Congo vulnerable to the dynamics of regional power politics in the Great Lakes area (Douma, van Laar and Klem, 2008).

During the 1990s these factors create the context for a succession of violent conflicts, which last for almost twelve years, resulting in more than three and a half million deaths since August 1998. Drawing in some seven African states, the DRC experienced two main periods of conflict, starting in respectively 1996 and 1998, of which the second popularly is called African's First World War (Roberts, 2001).

3.1 First Congo War

After the Rwandan genocide of 1994, the former Rwandan army (RPD) and its allied Interahamwe militias flee in large numbers to what was then called Zaire, causing some two million Rwandan refugees to settle in the eastern provinces the Kivus. Soon the RPD starts to reorganize and during the following two years repatriates, voluntarily or by force, between 50.000 and 70.000 armed forces. The militias in exile continue to threat Rwanda's fragile stability and also launch attacks on the Tutsi and moderate Hutu living in Congo and the Congolese Tutsi, the Banyamulenge. Moreover the groups start a regime of systematic looting, abduction, hostage taking, rape and killing. Consequently, armed forces from neighbouring countries Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi enter the country in August 1996 to put an end to the Interahamwe practices and to protect the Banyamulenge. In the same year a new movement to protect the Congolese Tutsi is launched; the *Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo* (AFDL), with Laurent Kabila as its leader. Moreover the AFDL receives enormous support of foreign armed forces. Eventually, the AFDL successfully cause the downfall of Mobutu Seso Seko. In May 1997 the installation of Laurent-Désiré Kabila as the new president of the now called Democratic Republic of Congo marks the end of the First Congo War.

3.2 Second Congo War

Shortly after the end of the First Congo War, relations between Kabila and Rwanda and other regional supporters of his regime drastically deteriorate. The president of the DRC Moreover accuses neighbouring countries of taking advantage of the institutional weakness and ethnic divisions in the country to exploit the mineral wealth of the DRC. Kabila, also fearing his political demise and eventual overthrow, decides to terminate the military co-operation with Rwanda and in July 1998 dismisses the Rwandan contingent of the *Forces Armées Congolaises* (Congolese Armed Forces – FAC). Furthermore, Kabila discharges James Kabarebe, a Rwandan officer who had become Chief of Staff of the Congolese army in October 1997. He Moreover asks Rwandan and Ugandan forces to leave the country (ICG, 1998). As a result, an armed rebellion against Kabila starts and both camps start to organize a new coalition by asking help from foreign troops.

The Banyamulenge in the eastern part of the country, who feel most threatened by the withdrawal of the Rwandan troops, start a mutiny in the town of Goma on August 2, 1998. And this event initiates a second ‘war of liberation’ between Kabila’s coalition and the rebels, who are now organized in a new fighting faction, namely the *Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie* (RCD) or Rally for Congolese Democracy. This faction exists mainly of Banyamulenge and Rwandans and is supported by both Rwanda and Uganda (ICG, 1998), The RCD quickly takes over control in large areas of the eastern part of Congo and as a result Kabila starts mobilizing Hutu rebels to support him in his fight against the rebellion. Furthermore, some of the fellow-members of the South African Development Community (SADC) respond positively to Kabila’s request for support. Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola send troops to the country in order to keep it from falling under control of Rwanda. Libya, Chad and Sudan follow shortly by either sending troops or making financial contributions (ICG, 1998).

During the following months the relationship between the Ugandan and Rwandan forces deteriorates as clear demarcation of their spheres of influence is lacking and rivalry between the two countries on the possession of land and resources emerges. Consequently rifts come forward between Congolese Liberation Movement (MLC) rebels, led by Jean Pierre Bemba and supported by Uganda, and Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) rebels, backed by Rwanda and headed by Azarias Ruberwa, in 1999.

However in the second half of 1999 a stalemate comes into existence in which none of the factions is able to inflict military defeat on any of the others. These circumstances lead to the willingness of all fighting forces to come to the negotiation table and in July 1999 the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement is signed by the six warring countries (Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, and Uganda) and, on 1 August, the MLC. However, the RCD refuses to sign (Turner, 2007). To maintain and ensure the implementation of the ceasefire the UN Security

Council set up the UN Mission to the DRC (MONUC) on 30 November 1999 by meaning of UN SC Resolution 1291(UN SC, 2000).

Yet all parties involved promptly break the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement and fighting continues as before. Furthermore, the tensions between Uganda and Rwanda come to an outbreak in Kisangani where the People's Defence Force and the Rwandan Patriotic Army clash. Moreover, the Rwandan forces launch a large offensive on Kinshasa. This in reaction to government statements that Kabila's army is fully rebuild and preparing the fulfilment of its 'mission to liberate the country' (Turner, 2007).

In February 2000 MONUC becomes operational as the UN authorizes a force of 5,537 troops. However, these troops are not able to bring the cease-fire back into existents as both the fighting between the Rwandan and Ugandan Forces and between the government and rebels continues. In addition, diplomatic efforts made by the UN, the African Union (AU) and the SADC fail to bring the fighting factions back to the negotiation table.

In January 2001, Laurent-Désiré Kabila is assassinated in his palace by a guard and soon succeeded by his son, Joseph Kabila. After Joseph Kabila takes over power in the DRC, hopes rise that he and Rwandan president Paul Kagame will reach agreement over disarmament of the armed groups. Under international pressure Joseph Kabila starts peace negotiations with the government, the oppositions, various rebel groups and civil society organizations. In February Rwanda, Uganda and the rebel factions agree on a UN led pullout plan, but violence continues (Turner, 2007).

During the first half of 2002 the situation in the DRC improves as the younger Kabila is able to secure the western part of Congo and the willingness of the RCD and Banyamulenge to fight under control of Kigali decreases. This leads to the formalization of the Sun City Agreement on 19 April 2002, which foresaw in a political transitions period. Furthermore, the peace agreement provides for democratic elections in 2006 and a unified, multi-party government thereafter. In July 2002 the Sun City Agreement is succeeded by the Pretoria agreement, which is signed between the Congolese and Rwandan government. Negotiated by South Africa, this agreement was seen as the starting phase for mutual security by both the withdrawal of Rwandan forces from the territory of the DRC and the dismantling of the Hutu militia who took part in the Rwandan genocide and still find shelter in the Congo. In addition, the *Acte Global et Inclusive* (Global and All-Inclusive Peace Agreement) is signed in December 2002 between the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD), the Movement for the Liberation of the Congo (MLC), the political opposition, civil society, the Congolese Rally for Democracy/Liberation Movement (RDC/ML), the Congolese Rally for Democracy/National (RCD/N) and the Mayi-Mayi (Reliefweb, 2002). The Global and All-Inclusive Peace Agreement marks the official end of the Second Congo war and provides for a two-year transitional period and a transitional government is installed in July 2003. Eventually the period lasts one and a half year longer than was agreed upon and ends with the elections in November 2006 in which Joseph Kabila is elected president of the DR of Congo with 58 percent of the votes.

(Douma et al, 2008). However, despite these steps towards peace and democratization, the eastern part of the country remains unstable. In particular the Kivu provinces continue to be troubled by several armed factions.

3.3 Understanding the conflict in the DRC and implications for DDR

Clark (2002) brings forward three perspectives on the causes of the war in Congo. Firstly he states that the colonial rule was a dreadful preparation for the country to govern its own modern state and this caused state failure after independence. The long and ruinous rule of Mobutu Sese Seko also falls in this category as it also produced failing state institutions and a weak central government.

This has serious implications for the DDR programme in the country, as successful implementation of DDR requires a strong government and corresponding institutions. Furthermore, failing state institutions can lead to corruption and thus a lack of funding available for the execution of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. Lastly, when the government of a country is weak, it is not able to enforce a stable and secure environment in which DDR preferably takes place.

The second explanation of Clark can be found in a regional trend of warfare in which warlordism plays a major role. Moreover, recent changes in international policies may have had a negative impact on the stability of African states. Two main tendencies are important within this perspective, namely globalization and the collapse of economic independency, and the virtual withdrawal of American support after the end of the Cold War.

The instability in the region Moreover also hinders successful disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, as one of the preconditions for successful DDR is the inclusion of all warring parties (Fusato, 2003). However, including all factions in the DDR programme is extremely complicated as during the conflict in the DRC a wide range of actors from different neighbouring countries were involved and these factions also changed rapidly all the time. Furthermore, the instability in the region makes re-recruitment of the former combatants relatively easy. Therefore, offering the ex-combatants a good alternative for their lives in the fighting forces is of utmost importance and consequently a great deal of attention should be paid to the reintegration phase of the DDR programme in the DRC

Lastly, foreign policy making in the states intervening in the Congo provides a useful insight on the causes of the conflict in the DRC. External actors create the main rebel groups involved in the fighting and Moreover not only internal collapse, but also external intervention should be considered (Clark ed. 2002). Moreover, Ayoob's theory of "subaltern realism" provides a more in-depth analysis of foreign policy making and external intervention. He argues that contemporary African leaders are

like their European predecessors in the early modern period by means of their main goal to build their states in terms of their economic strength, administrative capacity and military power. Hence, warfare and intervention in neighbouring states is as logical to African leaders now as it was to the heads of European states years ago (Ayoob, 2002). As mentioned before all warring parties involved in the conflict, including those of foreign sole or depending on foreign support should be included in the DDR programme. These factions should all fully agree with the peace agreement. The different African leaders involved in the conflict should thus show the political will to fully contribute to the DDR programme in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Moreover, they should no longer strive for their personal and national interests in the DRC, but should pointed to their common interest of stability and security in the region. In order to create this the DDR programme in the Democratic Republic of Congo is of utmost importance as the conflict in this continent-sized country has put a stamp on the security situation in the whole region in the same way as peace and security in the country could.

Although the motives Clark identified contribute significantly to understanding the conflict in the DRC and its implications for DDR in the conflict, one other factor should be taken into account namely; the economic motives in the conflict. Collier (2000) and Le Billion (2001) Moreover argue that resource abundance could lead to conflict and a political economy of war, in which natural resources are used to finance the conflict, could also prolong it. The Democratic Republic of Congo is rich in copper, diamonds, cobalt, petroleum, gold, silver, zinc and coltan and this has also contributed to the countries conflict. Moreover, these resources have both created incentives for the conflict as well as the necessary means for the armed factions and foreign troops to finance their fight (UN, 2002a). In fact, the areas in which the rebels were active were exactly those parts of the country that were relatively rich on natural resources and contained the bigger diamond and copper mines (Afoaku, 2005; Le Billion 2001). Furthermore, involvement of Rwanda and Uganda was partly based on the possibilities to gain access to natural resources, which these countries lack (Nest, 2006, 31). Again, this has implications for the DDR programme in the country, as is has to offer the actors involved an alternative for their self-enrichment through natural resources. This implies that on the individual, local, national and regional level attention should be paid to emphasizing the benefits of the DDR programme and in which ways all involved become the better from it.

To complete this paragraph that aims to create a better understanding of the conflict in the DRC, one more factor that might have played a role in the conflict should be mentioned namely ethnic tensions. Moreover, the ethnic division between the Hutu and Tutsi, which formed the bases for conflict in Burundi and the 1994 Rwandan genocide, lay on the foundation of the ethnic component of the DRC conflict. As mentioned before the people in the eastern part of the DRC are closely aligned to the Rwandan Tutsi and thus the Banyamulenge were supported by the Rwandan government and clinched with Rwandan Hutu in exile. Thus ethnic division also played its part in the DRC conflict. Although this has no significant consequences for the DDR programme, it might be considered to

separate the ethnic groups in the encampments during the demobilization phase to avoid further insecurities there.

3.4 Gendered impact of the conflict in the DRC

With three and a half million deaths since 1998, the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo has had a major impact on the whole country and all of its inhabitants. Nevertheless, the conflict in the DRC has been especially disastrous for women as women and girls account for over forty percent of all deadly victims of the armed conflict in Congo and it has been reported that up to seventy percent of all women have been raped (International Rescue Committee, 2002). This has major implications for the integration of a gender perspective in the DDR programme in the country. Therefore, the gendered impact of the conflict in the DRC will now be discussed on the basis of the various roles women can play in conflict as identified by Bouta (2005) and considered in the second chapter of this thesis. However, not all these roles are explicitly notable in the case of the DRC, but merely six of them are significantly present. These are victims of sexual violence, active involvement in warfare, involvement in the formal peace process, involvement in the informal peace process, heads of households and employment in the informal sector. However, the active involvement in warfare will be discussed in chapter five and the involvement in the formal and informal peace process will here be considered together as they are not very well distinguishable on their own.

Firstly, many women have become victim of sexual violence. Since the beginning of the fighting in 1996 more than 35,000 rapes have been reported. Gender-based violence (GBV) was extensively used as a weapon of war by all sides of the conflict, often in conjunction with abduction and sexual slavery. The warring factions Moreover aimed at destabilizing and dehumanising entire communities. Moreover, GBV in the conflict in the DRC is not only characterized by the large-scale on which it was conducted, but also by its brutality. Gang rapes and the severe mutilation of sexual organs were often observed (Douma, 2008). However, sexual violence was not only associated with the fighting forces during the conflict, but was also committed by ‘ordinary’ citizens, husbands, peacekeepers and humanitarian aid workers (Douma, 2008). GBV has become entrenched in the Congolese society and creates a situation in which women can easily become considered as the inferior sex. At the individual level, GBV is a major public health, social and human rights problem and had and has a severe impact on the lives of individuals, communities and society at large. Moreover, GBV also causes emotional problems for women such as shock, anger, fear, guilt and

feelings of self-blame and intrusive thoughts and memories (ICCO, 2005). In the Democratic Republic of Congo, twenty percent of the known rape victims has internal injuries, twenty-two percent has become HIV positive through rape and ten percent fall pregnant by their rapist. Additionally, GBV also has implications at community level as social relations are deteriorated and in the long-term it creates alienation, social withdrawal, increased violence within the community and impaired capacity to work (ICCO, 2005). In the DRC this also has severe impact on the stability of communities. At the same level, being a victim of rape in the DRC can be extremely stigmatizing. If the girl or woman is unmarried, it can mean that she will never marry. The husband of raped married women can leave her and rejected by her family she can become an outcast of society. This often implies the loss of housing and the loss of means to earn a livelihood (Action Aid, 2006). In the Democratic Republic of Congo as a high a percentage of sixty percent of the raped women are rejected by their family and community members (Douma, 2008). The high level of gender-based violence in the Democratic Republic Congo implies that not only women who have stayed out of the fighting in the conflict, but also female ex-combatants and WAFF have become often become victim of GBV during the conflict and its aftermath. This should be considered during the DDR process as these women have specific health needs, such as psychological help during the demobilization phase and should receive extra support when they try to get re-accepted in their communities of resettlement. In order to make the reintegration of female ex-combatants and WAFF into society possible, something also has to be done about the culture of sexual violence. This group already has major problems getting reaccepted in society due to their association with killings, looting and illegitimate children. However, the entrenchment of GBV in society during the conflict adds up to these feelings of inferiority of female ex-combatants and WAFF. This should be addressed to make fruitful reintegration possible.

Secondly, involvement in formal peace processes, was generally lacking in the Democratic Republic of Congo. No women were party to the Lusaka Cease Fire talks of 1999 and in the later negotiations preceding the Global and All-Inclusive Peace Agreement women only constituted ten percent of the delegates (Farr, 2003). Women Moreover were not considered to have leadership skills necessary to participate for peace building and reconstruction (Schroeder, 2004). However, active lobbying by women throughout the DRC has achieved a provision in the Transitional Constitution that states that women should play a role in decision-making. However this commitment, as laid down in Article 51 of the Transitional Constitution, has not been fully implemented yet, as only sixteen percent of the parliamentarians are female and there are no women in the presidential office (Smythe, 2003). Yet, the Democratic Republic of Congo knows a lot of strong women and with the first elections in 2006 some of them were nominated for a seat in the parliament. Nevertheless, these women failed to do so as they had some major difficulties. There were less funds available for them than for their male competitors, the women were not able to come to one agenda for 'women's issues', they were often slandered by the male candidates with the argument that women are not able to do the job and lastly people in the villages were held back by traditional thoughts on the roles of women and their position

as the inferior sex (Douma, 2009). Nevertheless, the lack of involvement of women in the formal as well as the informal peace processes and the lack of recognition of the leadership capabilities of women in the DRC also has implications for the inclusion of a gender perspective in the DDR programme. As indicated before, DDR programmes are generally decided upon during the peace negotiations and a gender perspective on DDR should thus be adapted as early as at the negotiation table. However, the needs and interests of women during this programme are easily neglected if no women are present to defend them.

Thirdly, between sixty and eighty percent of women have become single heads of households during the conflict and remain the sole responsible for raising children and the production of food and shelter for their families (The World Bank, 2008). Thus, these women have acquired a more emancipated position in society as they take up the same roles as men had before the conflict. This could offer a window of opportunity during the reintegration phase of the DDR programme, as female ex-combatants and WAFF could then retain their stronger and more independent position as this is also more generally accepted with women in 'normal' society.

Lastly, women in the DRC also are involved in the (in) formal sector during the conflict as cases of 'survival prostitution' are reported. In this manner, women are trading sex for food and/or shelter (Schroeder, 2003). Women thus have become more vulnerable during the conflict as general income generation has become harder to accomplish. The DDR programme in the country could prevent female ex-combatants and WAFF from relying on this kind of activities for a living by offering them skills trainings and jobs or apprenticeships.

3.5 Conclusions chapter 3

This chapter has given a brief description of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Not only has it created the context in which the DDR programme in the country takes place, it also has identified some major obstacles for the DDR programme in the DRC. Moreover, it has shown the history of colonialism and Mobutus dictatorship has contributed to failing state institutions in the DRC. Together with the wide range of actors involved in the conflict and the regional trend of warfare, this seriously hinders the DDR programme. This context is thus necessary to understand the conditions and problems that arose during the designing and developing of the DDR programme in the region.

Chapter three also, in accordance with Bouta and Frerks (2005), has identified the gendered impact of the conflict in the DRC. It is Moreover concluded that not only the conflict history, but especially the gendered impact of the conflict on women has serious implications for the inclusion of a gender perspective in the DDR programme. Firstly, it demonstrates that the conflict has been especially harsh for women, as they have become victims of gender-based violence on a large scale. The chapter thus implies special physical and psychological needs of these women. It is concluded

that these have to be addressed during the demobilization and reintegration phase for the part of the victims of GBV who have been with or in the fighting forces. Other gender-specific consequences of the conflict are the stigmatization of women and creation of a situation in which women often are looked upon as the inferior sex. It also shows that women have become more emancipated, but also are more often relying on informal activities such as prostitution for a living. These are all gender issues that should especially be addressed during the reintegration phase of the DDR programme in the DRC. Thirdly, the case study in the DRC shows that when women are not included in the peace process, and thus not in the preparations and formulation of the DDR programme, there is no one else who stands up for their particular needs and interests during disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. Thus, the exclusion of women from the peace process leads to an exclusion of women from the establishment and defining of the DDR programme, which then leads to lack of consideration for their particular needs and interests during the programme.

Chapter three thus shows the context for the DDR programme as well as the specific gender impact of the conflict and its implications for the DDR programme. In the following chapter this information will become useful to understand and explain the DDR programme in the country and the gender perspective to it.

Chapter 4: DDR in the Democratic Republic of Congo

One of the main objectives of both the Pretoria and the Global and All-Inclusive Peace Agreement was to disarm, demobilize and reintegrate a large group of fighters into civilian life, while simultaneously to integrate another part of the combatants from the key warring factions into a single national army. The tasks of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in the Democratic Republic of Congo were divided between the regional Multi Country Demobilization and Reintegration Programme (MDRP) and the National DDR programme (PN-DDR). Furthermore, the United Nations Mission to the Congo (MONUC) also played a role in the disarmament phase of DDR in the DRC, as this was not part of the MDRP programme. MONUC especially supported the programme before PN-DDR became active and thereafter shortly handed over most of its responsibilities to the national programme. The different institutions and their involvement in the DDR programme in the DRC will now be discussed separately.

4.1 The Multi Country Demobilization and Reintegration Programme (MDRP)

Not only in the DR of Congo, but also in the entire region, peace remained rather fragile and DDR programmes were needed throughout the region to ensure that conflict would not reoccur. With prior unsuccessful DDR processes in Rwanda and Angola and the remaining presence of armed groups throughout the region, the necessity to establish a regional DDR programme to stabilize the entire Great Lakes Region became evident.

Launched in 2002, the Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Programme (MDRP) is a multi-year and multi-donor aid effort that supports the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants in the Great Lakes region. MDRP currently targets an estimated 450,000 ex-combatants in seven countries: Angola, Burundi, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Uganda. Hence, MDRP is the largest programme of its kind in the world (Douma et al, 2008; MDRP, 2009).

The MDRP is financed through a World Bank coordinated trust fund to which individual donors can donate. Donors include Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the European Commission.

Furthermore, MDRP focuses on three different programmes or projects, namely the national DDR programmes, special projects and cross cutting issues. National DDR programmes are conducted in Angola, Burundi, the DRC, the RoC and Rwanda and are supported by the MDRP. Special projects by the MDRP support specific target groups who need extra attention, such as child soldiers. Cross cutting issues involve those problems that cut across borders such as Security Sector Reform, HIV/Aids and gender issues (MDRP, 2009).

4.1.1 The implementation of MDRP in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Under the MDRP a special project for the Democratic Republic of the Congo was approved. The DRC Emergency Demobilization and Reintegration Programme was to help consolidate peace and promote economic stability and sustainable development in the DRC and in the greater Great Lakes region in general (The World Bank, 2004). The programme has two general objectives, namely the demobilization and reintegration of an estimated 150.000 ex-combatants and the promotion of the reallocation of Government expenditure from military to social and economic sectors. Other objectives are poverty reduction by establishing more security; freeing additional national resources and investing in human capital of ex-combatants to resume economic and productive life (The World Bank, 2004).

4.2 MONUC and DDR

The United Nations Mission to the Congo (MONUC) supports the MDRP programme for the Democratic Republic of Congo and the National DDR programme. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1341 of 22 February 2001 was the first UN document that mentioned the necessity of DDR programmes from the DRC. Moreover the resolution urges ‘parties to the conflict in close liaison with MONUC, to prepare by May 15, 2001 for immediate implementation of prioritized plans for disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation and resettlement of all armed groups’ and (..) ‘demands that all parties cease all forms of assistance and cooperation with these groups and use their influence to urge such groups to cease their activities’ (UN SC, 2001).

The UN mandate that had established MONUC to observe the implementation of the Lusaka Cease fire was further strengthened in 2004 by means of the adaption of UN SC Resolution 1565. This resolution stresses the importance of DDR and the role MONUC could play in this process by stating that MONUC would ‘support operations to disarm foreign combatants led by the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo’ and to ‘facilitate the demobilization and voluntary repatriation of the disarmed foreign combatants and their dependents’ (UN SC, 2004, para 5).

With regard to the support of the PN-DDR by MONUC, UN SC Resolution 1493 (2003) states that MONUC is also tasked to ‘assist the Government of National Unity and Transition in disarming and demobilizing those Congolese combatants voluntarily decide to enter the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) process within the framework of the Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Programme’ (UN SC, 2003). UN SC 1565 adds that MONUC is also mandated to ‘seize or collect, as appropriate, arms and any related materiel whose presence in the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo violates the measures imposed by paragraph 20 of resolution 1493, and dispose of such arms and related materiel as appropriate’ (UN SC, 2004).

MONUC thus started out as an independent mission with some responsibilities with regard to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. However, with the implementation of the National DDR programme (PN-DDR) in the Democratic Republic in Congo, MONUCs tasks have been placed more and more under this national programme. Within PN-DDR MONUCs role is mainly limited to the disarmament phase and the provision of general security. Furthermore, it has provided logistical support and facilitated dialogue between the different actors involved in the DDR programme.

4.3 National DDR programme in the DRC

Not only did the DRC take part in the MDRP, the country also has its own national DDR programme; the *Programme National pour le Désarmement, la Démobilisation et de la Réintégration* (PN-DDR). Important features of the PN-DDR are the responsibility of the national government for the programme and the government’s obligation to ensure institutional coherency. So, not only did MDRP and MONUC implement activities with regard to DDR in the DRC, the national government also had its own programme with regard to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration.

In June 2003 estimation was made that between 300.000 and 330.000 former fighters were to be integrated in the DDR process in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Of these former combatants 150.000 were to be disarmed, demobilized and reintegrated into civilian life and the remainder was to be integrated into a unified national army, the so called *Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo* (FARDC) (National DDR programme, 2003). During the execution of the DDR process it became clear that the initial estimated number of 330,000 fighters to be disarmed, demobilized and integrated was far too low.

PN-DDR has three main objectives, namely: (a) substantially reduce the number of illegal weapons in the country and in every region; (b) reintegrate the demobilized combatants as well as their dependents in the community; (c) professionalize and modernize the national army by creating an initial 15 integrated Brigades regrouping troops from the former Congolese army and the rebel forces (UNDDR, 2009).

The PN-DDR consists of three main bodies, namely the *Comité Interministériel chargé de la conception et de l'orientation en matière de Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réintégration* (CI-DDR), the *Commission Nationale de Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réintégration* (CONADER) and the *Comité de Gestion des Fonds de Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réintégration* (CGFDDR). Firstly, the CI-DDR was given the mandate to elaborate a master plan for the national DDR programme and also take care of the implementation of the plan. Furthermore the CI-DDR was to coordinate the activities of the Technical Planning and Coordination Committee (CTPC/DDR). In addition, the National Commission for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration was aggravated with the execution of the DDR programme and was to set the mechanisms and activities for implementation of the national DDR process.

CONADER took over the work that previously was conducted by MONUC and UNDP and therefore had to finish the civilian reintegration of people who already had been selected by these organizations. Furthermore the World Bank also imposed restrictions to the work of the Commission, as it was only to contract a small number of partners.

Moreover, the CGFDR was given the mandate to analyze the amount of funds needed for the execution of the national DDR programme and to mobilize these resources from the donor community. Furthermore, the CGFDDR was to supervise the management of the funds allocated to the PN-DDR and had the task to ensure financial control, both internal and external.

The DDR process in the Democratic Republic of Congo was designed to be cooperation between military and non-military organizations, led by CONADER and supported by MONUC forces. Within this so-called *Tronc commun* approach the *Structure Militaire d'Intégration* (SMI) would be eligible for the initial screening of ex-combatants after which CONADER, agencies contracted by CONADER and the army would work together in the rest of the DDR process.

The SMI had already reinserted some 60.000 fighters into the new army and CONADER states that it has helped 102.000 adult fighters to demobilize. Furthermore, some 30,000 child soldiers have been reintegrated by various child protection agencies. Moreover the total number of ex-combatants in the DDR process in the DR of Congo comes to around 190,000 in which those who spontaneously demobilized are not even included.

One of the explanations for the explosive rise in ex-combatants in the DDR process is the fact that leaders of the *composantes* received money from the central bank based on the number of fighters declared, so it was in their interest to inflate numbers to receive more funds (Douma et al, 2008).

Table 2: Summary of executive bodies and their responsibilities in MDRP and PN-DDR

| Multi-Country DDR Programme (MDRP) | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| Executive Bodies: | Responsible for: |
| <i>World Bank</i> | coordination of the trust fund overseeing the procedures governing resources |

| | |
|--|---|
| | project proposal selection tendering procedures and (timely) disbursement |
| <i>National governments of Angola, Burundi, CAR, RoC DRC, Rwanda, Uganda</i> | planning and operational capacity |
| National DDR Programme DRC (PN-DDR) | |
| Executive Bodies: | Responsible for: |
| <i>CONADER</i> | coordination and implementation of the civil demobilization and reintegration part of the programme |
| <i>SMI</i> | military integration |
| <i>CGFDR</i> | financial matters before being incorporated into CONADER |
| <i>MONUC</i> | disarmament of ex-combatants, especially foreign former fighters security guarantee of ex-combatants transfer to countries of origin |

4.3.1 Eligibility criteria

Thus, three main institutions, namely; MDRP, MONUC and PNDRR, conduct DDR activities in the Democratic Republic of Congo. However, only the PNDDR directly selects the participants for the DDR activities and thus has formulated special eligibility criteria for the selection process.

The PNDDR focuses on the demobilization and reinsertion of the signatories of the Global and All Inclusive Peace Agreement; the FAC, MLC, RCD, RCD-ML, RCD-N, Mayi-Mayi and others who fulfil the eligibility criteria. These criteria are: (a) Congolese nationality (b) Possession of a weapon or possession of a certificate of disarmament issued by competent authorities, including those issued during spontaneous and voluntary disarmament (c) Proof of membership in a recognized armed group (d) Proof of haven taken part in conflict in the DRC between October 1996 and May 2003 (The World Bank, 2004).

Problem with these criteria is that they are vague and women often have to rely on men to confirm their grade and status. Moreover the MDRP has recognized that ‘ significant numbers of women are part of, in particular, irregular fighting forces’ and that women are often under-reported by combatants at the front-end of the process (MDRP, 2003).

4.3.2 Disarmament

Disarmament was not part of the MDRP’s plan for demobilization and reintegration in the DRC and

therefore MONUC was the main actor to conduct this phase. The DRC disarmament programme was launched on April 23, 2004 and was to target 330.000 ex-combatants. The process was to be purely voluntarily and was conducted by CONADER at the various disarmament points. Moreover the weapons were registered and afterwards the ex-combatants received a receipt for the weapon with which they were allowed access to one of the Orientation Centres.

4.3.3 Demobilization

Roughly the DDR process in the Congo would begin by the SMI screening after which the former fighters were sent to so-called Orientation Centres (OC). In these centres the identification process would begin in which the ex-combatants were to decide if they wanted to be reintegrated in civilian life or would like a role in the new unified national army. The disarmament en demobilization phase of the DDR programme was conducted at 7 different 'sites' in Aru, Aveba Bunia, Kpandroma, Kasenji and Nizi.

After they have made their choice, they went through medical screening and then the ex-combatants were given temporary shelter at the OCs. Ex-combatants would generally stay seven days in which they were given information about their status as ex-combatant and basic social skills training. Subsequently those who had indicated they preferred reintegration were given transportation back to their communities of origin. They would receive an exit kit including some basic household items, food, a blanket, a roof cover sheet and a sum of US \$60 to allow them to travel back home.

The group ex-combatants that applied for a position within the national army were then transported to one of the *Centres de Brassage* (CBR). There they were retrained and afterwards given a place in the newly formed *brigade brassée* of the reformed national army FARDC (Gouvernement de la République Démocratique du Congo, 2004).

4.3.4 Reintegration

The reintegration phase's main objectives are to (a) minimize market distortions and maximize beneficiary choice (b) provide assistance that leads to sustainable livelihoods (c) involve communities of settlement and foster reconciliation (d) benefit the wider community to extent possible.

This last phase of the DDR programme will start as soon as the ex-combatants register themselves in the chosen area of reintegration. When they register the former fighters will first receive a cash payment of US \$150, which will be followed by an additional payment of US \$150 a couple months later when the ex-combatants show that they participate in the programme activities and have started to reintegrate.

The reintegration stage of the PN-DDR is divided into economic and social reintegration. Moreover, economic reintegration is focused on given assistance to ex-combatants in attaining sustainable livelihoods including information, training, apprenticeships, education and employment. Social reintegration on the other hand is targeted at a smooth return to civilian life and into their new

home communities (The World Bank, 2004).

The results of the different programmes and phases of the DDR programme in the DRC are summarized in the table below. However, as The World Bank does not directly finance the disarmament phase of the DDR programme, but instead support reinsertion efforts, table 3 shows the number of beneficiaries of these three phases.

Table 3²: Summary of demobilization, reinsertion and reintegration activities in the Democratic Republic of Congo (December 31, 2008).

| | Number of Beneficiaries | | | | |
|----------------|-------------------------|-----------------|---------|------------------|------------------|
| | Cumulative last quarter | Current quarter | Total | Target projected | % of achievement |
| Demobilization | 102.014 | 0 | 102.014 | 150.000 | 68% |
| Reinsertion | 102.014 | 0 | 102,014 | 120.000 | 85% |
| Reintegration | 52.172 | 0 | 52.172 | 90.000 | 58% |

4.4 Problems, challenges and implications for gender

The above-mentioned programmes are coping with various problems with regard to gender mainstreaming in DDR. Firstly, although the funding and the intentions of the MDRP were more than adequate to deal with the regional DDR processes, the programme has proven to be rather unsuccessful in the DRC. Operational procedures were often long and slow and the foreseeable constraints, such as the lack of functioning infrastructure were not cleared on forehand (Douma et al, 2008). Furthermore, MDRP was neither mandated nor equipped to handle the security aspect of the DDR process and therefore a large part of the DDR process was to be in hands of the DRC itself or supporting organizations such as the UN and (I)NGOs (Douma et al, 2008).

However, the PN-DDR has some problems of its own, including the lack of funding, coordination problems, political constraints, complex reintegration and failing incorporation of the former fighters into the national army. Although PN-DDR was expected to demobilize 118.000 ex-combatants by the end of 2006, it was not able to do so as a result of a lack of funding. Hence, the budget of the PN-DDR was only sufficient for the demobilization of 103.000 ex-combatants and for the reintegration of not more than 68,500 former fighters. This is mainly the result of a change in strategy of the Congolese government, which prioritized the integration of troops in the army in the

² Adapted from: The World Bank (2008), *Quarterly Progress Reports: 2008- 4th Quarter (October to December)*, Washington, The World Bank.

eastern part of the country (Boshoff, 2007). Another problem that hinders the successful execution of the DDR programme is a lack of coordination between the government, MONUC and the contact group (Boshoff, 2007). Additionally, poor technical, logistical and financial coordination and management also generated constraints for the DDR programme (Thakur, 2008). Political constraints to completing the DDR and army integration process continue to this day. For political reasons several leaders of armed groups and militias are not firmly committing themselves to the disarmament and demobilization process (Boshoff, 2007) Especially in the eastern provinces this continues to pose a security risk in the country. This thus links to the failing of incorporating these groups into the national army. The *Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo* (FARDC) is still not an effective army as it remains composed of poorly trained, unmotivated and inadequately paid foot soldiers. The ineffectiveness of the FARDC is the main cause of the insecurity and humanitarian problems, which still trouble the country (Douma et al, 2008; Thakur, 2008). Moreover, the process of reintegrating ex-combatants into civilian life has also proven to be complex. The focus lies on economic reintegration rather than social and political reintegration. Reintegration also has been an afterthought as most attention has been given to the disarmament and demobilization phase of the DDR programme. This potentially undermines the entire process, since ex-combatants easier revert to violence to meet their basic needs (Thakur, 2008).

The problems MDRP and PN-DDR faced during the implementation of the DDR programme have some implications for the possible inclusion of a gender perspective in the process. The lack of funding and coordination implies that less money and resources are available to pay attention to the special target group of women. Therefore, it is expected that the resources will be spend on the largest and main target group, namely male ex-combatants. Furthermore, the lack of firm commitment and successful integration of the former combatants in the national army imposes a security threat that affects the possibilities for female ex-combatants to reintegrate and pick up their normal lives again. As peace and stability are preconditions for successful DDR, this also applies for female ex-combatants. In addition, the overemphasis on disarmament and demobilization and the economic reintegration of former combatants implies that reintegration for female ex-combatants is extra hard. As demonstrated in the second chapter, female ex-combatants and WAFF especially have trouble with the social and political reintegration as they often face stigmatization and exclusion. By underemphasising these processes, these women will probably be less supported with the problems they phase during the reintegration phase.

4.5 Conclusions chapter 4

The fourth chapter of this thesis demonstrates that the DDR programme in the Democratic Republic of Congo has been complex due to the division of tasks between the MDRP, MONUC, PN-DRR and the several executive bodies involved. Major problems that occurred are the lack of funding, coordination

problems, political constraints, complex reintegration and failing integration of former fighters into the new national army.

The problems that occurred during the DDR programme have implications for the incorporation of a gender perspective in the process. These include the lack of funding targeting special groups such as women, security threats and less support for social and political reintegration, which is proven to be hardest for women.

Concluding, it can be said that the case study on the DRC implies that problems with the general implementation of DDR programmes directly influences the prospects of gender mainstreaming in these programmes. This chapter thus offers the necessary context for the following chapter in which the involvement of women in the DDR programme in the DRC will be scrutinized. Moreover, it will show whether the problems for gender mainstreaming in DDR that arise from the problems with the general DDR programme in theory, also erect constraints in practice.

Chapter 5: Women in DDR in the DRC

PN-DRR has estimated that approximately twenty percent of all fighters in the conflict in the DRC were female. As of July 2008, more than 2,600 of these women were demobilized through the PN-DDR out of a total of around 88.000 female combatants. This means that only 3,5 percent of former female fighters has joined the DDR programme in the DRC. Furthermore, Douma et al (2008) studied the opinions of female ex-combatants on the DDR programme in the DRC. They discovered that although women should have equally profited of the disarmament and reintegration programmes, female ex-combatants rarely benefited of these programmes. This chapter will scrutinize the ways a gender perspective is integrated in the DDR programme, the shortcomings of the programme in this area and the challenges that remain.

5.1 MDRP and gender: LEAP

Although MDRP was to pay special attention to specific target groups such as women, the programme proved to be lacking the ability to do so. The integration of a gender perspective within all aspects of MDRP therefore proved to be an illusion as the programme only did the necessary to demobilize and reintegrate women. Furthermore, the lack of attention for female ex-combatants can be largely explained by the fact that the MDRP never bought in to the idea of women actively involved in the fighting forces (Douma et al, 2008).

Over the last two years MDRP has implemented a programme targeting female ex-combatants. The Learning for Equality, Access and Peace initiative (LEAP) of the MRDP, launched in June 2008, started a pilot project in Kindu, in the Maniema province of the DRC. The project aimed to encourage income-generating activities and to train the women involved in basic skills such as household and business management. This looks like a step in the right direction, but the results of the programme still have to show if gender mainstreaming by MDRP in this means really works out in practice.

Funded by the MDRP and implemented by Caritas, a catholic non-governmental organization, the project is implemented over a 10-month period. A total of 200 people -- 140 female ex-combatants and 60 members of the local community, mainly young mothers between 15 and 22 years old -- were selected for the programme. A few men are also enrolled.

The LEAP programme Moreover mainly worked on two themes, namely the sensitization of the local community and gender based violence. The different participants to the project gained basic

literacy and numeracy skills and additional training on management of income generating activities, mainly agriculture, small trade and product transformation, and micro-credit (MDRP, 2009).

5.2 Gender in planning of DDR

Gender did play a role in the planning of the national DDR programme in the DR of Congo. UNIFEM and UNDP held an ‘awareness raising’ workshop on the importance of mainstreaming gender equality in DDR in November 2003 of which the recommendations were presented to the MDRP partners (UNIFEM and UNDP, 2003).

Furthermore, the PN-DDR has remarked women as a special target group of the programme. In addition, its main objective is to provide support for the social and economic reintegration of female ex-combatants. In addition, women associated with the fighting forces (WAFF) are also given special attention.

Moreover, the programme recognizes the specific needs of women as they are often sexually abused and therefore both traumatized and stigmatized. Specific reintegration efforts therefore should include measures that (a) ensure the special needs of women in orientation centres are taken care of, such as security and sanitation (b) ensure the equality of benefits for both men and women (c) encourage female former fighters to participate in existing women’s associations (d) include partners of those women in community-level counselling activities in the communities of return (e) strengthen gender awareness in the reintegration process (f) and monitor the impact of the programme in the communities of return and report problems (The World Bank, 2004).

5.3 MONUC and gender

MONUC does not have a very well reputation amongst the Congolese population as it comes to gender issues. This results from the fact that MONUC soldiers are reputed for the sexual exploitation of Congolese women and girls. Moreover, MONUC has taken no specific measures to discourage the abuse of women and girls (Douma, 2008).

Furthermore, MONUC troops are almost exclusively made up of male troops. And as each of the over forty contributing countries can determine its own criteria with regards to the deployment, it is difficult to maintain a uniform policy on gender (Douma, 2008).

Moreover, there is no specific gender training for MONUC soldiers for example in how to detect sexual violence external to MONUC forces or how to protect women from it. It is difficult to enforce the integration of female troops in the forces as the only guideline is UN SC resolution 1325, which is not mandatory (Douma, 2008).

However, the mandate of MONUC includes a special provision on women which states that the mission had to 'pay special attention in carrying out its mandate to all aspects relating to gender perspective, in accordance with UN Resolution 1325 (2000)' (UN SC, 2002).

Furthermore, a Gender Unit was set up in March 2002 to integrate a gender perspective within MONUC and to work with the Congolese population to bring the conflict's effect on women to the attention of decision makers. Among the Unit's activities were training and research, communication and dissemination of gender-sensitive information within MONUC, outreach to the Congolese population, capacity-building for women leaders, and advocacy, monitoring and evaluation of women's participation in the peace and transition process (Reliefweb, 2003).

At the UN Security Council Presentation on UNSC Resolution 1325 of October, 2003, Amy Smythe, Senior Gender Advisor of MONUC summarized the main challenges for MONUC in the area of gender and DDR as followed: 'In the DDR programme, our major challenge was to gain the understanding of DDR personnel that women's concerns were an integral part of all activities particularly demobilization. There are women commanders and combatants in the various militias. A package was also developed on Gender and vulnerable groups with the message that 'behind every combatant there was usually a woman.'" A policy paper on Gender and DDR was circulated to the DDR Office with recommendations on the need to take women's concerns into consideration in policy conceptualization as well as implementation and monitoring. During the setting up of the temporary reception centre in Lubero as well as with the Kamina exercise, the Senior Gender Advisor and staff together with other female colleagues from Child Protection, Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs served in technical committees and worked with colleagues in DDR. This strategic outreach was a breakthrough, combatants as well as dependants presented themselves for the DDR programme, demonstrating the link between gender and DDR' (Smythe, 2003).

5.4 Disarmament and gender

Although the PN-DDR did recognize female ex-combatants as a separate target group, it failed to recognize women who had performed non-combatant roles and Moreover fall under the definition of 'women associated with the fighting forces'. Furthermore, the dependents of ex-combatants were often denied aid and other services although they also needed support (Smythe, 2003).

Moreover, the guidelines of MDRP were to stick to the one-weapon-one-men, which makes weapon possession the admission ticket for the DDR programme. As many women, especially WAFF did not possess a weapon they were unable to claim participation in the DDR programme. Those women that were not able to hand in a weapon were not eligible to enter the DDR process in the Disarmament phase. Hence, a lack of information on how then to begin the DDR process, combined with a lack of explicit criteria and under-reporting of WAFF limits the possibilities for those women who were with the fighting forces without fighting to join the programme. So though CONADER

stated that disarmament was available to ‘every ex-combatant’ (man or woman) who took part in the conflict between October 1996 and May 2003 as a member of an armed force, women and girls without a gun were not eligible to disarm (Douma et al, 2008; Schroeder, 2003).

5.5 Demobilization and gender

During the demobilization phase women were separated from the men and all would have a medical visit. Important aspect of this visit, especially for those women who had become victim of sexual abuse, is the HIV/AIDS sensitization and the possibility of voluntary testing (The World Bank, 2004).

Female ex-combatants were Moreover placed in separate tents in the *Centres d’Orientation* and this is an improvement of the security situation of these women at the encampment sites. Separating men and women has been one of the main needs of women during the demobilization phase and this was satisfied in the DRC.

However, the staff at the encampment sites should also be trained in gender-sensitivity, in recognition of physical and psychological trauma of sexual violence. However in the DRC these skills were lacking and the staff was often otherwise occupied. Therefore the special needs of women were not adequately satisfied.

Furthermore, female ex-combatants were excluded from the integration of former fighters into the new national army and therefore no full equal rights for men and women were achieved during this phase of the DDR programme (Douma, 2007).

In addition, Women Associated with the Fighting Forces (WAFF) were not only not able to access the DDR programme in the disarmament phase, they were also not able to gain access to the project benefits during the demobilization phase. Also, very limited humanitarian support was available for the dependents of ex-combatants as they were also often left behind in the OCs (MDRP, 2009).

Moreover, both female ex-combatants and WAFF in the DRC have often chosen to avoid the demobilization phase of the DDR programme. Afraid of the stigma’s they might face when they identify themselves as such, they have frequently preferred to go back to their home-communities without former demobilization. This auto-demobilization makes reintegration harder for these women as they have had no lessons in how to act in regular social life and had no help with their traumas (Douma, 2009).

5.6 Reintegration and gender

Although female ex-combatants ought to have the same reintegration opportunities as their male counter parts, women have become a residual category in the reintegration programme in the DRC (Douma et al, 2008).

The reintegration programme in the DRC offered additional 'female' skill training, such as embroidery, knitting, sewing, hairdressing and cloth painting. However, female formal fighters have indicated that these skills often did not fit the skills they acquired during their time in the fighting forces. The 'immediate assistance kits' ex-combatants receive upon leaving the Orientation Centres to return to their home communities are divided into male and female packages. Women's kits include female condoms and pregnant women also receive soap, plastic sheeting, razor blades, cord, brochure on healthy birthing, a bag and cotton clothing (MONUC, 2004). The national DDR programme did not assess the gender dimensions of the social and economic reintegration assistance available to demobilized soldiers, although it did address women's needs in the 'immediate assistance kits'. However, women's contributively potential in the reintegration of ex-combatants and persons formerly associated with the fighting forces and other aspects of strengthening peace and security during the reintegration phase was not used.

A special group of child mothers who have been associated with or in the fighting forces are especially vulnerable and face additional socio-economic reintegration challenges. These women often arrive at their home communities without their commander-husbands, which makes them extremely vulnerable for rejection by their families. In addition, being a mother without support from family or a husband, it becomes extra hard to enjoy the benefits of the reintegration programmes (MDRP, 2009).

The new modus operandi of CONADER has more attention for the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants and even pays attention to female ex-combatants. Last year it has started to survey the needs of female ex-combatants, but for most women this comes a day after the fair. Furthermore, most of the women who have left the fighting forces are no longer traceable as most of them auto-demobilized and/or do not want to be reminded of the past in fear of stigmatization.³

Although most of the women did not join the fighting forces free of force, they do have to deal with persistent stigma from their home communities and even from their own families once they are demobilized and start to reintegrate. Stigmatization is based on several assumptions including the idea that women have been sexually abused and therefore have lost their purity. As a consequence communities often fear to be infected with sexually transmitted diseases. Families and communities of female ex-combatants also fear that their military commander or husband from the fighting forces will come to pursue them and will threaten the family or community. Moreover, the presumption is created that women who have been in or with the fighting forces still display aggressive behaviour and will incite bad manners on the other girls or women in the community. Lastly, they think that these women will be out of sync with the culturally accepted gender norms and therefore will no longer fit in with the community (MDRP, 2008). As a consequence of these prejudices, female ex-combatants and WAFF in the DRC are often reluctant to categorize themselves as such. They have often taken their change to escape from the fighting forces as soon as possible and preferred to their home communities

³ Information retrieved from interview with Nynke Douma, Dutch journalist and scientific researcher, working freelance for Cordaid in the DRC, 28th of July, The Hague.

anonymously. Furthermore, as these women are aware of the stigma and barriers they have sometimes chosen to marginalize themselves from the community and formed a group of particularly vulnerable ex-combatants. The conventional barriers to socio-economic reintegration disproportionately affect this group. Thus, the low number of women in the DDR process in the DRC is due to a massive auto-demobilization of female ex-combatants. (Douma et al, 2008; MDRP, 2008).

Delays in the DDR programmes have increased women's insecurity, as they are more vulnerable to sexual attacks as long as the ex-combatants are not demobilized and fully reintegrated in society (Schroeder, 2005). High levels of GBV with perpetrators including irregular and regular armed forces, the MONUC forces and civilian population threaten the changes for female ex-combatants and WAFF to fully reintegrate in their home communities. Furthermore, most of the women felt abused by the militia and were traumatized by their experiences. Many of them were also have become victims of sexual violence during their time in the fighting forces. In this female ex-combatants and WAFF are no different from other Congolese women in the conflict. It could therefore be a good choice to choose a collective approach for female ex-combatants and WAFF combined with returning refugees and displaced to deal with the trauma's caused by the war.⁴

5.7 Challenges

A number of challenges remain to address the needs and interests of women in the DDR programme in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Firstly, the eligibility criteria for ex-combatants in the DDR programme should be more clearly defined in order to make it easier for female ex-combatants to enrol. These criteria should also be redefined in such way to include women Associated with the fighting forces as they are now often left out of the programme.

Secondly, the DDR programme in the DRC should address the problem of lacking provisions for dependants of male ex-combatants during the demobilization and reintegration phase. Especially basic needs such as the provision of shelter, food, medical care and transportation should be satisfied for dependants as well.

Additionally, the lack of capacity within DDR executing agencies to address gender should be tackled. More understanding and training of personnel of the DDR programme should help to better address the needs of women during the execution of the programme.

Fourthly, the barriers that women face whilst accessing DDR-related assistance should be reduced and organizations should be more aware of the needs and interests of female ex-combatants and WAFF. A better connection between the DDR programme and humanitarian and development organizations should be made in order to address female ex-combatants and WAFF, both in and outside the DDR programme. Moreover, special consideration should be paid to the trauma's these

⁴ Information retrieved from interview with Nynke Douma, Dutch journalist and scientific researcher, working freelance for Cordaid in the DRC, 28th of July, The Hague.

women have. Not only those women who have been victim of the conflict, but also those who have fought or otherwise participated in the conflict have trauma's that should be threaded.

Moreover, gender-specific challenges to reintegration for men and women should be addressed. Especially the stigma's these women face when coming home to their communities should be reduced by sensitization of the communities in advance. Moreover, the faith of children born in the fighting forces should be monitored closely and exclusion of women and children should be prevented. Women should also have equal access to education and employment and should be able to choose the skill training of their choice instead of being gently pushed back in their traditional roles.

In addition, women should be given equal possibilities to gain access to leadership positions, the government and army and police forces. A better participation rate in these institutions should be given high priority.

Special challenges remain for the integration of women in the security sector during the demobilization, but especially during the reintegration phase. The participation of women in the Congolese army and the National Police is lagging far behind both in terms of numbers and ranks. One of the problems is that grades are only given upon recommendation and those deciding are men. These men often argue that the intellectual capacities of men are more developed than those of women, although women are frequently higher educated than men (Douma, 2008). In addition, those women who do serve in the police or the army are confronted with all kinds of prejudgments. Not only are they seen as vagabonds who have nothing else to do and dislike hard work, they are also accused of sleeping around with their male colleagues and called prostitutes for that. Another hindrance for women is the fact that, like their male counterparts, women in the security services are treated as 'singles'. Moreover, their marital status and the corresponding household responsibilities are not taken into account. Together these elements discourage certain women from joining the security services and therefore it remains a challenge to increase the number of female officers. This could contribute especially to the provision of services to female victims of human right abuses, as they are more prone to talk to them. Both because female officers, by being a woman, can better imagine what it is like to be a victim of sexual violence and because, as most rapes in the DRC are committed by men in uniforms, female victims often have negative associations with male soldiers and policemen (Douma, 2008).

5.8 Conclusions chapter 5

This fifth chapter has demonstrated how a gender perspective was implemented in the DDR programme, the problems that arise in doing so and the challenges that remain. It adds to the theoretical discussions on gender, conflict and DDR programme conducted in the previous chapters by showing the implications of gender perspective in practice, namely in the DRC. This chapter thus offers a case study on how gender and particularly the needs and interests of female ex-combatants and WAFF are

implemented in an actual DDR programme and what problems and challenges that are involved in doing so.

At the beginning of the chapter several initiatives on the inclusion of a gender perspective in the DDR programme were mentioned.

Meer in het algemeen, het eerste deel van hfd 5 beschrijft allerlei initiatieven ter inclusie van gender, maar het wordt niet duidelijk wat hiervan terecht is gekomen en waarom (niet).

What does this teach us about the obstacles for mainstreaming gender in DDR programmes?

The chapter constructs the necessary context for the study of the role of Dutch NGOs in the DDR programme with regard to women, which will be done in the following chapter. Chapter six will focus on how NGOs can contribute to the implementation of a gender perspective in DDR programmes, in which ways the Dutch NGOs are already doing so in the DRC and how they can fill in the gender gap in the DDR programme in the future.

Chapter 6: Dutch NGOs and women in DDR in the DRC

While historically, DDR has mainly been conducted by UN peacekeeping missions, many (international) non-governmental organizations ((I)NGO) have also become involved in this sector. Moreover, the Integrated DDR Standards (IDDRS), emerged from numerous UN, World Bank and bilateral donor agencies policy papers, stresses the crucial role of non-governmental organizations in DDR processes. The IDDRS states that ‘NGOs often provide expertise in specific areas and can be a significant factor in ensuring that the needs of the community are met. The NGOs should be collaborated with and consulted throughout the DDR process’ (UN, 2006).

The Dutch government has also stressed the importance of cooperation with NGOs with regard to women and girls in conflict. This for example shows from the fact that the Dutch Minister of Development Cooperation Koenders has the equal rights of women and girls as one of its priorities as this is also one of the Millennium Goals which has led to the two Schokland Agreements on women, peace and security. The first of these documents was signed in the summer of 2007 by scores of organizations and businesses on the implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325. In December of the same year the document was succeeded by a second Schokland agreement and signed by dozens of organizations, including many NGOs, and four Dutch ministers; Minister of Development Koenders, Minister of Defence Middelkoop, Minister of the Interior Ter Horst and Minister of Education Plasterk.

This agreement provides for a Dutch National Action Plan on the implementation of Resolution 1325 and ensures structural attention, recognition and support for women’s roles in conflicts, post-conflict situations and peace processes. The Dutch National Action Plans objective is to acknowledge and support the role of women in (post-) conflict situations. During four years (2008-2011), activities that contribute to the realization of Resolution 1325 are initiated and supported. The budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also reflects its good intentions as regards realizing gender-related objectives (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2007).

Furthermore, with regard to the Democratic Republic of Congo and DDR, the Dutch government is the largest donor of the Multi Country Demobilization Programme and thus automatically contributes to DDR in the DRC. In addition the Dutch government considers Congo as a partner country for development cooperation and reconstruction. This chapter will thus look at the ways in which the Dutch NGOs are implementing the Dutch commitment to gender mainstreaming in practice in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

6.1 Definition and classification of NGOs

Non-governmental organization (NGO) is defined as a legally constituted, non-profit organization created by natural or legal persons with no participation or representation of any government. NGOs often receive significant sums from government sources, but are nevertheless essentially autonomous in their policies and activities. Moreover, a mandate or a charter that is established by the visions, ideals or interests of the organization normally guides their activities.

Douma et al (2008a) Moreover give a useful categorization of the different NGOs. They identify five types of NGOs namely; (a) brokers, interlocutors and capacity builders, (b) International, service-providing NGOs, (c) National, service-providing NGOs, (d) Community-based organizations (CBO's), (e) Advocacy and watchdog organizations.

The Dutch NGOs that are studied in this research all fall in the first category of brokers, interlocutors and capacity builders. This category is summarized as 'agencies that channel funds from the state, development donors or private financiers to smaller NGOs and community-based organizations. Typically, their main objective is to create, support and strengthen local organizations in an effort to contribute to development, alleviate poverty and so on. More recently, supporting local organizations in building peace and fostering reconciliation has become common. These interlocutors are often INGOs (Douma et al, 2008a). However, these organizations also fit in more than one category and also carry out emergency relief (b) and advocacy towards governments, international institutions and the private sector (e).

6.2 NGOs roles in DDR programmes

NGOs involvement in conflict and post-conflict situations has generally been of humanitarian nature, whereby NGOs gave emergency aid in a neutral and impartial matter. However, after the end of the Cold War conflicts have become much more complex and multi-dimensional and hence require developmental, political and military intervention at the same time. Therefore, donor governments have propagated an integrated or 3d approach, defence, development and diplomacy. Moreover, military doctrine has more and more become to stress the importance of civil-military cooperation, political affairs and reconstruction efforts. Moreover, the line between the policy area of NGOs and that of the military has faded (Frerks et al, 2006). As a consequence, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration is no longer reserved to the military doctrine, but is also a field of policy of (I)NGOs. Thus, NGOs can now contribute to all phases of the DDR programme.

The disarmament and demobilization phases of the DDR programme Moreover remains a primarily military task. Nevertheless, international humanitarian and development organizations can play an important role in, amongst other things; need assessments, advice, process management, logistics, communications and information, organizing workshops on planning, and reconciliation

measures. Furthermore, they can provide financial support and emergency aid such as food and medication to make disarmament and demobilization possible (de Ridder, 2005).

In addition, the international non-governmental organization can play an important role in the disarmament phase. Although often not considered as DDR, the collection of small arms is an important factor in securing durable peace and security. The (I)NGOs could therefore play an important role in lobbying for a ban on the proliferation of small weapons and diminishing the illicit and legal arms trade to make further disarmament possible in post conflict countries (de Ridder, 2005).

The (I)NGOs could also contribute significantly to reintegration efforts by delivering sufficient funds for long-term reintegration. Additionally, the implementation of capacity building programmes for the development of institutions and long-term reintegration could add to this process.

However, it is important to treat all groups and regions in an evenly balanced and coordinated manner to prevent distrust and jealousy. This is considered more important than the timing of the contribution (de Ridder, 2005).

6.3 Dutch NGOs, gender and DDR in the DRC

With the signing of the Schokland agreements not only the Minister Koenders, but also the Dutch non-governmental organizations thus committed themselves to women, peace and security. Moreover, five NGOs, namely ICCO, Cordaid, Hivos, Oxfam Novib and Terre des Hommes, are gathered within the Co-Financing Consultative Body. This body receives around 11 percent of the total budget for the Development Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Of these five NGOs, only three organizations pay specific attention to gender, women in conflict and women in DDR programmes and next to it are active in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Therefore, the policies and projects of Cordaid, ICCO and Oxfam Novib regarding gender and women in DDR will be studied.

6.3.1 Cordaid

Cordaid is one of the largest Dutch international development cooperation organizations and specializes in emergency aid and structural poverty eradication. It Moreover combines direct aid with sustainable improvement of social relations and is aimed at fair distribution, equal rights, economic growth, democratisation and ecological sustainability. Moreover it cooperates with more than thousand partners in 36 countries across the globe. The organization works in ten different areas including Women and Violence, Reconciliation and Reconstruction, and Care for Vulnerable Groups (Cordaid, 2004).

Cordaid stresses the importance of promoting gender equality as it sees it as an important part of its development strategy. This strategy seeks to enable all people – women and men alike – to escape poverty, to develop their talents, express their needs and ideas, and negotiate these with the broader society. The organization has formulated three main objectives when it comes to gender namely; to

achieve equal access to and control over (natural) resources for men, women, boys and girls, to make a contribution to increasing decision making power for women and girls in order to remove gender inequality and to actively promote recognition of all human rights for women (Cordaid, 2004).

Cordaid works solely through local partner organizations, with exception of their emergency aid that is. Moreover, the organization only accepts project applications that take into account gender to a certain level. These conditions include the strategic positioning with regard to gender; the relationship with other organizations with established gender practices and to what extent gender is represented in the mission, vision and reports of the organization.⁵

Cordaid has been working in the DRC since the 1980's and its projects in the country encompass Cordaids three main intervention strategies, notably direct poverty alleviation (DAB), societal reconstruction (MO) and policy influencing (BB) (Douma, 2009).

Within the department of Women and Violence five different activities are supported with regard to women, and their families, who have experienced sexual violence; medical, psychological and juridical aid, socio-economic reintegration and media and lobby. Thus, Cordaid especially supports partners that are focusing on GBV and victims of the conflict in general.⁶

With regard to gender in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Cordaid has also formulated several recommendations for the Dutch government. Moreover, the organization asks the government to exert pressure on the nations states that take part in MONUC with regard to gender in four ways. Firstly, the training of MONUC soldiers before being sent abroad in order to prevent and to recognize sexual violence. Secondly, the nations states are asked to legally prosecute of the perpetrators of abuse against Congolese women, boys and girls, in their countries of origin. In addition, they should take on the commitment of compensating victims and set up feedback mechanisms. Lastly, they should define a uniform policy of including female troops and increase the total number of female MONUC soldiers. Furthermore, Cordaid urges the Dutch government to insist on more allocation to (women's) NGOs, to improve information and communication with local NGOs and the civilian population and to also patrol the areas located outside urban centres.

Cordaid and its partner organizations do not have special programmes in the area of women and DDR, but the organization has made some recommendations to the Dutch government to urge MDRP and the DDR programme in Congo to pay special attention to the satisfaction of the needs and interests of female ex-combatants and WAFF and to mainstream gender in all parts of the DDR process. Gender mainstreaming Moreover includes not only fighting discrimination, but also involving women in the elaboration and definition of the DDR programme, hiring female staff and paying attention to the needs and health problems of female ex-combatants.

⁵ Information retrieved from email-conversations with Astrid Frey, Programmeme officer Women and Violence programmeme at Cordaid between 14th of July and 13th of August.

⁶ Information retrieved from email-conversations with Astrid Frey, Programmeme officer Women and Violence programmeme at Cordaid between 14th of July and 13th of August.

Cordaid indicates several lessons learned from its project in the Democratic Republic in Congo. One of the biggest lessons learned is the necessity to keep repeating the importance of implementation and to change the norms and values on the role of men and women in society. In DRC this for example means to urge the discussion and conviction of (ex-) soldiers that committed rape crimes is not high on the agenda of political leaders. GBV Moreover is seen as ‘collateral damage’, something that naturally comes with conflict. Underlying values and norms on the position of men and women explain and strengthen this position⁷

Moreover, Cordaid also stresses the fact that women in the DRC often played other roles in the fighting forces and in this manner were not eligible for the ‘standard’ DDR programme. Especially the ‘one-man-one-gun policy’ is thus a serious constraint for the inclusion of female ex-combatants and WAF in the DDR programme in the DRC.⁸

Furthermore, Cordaid argues the reintegration camps are not suitable for women as there is mostly no separate part for women and no gender sensitive state of mind in the camps. This contributes to the fact that women in the DRC and elsewhere often choose to not participate in DDR programmes.⁹

6.3.2 ICCO

ICCO is the Dutch interchurch organization for development cooperation. The organization works towards a world in which poverty and injustice are no longer present and people can live in dignity and prosperity. Moreover ICCO gives ‘financial support and advice to local organizations and networks across the globe that are committed to providing access to basic social services, bringing about fair economic development and promoting peace and democracy’. The organization is active in 55 countries and has three specific focus areas namely Basic Social Services, Fair Economic Development and Democratization and Peace Building.

Moreover, gender has been an underlying subject in all of ICCOs programmes. Therefore gender mainstreaming is of high importance to the organization. In several post-conflict countries ICCO focuses specifically on Peace Building whilst in countries where conflict is still lingering on the organization merely concentrates on Conflict Transformation, targeting the root causes of the conflict.

ICCO does not focus on the whole DDR process, but rather pays attention to the reintegration part. Helping women who have become victim of Gender Based Violence (GBV) Moreover is the main point of attention. Moreover, ICCO is now merely active in the DRC, Uganda and Liberia.

⁷ Information retrieved from email-conversations with Astrid Frey, Programme officer Women and Violence programme at Cordaid between 14th of July and 13th of August.

⁸ Information retrieved from email-conversations with Sanne Bijlsma, Project officer Women and Violence programme at Cordaid between 13th and 14th of August.

⁹ Information retrieved from email-conversations with Sanne Bijlsma, Project officer Women and Violence programme at Cordaid between 13th and 14th of August

However, ICCO also considers the implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325 of utmost importance and therefore also focuses on women as actor in conflict and principally on their role in Peace Building and Reconstruction. Furthermore ICCO tries to influence policymakers in both the Netherlands and the countries they are active in to pay more attention to the position of women.

ICCO has two main objectives in conducting projects in development countries. Firstly they always work through local partners. This works better as they can continue their work for a longer term and they will have better contacts with the communities. However, by working through these organizations it is harder to see that they also incorporate gender in their projects. ICCO always stimulates this, hence it depends on the context whether this is possible or not. In Afghanistan it is much harder to realize than in the DRC for example. ICCO also works together with their partners in seven countries on lobbying for the implementation of UN SC Res 1325 in the countries especially by demanding the writing and implementation of National Action Plans. The second objective is the implementation of integrated programmes, which contain all necessary attention areas and all kinds of groups in society

One of ICCOs tools is a Conflict Analysis discussion book, with question to stimulate discussion amongst partners in a country on several subjects. One of the questions also involves gender and how to implement it in programmes.

ICCO considers it of utmost importance to involve civil society in the execution but especially the decision-making on DDR processes. Furthermore, the integrated working method should include ex-combatants, IDPs, refugees and host communities. All groups should be involved in DDR processes and not only the ex-combatants.

ICCO has several projects in the Democratic Republic of Congo with regard to gender. In South Kivu the organization supports a project on GVB that is rather successful according to the organization, but will terminate in October of this year. However, ICCO hopes that the project will get a sequel. In Ituri, ICCO has two projects on Peace Building, which also pay attention to gender and women. These organizations especially focus on the accommodation of ex-combatants on community level. UFD is a women's organization, which focuses on vulnerable groups and especially on unattached women. These include ex-wives of combatants, women who are alone because their husbands have gone off to work in the mines, women who have been disowned and female ex-combatants and women affiliated with the fighting forces UFD Moreover focuses on the rehabilitation and reintegration of these women and tries to offer them a way forward. In order to do so, the organization offers emergency aid, psychosocial aid, income generating activities and vocational training. Comité de Gestion des Routes de Desserte Agricole (CGRDAI) concentrates on the re-integration of ex-combatants. The organization helps the former fighters to get back into their normal lives and helps them reintegrate in their home-communities. However, this programme is not specifically targeting female ex-combatants and therefore these women normally depend on the aid of those organizations focusing on female victims of the conflict.

ICCO has indicated several lessons learned of the DRC projects. Most importantly is the integrated working method, which involves all aspects and groups of society. All areas should be targeted at the same time to make the project work. Furthermore, a good analysis is of utmost importance to create a viable project. This should be a participative analysis, created with all partners involved. Thirdly, ICCO stresses the importance of using the knowledge that is already available on local level and the cooperation with local partner organizations. However, working together with small organizations brings the problem of increasing scales to make the project more widely recognized. Moreover, ICCO has recognized the need for projects specialized in female ex-combatants and women affiliated with the fighting forces, but was not able to create such project to date.¹⁰

6.3.3 Oxfam Novib

Oxfam Novib is also one of the major Co-Financing Consultative Organizations, which strives for a just world without poverty. In order to do so it supports local organizations in development countries that dedicate themselves to sustainable poverty reduction. Oxfam Novib Moreover supports around 850 local initiatives and organizations in 63 countries around the globe. In addition to the support of local organizations in development countries, Oxfam Novib also actively lobby's against poverty and injustice on local, nation and international scale. To do this more effectively, Oxfam Novib is also part of the international organization Oxfam International.

In the area of gender, Oxfam Novib stresses the importance of gender in all its projects as poverty tends to hit women and other vulnerable groups most severely. Therefore, the organization aims at targeting especially these groups with its projects. Oxfam Novib has three main strategies to target the rights of women namely; the fight against violence against women, the improvement of its partner organizations to include gender analysis in their programmes and the support and encouragement of female leadership (Oxfam Novib, 2008a). Moreover, Oxfam Novib asks its partner organizations to mainly target women with their poverty reduction projects as the organization sees women as the key to development and new forms of leadership. In practice this means that the organizations strive at a participation rate of 70 percent women in all projects.

Within the Democratic Republic of Congo, Oxfam Novib has been financially supported partner organizations since the 1980s. A total of 22 organizations now receive support for the projects they are executing in the Kivus, Maniema and Kinshasa. Moreover, Oxfam Novib states that without peace sustainable development is impossible and therefore conflict prevention is central to all projects the organization finances in the DRC. Important themes are sustainable livelihoods, education for girls, gender, HIV/AIDS, environmental protection and social and political participation (Oxfam Novib, 2009). Additionally, Oxfam Novib and its partner organizations are developing a gender strategy,

¹⁰ Information retrieved from interview with Paula Dijk, Programme officer and Project Specialist on Democratization and Peace Building at ICCO, 28th of July, Utrecht.

which is now well under way. Furthermore, the organizations are preparing the WE CAN campaign, a campaign that aims to deal with violence women endure daily, both in their homes and in larger society. Thus, it takes on the gender inequalities within all aspects of society that systematically deny women their lives, health, rights, choices and power in the family.¹¹

Oxfam Novib does not address all three phases, but focuses on the reintegration phase of the DDR programme in the DRC. Thus, Oxfam Novib makes several recommendations to the Congolese government and its international partners. It Moreover states that ‘women combatants and women associated with armed groups should benefit fully from reintegration projects’. Furthermore, the organization argues that more inclusive eligibility criteria should be used and that a special provision should be made for those women who have been enlisted in militia groups as spy, cook, sex slave or carrier, possible under a parallel programme (Oxfam Novib, 2008).

Oxfam Novib stresses the importance of community-based reintegration in the DDR process, as the organizations, always puts the community at the baker mat of her projects. Moreover, within the DDR programme, the whole community should be involved in the reintegration of ex-combatants. Oxfam Novib Moreover practices the basic principle that everyone has become victim of the conflict in his or her way. Thus all should be involved in reintegration. It Moreover takes on the unique working method in which civil society organizations take in ex-combatants and work together with them on their projects. It is Oxfam Novibs opinion that this helps speed up the reintegration process and in this way the community re-educates the former combatants and help them regain their social skills.¹²

One of the projects of Oxfam Novib in the province of Maniema is however working on both reintegration and disarmament. Moreover, it is not so much collecting weapons of former combatants, but the partner organization is creating awareness amongst the members of the community on the dangers of weapon possession. In doing so, Oxfam Novib hopes that communities are starting to pressure the ex-combatants to hand in their weapons. To support this process, Oxfam Novib also promises common projects for the whole community when an individual ex-combatant is convinced to hand in its weapon. Thus, the whole community is then supported in their reconstruction efforts. This has worked quite well in the past.¹³

However, Oxfam Novib does not have special projects in the DRC that are dedicated to female ex-combatants and WAFF, but the organization does lobbies for better integration of this group into the DDR programme. Nevertheless, the organization is not bringing into practice, as it has no capacity

¹¹ Information retrieved from interview with Eveline Rooijmans, Policy Advisor Central Africa at Oxfam Novib, 13th of August, by telephone

¹² Information retrieved from interview with Eveline Rooijmans, Policy Advisor Central Africa at Oxfam Novib, 13th of August, by telephone

¹³ Information retrieved from interview with Eveline Rooijmans, Policy Advisor Central Africa at Oxfam Novib, 13th of August, by telephone

to do so. It therefore only monitors the implementation of these recommendations in organizations such as the World Bank.¹⁴

Oxfam Novib is also not specifically targeting female ex-combatants and WAFF in their other projects in the country. Those projects focussing on female victims of the conflict and their problems, with sometimes are similar to the problems female ex-combatants and WAFF have such as traumas from sexual violence, Moreover to not facilitate aid for this particular group.

Oxfam Novib has learned several lessons from its projects in the DRC and the disarmament and reintegration project in Maniema in particular. Firstly, the organizations now stresses the importance of a shortly as possible demobilization phase of the DDR programme. Keeping the former combatants apart from general society can contribute to the stigmatization of these ex-fighters. Moreover, the reintegration should start as quickly as possible and the whole society should be included.

However, Oxfam Novib does not do anything to help implement these recommendations in practice. The projects Oxfam Novib supports also do not pay special attention to the needs and interests of female ex-combatants or WAFF.

6.4 Discussion chapter 6

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have increasingly become involved in conflict and post-conflict situations. As contemporary conflicts are more complex in nature and thus require a more integrated approach, the line between the area of military support and humanitarian aid has slowly faded. The role of NGO Moreover has emerged from solely offering emergency humanitarian aid to more involvement in all aspects of post-conflict aid, including the military field. This chapter has thus indicated the different roles non-governmental organizations (NGOs) can play in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes. It is Moreover argued that NGOs can play a special role in supporting those groups that often are not fully included in the DDR programmes, namely women. Chapter six scrutinizes the roles NGOs can play with regard to gender by taking a specific case study on the role of Dutch NGOs with regard to gender mainstreaming in the DDR programme in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Some conclusions can be derived from this chapter. Firstly, Dutch NGOs tend to pay a lot of attention to gender and on paper they try to include gender mainstreaming in all their projects. However, in practice, the three NGOs mainly pay attention to those women who have become victims of conflict and neglect the needs and interests of those who have been actively involved in the fighting. Cordaid for instance has a whole department on Women and Violence to support those women who have become victim of sexual violence, but none on women as active participants in conflict. In the case of ICCO, the organization even has helping women who have become victim of

¹⁴ Information retrieved from interview with Eveline Rooijmans, Policy Advisor Central Africa at Oxfam Novib, 13th of August, by telephone.

GBV as its focal point and has a project in South Kivu on this particular issue. In addition, Oxfam Novib is mainly focussing on women as a group that is hardest hit by poverty.

Douma further supports the argument that the main focus of NGOs lays on victims of the conflict leading to the invisibility of ex-combatants in aid programmes in the DRC. She argues GVB is a hot subject in the DRC and as a consequence a lot of new organizations are founded to work in this area and the attention of the already existing organizations is also attracted to this subject.¹⁵ This could explain the focal point of the NGOs on the victims of the conflict and the lack of attention for those women who have been in or with the fighting forces. Another argument is given by Douma et al (2008) might explain why the Dutch NGOs were not involved in the DDR programme. They state that (I)NGOs feared that their engagement in DDR-related activities in the country would result in accusation of partiality and targeting by the parties to the conflict. Therefore, NGOs that did become involved in the DDR programme largely focused on child soldier integration, as this was seen as solely humanitarian and thus without concomitant political risks. Nonetheless, the research shows that the three Dutch NGOs are supplying emergency aid, psychosocial aid, health aid and income generating activities to women who have become victims of the conflict. The research has also shown that female ex-combatants and WAFF are in need of these specific aid activities as well. It could thus be argued that the Dutch NGOs could and should broaden their already existing project to include these women as well, as they already have the facilities to address these specific problems. However, it might be the case that the NGOs have moral constraints for helping those who have been actively involved in the fighting forces and thus have often harmed themselves. Klem and Douma (2008) Moreover state that NGOs often give priority to other, greater needs and especially to beneficiaries felt to be more deserving the aid. The small budget of the Dutch NGOs could thus have led to the prioritizing of female victims instead of female ex-fighters or WAFF.

A second conclusion that can be derived from this sixth chapter is that all three Dutch NGOs are aware of the necessity to include female ex-combatants or WAFF in DDR programmes and of the fact that this often is not happening in the DRC. Nevertheless, they did make recommendations to the Congolese and the Dutch government and other institutions involved in DDR to improve the DDR programmes from a gender perspective. The case study showed that the three Dutch NGOs were not able to bring their own recommendations into practice and were not able to fill in this gap by addressing these women in their own projects and programmes in the DRC. This could be explained by the fact that the Dutch NGOs are only relatively small organizations with tight budgets. One of the organizations Moreover stated that 'there is only so much we can do',¹⁶ which implies that the Dutch NGOs do not have the financial and or logistical capacity to help implementing the recommendations

¹⁵ Information retrieved from interview with Nynke Douma, a Dutch journalist and scientific researcher, working freelance for Cordaid in the DRC, 28th of July, The Hague.

¹⁶ Information retrieved from interview with Eveline Rooijmans, Policy Advisor Central Africa at Oxfam Novib, 13th of August, by telephone

themselves. Therefore, it could be stated that the role of NGOs is exactly making recommendations and lobbying to get them implemented. A small remark on this argument must however be made as from the different interviews stems that the NGOs are not always following up their recommendations and merely wait until their recommendations are transformed into actions.

With regard to the first phase of the DDR programme, namely disarmament, another conclusion on the involvement of the Dutch NGOs in the DDR programme in the DRC, could be drawn from the case study namely that disarmament remains a mainly military field. Douma et al (2008) already showed that the involvement of NGOs in the disarmament phase of the PN-DDR was also very limited, because of the SMI who did not want civilian interference in this part of the programme. SMI Moreover considered disarmament as a purely military operation. This could help explain the reasons why NGOs were not involved in disarmament on large scale, as they were simply not allowed to do so. However the study on Dutch NGOs in the DRC also shows that NGOs could play a part in the disarmament phase of DDR programmes. The case Moreover demonstrates that NGOs could play a significant role in the formulation of eligibility criteria and the monitoring of the selection criteria in order to make sure that unjust exclusion of female ex-combatants and WAFF would not happen. The view that in the DRC disarmament merely is the working area of the government and military is supported by Douma, who also states that reintegration is probably solely an area par excellence for non-governmental organizations.¹⁷ This could mean that the disarmament phase of DDR programmes should be merely the working area of the government in cooperation with the military and that NGOs roles in this phase are limited to lobbying for good eligibility criteria. Furthermore, as stated above by De Ridder (2005) NGOs could offer advice and organize need assessments and workshops on the importance of including female ex-combatants and WAFF in the disarmament phase of the DDR programme. In addition, the project of Oxfam Novib in Maniema, although limited in scope and impact, implies that Dutch NGOs are able to contribute to disarmament by creating awareness in communities on the dangers of weapon possession and to arrange for pressure on the former combatants to take part in the disarmament phase. This could also contribute to inclusion of more female ex-combatants and WAFF, who have often returned home without taking part in the DDR programme, to still decide to still participate in the programme. Further evaluation of the programme of Oxfam Novib could thus be useful to understand if the project was successful and whether or not NGOs could and should implement such projects on larger scale and also target female ex-combatants and WAFF with it.

A fourth conclusion that can be drawn from this chapter is that Dutch NGOs in the DRC could play a role in encouraging female ex-combatants and WAFF to identify themselves as fighters. As women in or with the fighting forces within the DRC often played various roles and Moreover also often became victims of sexual violence, oppression or other types of abuse. Thus, these women

¹⁷ Information retrieved from interview with Nynke Douma, a Dutch journalist and scientific researcher, working freelance for Cordaid in the DRC, 28th of July, The Hague.

generally choose to identify themselves as merely victim of the conflict as they thought this would give them better access to aid. However, NGOs in the DRC could Moreover play a role by giving information about the necessity and benefits of the DDR programme, as they often had better insight what these women did during the conflict and have a relationship based on trust with these women.¹⁸ This is furthermore supported by the recommendations of Cordaid to the Dutch government to insist on more allocation to (women's) NGOs to improve information and communication with the civilian population, which could be said to include the female ex-combatants and WAFF who identify themselves as civilians. This line of reasoning is supported by the viewpoint of De Ridder (2005) who states that NGOs can play an important role in communications and the provision of information with regard to DDR. However, not enough information was retrieved from Cordaid, ICCO and Oxfam Novib to know if and how they are already doing this. What could be concluded from the study is that all three organizations work solely through local organizations and are thus better equipped to supply information on local levels and build relationships based on trust with female ex-combatants and WAFF.

Another conclusion could be derived with regard to the reintegration phase of DDR. All three organizations all speak of the need for community-based reintegration. Cordaid, ICCO and Oxfam Novib implement this by working solely through partner organizations that operate on the local level and involving communities in the reintegration process. As aforementioned, Cordaid already has indicated that the NGOs could have a responsibility in changing the norms and values on the role of men and women in society in order to make reintegration of female ex-combatants and WAFF possible and that is works to do so. Moreover, ICCO is helping the sensitization of communities and local organizations by their Conflict Analysis Book in order to make discussion on for example stigmas which female ex-combatants and WAFF face possible. Oxfam Novib even takes on a renewed method in making the local organizations responsible for the reintegration of ex-combatants. So, the three Dutch NGOs are already quite involved in the reintegration phase of the program and Moreover focus on community-based reintegration. The need for confidence building and community bonding in the reintegration phase as mentioned by De Ridder (2005) is Moreover already implemented by the organizations. However, in the above chapter no special projects for the reintegration of female ex-combatants and WAFF by the Dutch NGOs have been identified. It can thus be concluded that the three NGOs are already doing much on reintegration, but could focus more on the inclusion of this particular target group in their projects as well to make community-based reintegration also possible for them.

Concluding it can be said that the Dutch NGOs are aware of the necessity to better integrate female ex-combatants and WAFF into DDR programmes and to better adapt these to their specific needs and interests. And so, the three organizations do several things to help this, including making

¹⁸ Information retrieved from interview with Eveline Rooijmans, Policy Advisor Central Africa at Oxfam Novib, 13th of August, by telephone.

recommendations, lobbying and some projects. However, it has also showed that the NGOs have not always been equipped to fully include gender mainstreaming with regard to the DDR programme in the DRC.

Conclusions and recommendations

Over time, the meaning of gender has changed and from focussing on oppression and exploitation, the focal point changed to constructivist theories on gender. This has resulted in a growing attention for gender in conflict and the recognition of the fact that the impact conflict has on men and women differs significantly as do the roles they play. The increasing attention for gender with regard to conflict has furthermore resulted in the integration of gender mainstreaming in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes. This has led to awareness that is important to integrate women in the different phases of the DDR programme and that attentions should be paid to the different needs of female ex-combatants and women associated with the fighting forces (WAFF). However, earlier studies have showed that this is often not happening in practice. Governments, international institutions and other organizations, who normally conduct DDR programmes, are not able to include gender mainstreaming in DDR. Nevertheless, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are a rather different kind of organization who, according to the Integrated DDR Standards (IDDRS), can provide expertise in specific areas and can be a significant factor in ensuring that the needs of the community are met. It therefore became of interest to choose a case study by which it could be studied how gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes was conducted by various actors and which obstacles remain for gender mainstreaming in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration.

This has led to the formulation of the central research question *How can gender mainstreaming be included in DDR programmes in practice? And what are the obstacles for gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes in practice?* In order to answer the main research question a specific case study has been chosen, namely the Democratic Republic in Congo. The Democratic Republic of Congo is therefore a unique case study as the DDR programme involved many actors and included a multi-country and multilateral programme (MDRP), a UN mission that also took on a new role by taking on responsibilities with regard to DDR and a national programme that was conducted by the government of the country itself. To complement this study, the role of Dutch NGOs in the DDR programme was also studied in order to see how non-governmental, non-state actors were able to address gender mainstreaming in DDR.

So as to formulate an answer to this question several sub question have been answered in the various chapters of this thesis. Firstly, the case study on the Democratic Republic of Congo shows what implications a complex conflict has on the implementation of a DDR programme. Furthermore, it demonstrates the gendered impact of this particular conflict and what consequences this conflict has on the inclusion of a gender perspective on DDR. Generally, the case study implies that a complex

conflict, with failing state institutions, continued violence and a lack of funding makes it less plausible that specific attention will be paid to gender in DDR. Furthermore, the case study displays that the conflict in the DRC has had a different effect on women and that this generates specific needs and interest of women, which should be taken into account in the DDR programme. In addition the case study demonstrates how gender and particularly the needs and interests of female ex-combatants and women associated with the fighting forces (WAFF) are implemented in an actual DDR programme. Thirdly, in the case of the DRC, female ex-combatants and WAFF are not sufficiently taken into account and their participation rate is very low. Several reasons for this lack can be identified. Firstly, the eligibility criteria are not adapted to women and the one-man-one-gun policy leaves those without a gun, mostly women, out of the DDR programme. Female ex-combatants and WAFF are Moreover often brushed aside by their commanders, discriminated against by their male colleagues and not sufficiently identified as combatant by the staff working in the programmes. Moreover, the fact that those women often face serious stigmas when returning to their home communities also contributes to the lacking participation of women in the DDR programme as they often prefer to return home anonymously. In addition, women are also often not seen as a direct security threat and are absent during the peace process that initiate the DDR programme and thus are not directed by it. Moreover, the programme in the DRC does not take into account the security, health and psychological needs of women. Governments should therefore pay more attention to women in DDR programmes by granting them a priority status on the political agenda, create enough funding for this group and resolve the other problems around female ex-combatants, WAFF and DDR.

In addition, the roles NGOs could have in DDR programmes are summarized and it is concluded that NGOs could have a special contribution in DDR programmes as they are quite different organizations from the governments and international institutions generally involved in DDR and thus have different expertise and experience to add to the programmes. More importantly, the roles of the Dutch NGOs Cordaid, ICCO and Oxfam Novib with regard to gender mainstreaming in DDR in the DRC have been studied through reports and in-depth interviews. From this research it can be concluded that Dutch NGOs feel strongly about gender and gender mainstreaming in all of their programmes and projects. In particular, the three NGOs emphasize the importance of addressing the needs and interests of female ex-combatants and WAFF in DDR programmes. However, the three NGOs do not have special projects on behalf of female ex-combatants and WAFF, but predominantly implement gender mainstreaming by making recommendations to governments and lobbying for more attention for female ex-combatants and WAFF in DDR programmes. It could thus be concluded that the Dutch NGOs are not able to fulfil their own commitment to gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes. The fact that even these NGOs, who are known for the fact that they make a stand for vulnerable groups such as women and who consider gender and gender mainstreaming of paramount importance, are not able to implement gender mainstreaming in the DDR programmes, teaches us several things about the obstacles for gender mainstreaming in Dutch NGOs with regard to DDR

programs. Firstly, the research showed that the Dutch NGOs are not able to implement gender mainstreaming in practice because of a lack of capacity, a focus on the female victims of conflict and political restraints. Furthermore, disarmament remains mainly a military operation in which NGOs are often not welcome or not able to fully participate. However, they can have a supportive role during this phase. A third problem that occurs with gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes by NGOs is that the ideas on community-based reintegration, which the NGOs feel strongly about, are not yet fully developed and not yet specifically adapted to female ex-combatants and WAFF.

Based on these conclusions, several general recommendations can be formulated. Firstly, cooperation between governments and NGOs with regard to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes should be improved. A good division of tasks is necessary to make sure that the needs and interests of female ex-combatants and WAFF are satisfied. This could be done by better adapting DDR programmes to these needs or to assign this to NGOs who are experienced and eligible to deal with specific problems of these women. These include traumas, stigmas and health problems that occur from gender-based violence. These are problems all women in conflict come across and are not reserved to women who are passive victims of the conflict, but are also faced by those actively involved in the fighting. Emergency aid, psychosocial aid, health aid and income generating activities are already given to women by the NGOs and could and should be broadened to female ex-combatants as well. However, the NGOs should then be given enough funding and logistical capacity, by governments or international institutions involved in DDR, to execute their tasks as from the research stems that this is generally lacking.

Some recommendations on how to mainstream gender in DDR programmes can be made on basis of this study:

Recommendation 1: Clearly define the eligibility criteria for ex-combatants in DDR programmes to make it easier for female ex-combatants and WAFF to enroll.

Recommendation 2: Make sure that enough funding and capacity is available to also address female ex-combatants and WAFF in addition to male former fighters.

Recommendation 3: Pay attention to the special needs of female ex-combatants and WAFF whilst enrolled in the different phases of DDR. Especially their security, health and social needs should be addressed.

Recommendation 4: Special attention should be given to gender mainstreaming in the reintegration phase of the DDR programme as it has shown that women face most gender-specific problems here. This should include sensitization of communities in advance and creating equal access to the job market and positions in government, army and police forces.

In addition, some more specific recommendations to Dutch NGOs can be formulated to improve gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes:

Recommendation 1: Broaden your projects for female victims of conflict to include female ex-combatants and women associated with the fighting forces when they direct common problems all women have during and after conflict. This could include emergency aid, psychosocial aid, health aid and income generating activities.

Recommendation 2: Make sure that your recommendations on how to improve DDR programmes from a gender perspective are heard. More extensive lobbying from your experiences on the ground could help in doing so as this is your field of expertise

Recommendation 3: Make sure that you are involved in the process of creating a DDR programme to make sure that more inclusive eligibility criteria to make sure that unjust exclusion of female ex-combatants and WAFF will not happen.

Recommendation 4: Focus more on the community-based reintegration of female ex-combatants and women associated with the fighting forces as you have the experience and capacity to for example sensitize the home communities to avoid or at least decrease stigmas and exclusion.

Although this study has focused on a particular DDR programme, namely that of the Democratic Republic of Congo, and has studied only the Dutch NGOs, the conclusions and recommendations that come from this study could be applicable to all NGOs involved in different contexts and DDR programs. The main findings are therefore useful for a broader public than the Dutch NGOs and could be relevant to all organizations involved in DDR programmes and concerned with gender mainstreaming within such programs.

However, some comments on the shortcomings of this research on the implementation of gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes and questions for further research are required. Firstly, this research was limited both in scope and time and therefore it would be necessary to conduct more interviews with Dutch NGOs and especially also with their local partner organizations in the country in which the DDR programme is conducted, to have more solid results on the ways NGOs could better address gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes. In addition, the literature and secondary data on gender mainstreaming in the DDR activities could be complemented by interviews with the various actors involved to offer a more complete study of gender mainstreaming in the DDR programme.

Moreover, a comparison with the work of international institutions, governments and NGOs from other countries on gender mainstreaming in DDR could be necessary to formulate more recommendations from their work, experiences and lessons learned. Also conducting other DDR programmes in various countries and thus contexts and situations could be useful to create a broader perspective and better-founded general recommendations on gender mainstreaming in DDR programmes by NGOs.

Bibliography

Afshar, H. (2004), 'Women and wars: some trajectories towards a feminist peace', in: Afshar, H. and Eade, D. eds. (2004), *Development, Women, and War: Feminist Perspectives*, Oxford, Oxfam GB.

Afshar, H. and Eade, D. eds. (2004), *Development, Women, and War: Feminist Perspectives*, Oxford, Oxfam GB.

Afoaku, O.G. (2005), *Explaining the Failure of Democracy in the Democratic Republic of the Congo : Autocracy and Dissent in an Ambivalent World*, New York, Lewiston.

Anderlini, N. (2007), *Women At the Peace Table: Making a Difference*, New York, United Nations Development Fund for Women.

Anderlini, S.N. and Conaway C.P. (2004), 'Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration.' In: International Alert and Women Waging Peace, *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action*. Hunt Alternatives Fund and International Alert, November 2004. http://www.international-alert.org/pdf/pubgen/toolkit/TK_complete.pdf

Ayoob, M. (2002), 'Inequality and Theorizing in International Relations: The Case for Subaltern Realism' , *International Studies Review*, 4 :3, 27-48.

Barth, E.F. (2002), *Peace as Disappointment: The Reintegration of Female Soldiers in Post-Conflict Societies. A Comparative Study for Africa*, Oslo, PRIO.

Billion, Ph. Le (2001), 'The political ecology of war: natural resources and armed conflicts', *Political Geography*, 20, 561-684.

Boshoff, H. (2007), *Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A never-ending story*, Pretoria, Institute for Security Studies.

Bouta, T. and Frerks,G. (2002), *Women's roles in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction*, Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid, The Hague.

Bouta T, Frerks, G. and Bannon, B. (2005), *Gender, Conflict and Development*, Washington The World Bank.

Bouta, T. (2005), *Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration: Building Blocs for Dutch Policy*, Den Haag, Netherlands Institute for International Relations "Clingendael".

Bravo-Baumann, H. (2000), *Capitalisation of experiences on the contribution of livestock projects to gender issues*. Working Document. Bern, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation.

Brett, R. and Specht, I. (2004), *Young soldiers, Why they choose to fight*, Boulder, Colorado and London, Lynne Rienner.

Chafetz - Saltzman, J. (1990), *Gender Equity: An Integrated Theory of Stability and Change*, Newbury Park, Sage.

CIDA(1998), *Gender Equality and Peacebuilding: A Draft Operational Framework*, Ottawa, CIDA.

Clark, J.F. ed. (2002), *The African Stakes of the Congo War*, New York and London, Palgrave Macmillan.

Collier, P. (2000), 'Doing well out of war: an economic perspective', in: M. Berdal and D.M. Malone, eds. (2000), *Greed and Grievance: economic agenda's in civil war*, Colorado, Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Commission Nationale de Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réinsertion (CONADER) (2004), *Stratégie Nationale de la Réinsertion*, Kinshasa, CONADER.

Conaway, C.P. and Martínez, S. (2004), *Adding Value: Women's Contributions to Reintegration and Reconstruction in El Salvador*, Cambridge, Women Waging Peace Policy Commission: Hunt Alternatives Fund

Connell, R. (2002), *Gender*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

Cordaid (2004), *Cordaid's vision on Gender: In brief*, The Hague, Cordaid.

Delmar, R. (1986), 'What is Feminism?', in: Mitchell, J. and Oakley A. eds (1986), *What is Feminism?*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Douma, N. (2007), *Made to Measure: Analyzing the results of NGO peace practices: experiences from the Kivu provinces, DR Congo*, The Hague, Cordaid.

Douma, N. (2008), *Women, peace and security in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A civil society assessment on current practices and future perspectives of the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325*, The Hague, Cordaid.

Douma, P., Van Laar, S. and Klem, B. (2008), *The struggle after combat; The Role of NGO's in DDR Processes: DR Congo Case Study*, The Hague, Cordaid.

Douma, P. and Klem, B., with Frerks, G., Gompelman, G. and Van Laar, S. (2008a), *The Struggle after Combat: The Role of NGOs in DDR Processes, a synthesis study*, The Hague, Cordaid.

Enloe, C. (2000), *Maneuver: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*, Berkeley CA, University of Los Angeles Press.

Farr, V. (2004), 'The importance of gender perspective to successful disarmament, demobilization and reintegration processes', *Disarmament Forum*, Geneva, UNIDIR.

Farr, V. (2004a), *Ndabaga Association and the Needs of Women Ex-Combatants in Rwanda*, New York, UNIFEM.

Frerks, G.E. (1998) *Omgaan met Rampen: Inaugurele Rede*, Wageningen, Landbouwniversiteit.

Frerks, G., Klem, B., Van Laar, S. and Van Klingereren, M. (2006), *Principles and Pragmatism: Civil-military action in Afghanistan and Liberia*, The Hague, Cordaid

Frerks, G., B. Klem, S. van Laar and M. van Klingereren (2006) *Principles and Pragmatism: Civil-military action in Afghanistan and Liberia*. The Hague: Cordaid.

Fusato, M. (2003), *Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration of Ex-Combatants*, <<http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/demobilization/>>

Gardam, J. and Charlesworth, H. (2000), 'Protection of Women in Armed Conflict', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 22(1), 148-166.

Gleichman, C., Odenwald, M, Stenken, K. and Wilkinson, A. (2004), *Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration; a practical field and classroom guide*, Stuttgart, GTZ, NODEFIC, PPC, SNDC.

Gouvernement de la République Démocratique du Congo (2004), *Programme National de Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réinsertion*, Kinshasa, Gouvernement de la République Démocratique du Congo.

Hauchler, I. and Kennedy, P. (1994), *Global Trends*, New York, Continuum Publishers.

Hart, H. 't, Boeije, H. and Hox, J. eds. (1996), *Onderzoeksmethoden*, Amsterdam, Boom.

Hilhorst, D. and Leeuwen, M. van (2005), 'Global peacebuilders and local conflict: the feminization of peace in Southern Sudan', In: Davids, T. And Driel, F. van (2005) *The gender question in globalization: Changing perspectives and practices*, Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing,

Human Rights Watch (2002), *The War Within a War: Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in Eastern Congo*, New York, HRW.

ICCO (2005), *Gender-based violence in conflict: A model for intervention*, Utrecht, ICCO.

International Crisis Group (1998), *Congo at war: A Briefing of the Internal and External Players in the Central African Conflict*, ICG Congo report N°2, 17 November 1998, Brussels, ICG.

International Rescue Committee (2002), *Mortality Study Eastern DR of Congo*, New York, IRC, <http://www.theirc.org/media/www/mortality_study_eastern_dr_congo_aprilmay_2000.html>.

ICRC (2008), *Women and war*, Geneva, ICRC, <<http://icrc.org/Web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/html/57JQFK>>.

Kaldor, M. (1999/2001) *New and Old Wars; Organized Violence in a Global Era*; With an Afterword, January 2001, Cambridge, Polity Press.

Klem, B. and Douma, P, with Frerks, G, Gompelman, G and Van der Laar, G. (2008), *The Struggle After Combat: Synthesis*, Den Haag, Cordaid.

Nest, M. (2006), *The Democratic Republic of Congo: Economic Dimensions of War and Peace*, Colorado, Boulder.

Oxfam Novib (2008), *Oxfam briefing note on the need for community-based reintegration in the aftermath of the Goma peace conference*, The Hague, ON.

Oxfam Novib (2008a), *Jaarverslag Oxfam Novib 2008*, The Hague, ON,
<http://www.jaarverslagoxfamnovib.nl/jaarverslag_2008/aDU1113_Vrouwen.aspx>.

Oxfam Novib (2009), *Democratische Republiek Congo (DRC) – Oxfam Novib*, The Hague, ON,
<<http://www.oxfamnovib.nl/id.html?ch=onn&id=3804>>.

Mazurana, D. and Carlson, K. (2004), *From Combat to Community: Women and Girls of Sierra Leone*, Washington, Women Waging Peace Policy Commission.

McKay, S. and Mazurana, D. (2004), *Where are the girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their Lives during and after War*, Montreal, Right and Democracy Institute.

Mikkelsen, B. (2005), *Methods for Development Work and Research: a new guide for practitioners*, London, Sage Publications.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2007), *Dutch National Action Plan on Resolution 1325: taking a stand for women, peace and security*, The Hague, Policy department DSI/SB.

Mobekk, E. (2003), *MONUC: DDRR, DDR, Military and Rule of Law Reform: Reducing Violence against Women*, London, ActionAid.

Moser, C.O.N. (2001), 'The Gendered Continuum of Violence and Conflict: An Operational Framework' in: Moser, C.O.N and Clark, F.C. eds.(2001), *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors?: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, London and New York, Zed Books.

Moser, C.O.N and Clark, F.C. eds.(2001), *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors?: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, London and New York, Zed Books.

Moser, C.O.N. and McIlwaine, C. (2001), 'Gender and Social Capital in Contexts of Political Violence: Community Perceptions from Colombia and Guatemala' in: Moser, C.O.N and Clark, F.C. eds.(2001), *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors?: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, London and New York, Zed Books.

Multi-Country Demobilization Programme (2003), *Linkages between Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Ex-Combatants and Security Sector Reform*, MDRP Position Paper, Washington, The World Bank.

Multi-Country Demobilization Programme (2009), *Progress Report Learning for Equality, Access and Peace (LEAP) Programme; August 2007-February 2009*, Washington, The World Bank.

Pettman, J. (2005), 'Gender Issues' in: Baylis, J. and Smith, S, *The Globalization of World Politics: An introduction to international relations*, New York, Oxford University Press.

Ramsbotham, O., Woodhouse, T. and Miall, H. (2005), *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

ReliefWeb (2003), *DRC: Women suffer disproportionately during and after the war*, Geneva, Relief Web

Ridder, E. de (2005), *The combatants way home: ICCO's role in Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration in Postconflict Africa*, Utrecht, ICCO.

Roberts, Les (2001), *Mortality in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo; Results from Eleven Mortality Surveys*, International Rescue Committee, Health Unit.

Schroeder, E (2004), 'A Window of Opportunity in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: Incorporating a Gender Perspective in the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Process', *Peace, Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, (5) <<http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/docs/AWindowofOpportunity.PDF>>

Skjelsbaek, I. and Smith, D. (2001), *Gender, Peace and Conflict*, New Delhi, Sage publications.

Smythe, A. (2003), 'Statement to the United Nations Security Council Debate on Women, Peace and Security'. New York, United Nations., 29 October 2003.

Sörensen, B. (1998), *Women and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Issues and Sources*, Occasional Paper 3, UNRISD/The War-Torn Societies Project, UNRISD, Geneva.

Thakur, M. (2008), 'Demilitarising militias in the Kivus (eastern Democratic Republic of Congo)', *African Security Review*, 17:1, Pretoria, Institute for Security Studies.

Turner, T. (2007), *The Congo Wars: Conflict, Myth and Reality*, London and New York, Zed Books.

Turshen, M. (1998), 'Women's War Stories', in: Turshen, M. and Twagiramariya, C. eds. (1998), *What Women Do in Wartime*, New York, Zed Books.

Turshen, M. (2001), 'The political economy of rape' in: Moser, C.O.N and Clark, F.C. eds.(2001), *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors?: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, New York, Zed Books.

United Nations (2002), *Women, Peace and Security: Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)*, New York, UNDDA.

United Nations (2002a), *UN Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth in the Democratic Republic of Congo*, New York, UN.

United Nations (2006), *Integrated DDR Standards*, New York, UN
<<http://www.unddr.org/iddrs/framework.php>>

United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (2000), Windhoek Declaration,

United Nations Development Fund for Women (2008), *Gender-aware Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR): A Checklist*, New York, UNIFEM.

<http://womenwarpeace.org/docs/UNIFEM-GenderChecklist.pdf>

United Nations Development Fund for Women and United Nations Development Programme (2003), *Mainstreaming Gender in the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Combatants and those Associated with Armed Groups: A Joint Strategy Developed by UNDP/UNIFEM for the DRC*, Kinshasa, UNIFEM/UNDP.

United Nations Development Programme (2003), *Gender Approaches in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations*, New York, UNDP.

United Nations Security Council (2000), Resolution 1325. 31 October 2000, S/RES/1325.
<<http://www.un.org/events/res.13253.pdf>>

United Nations Security Council (2002), Resolution 1445, 4 December 2002, S/RES/1445.

United Nations Economic and Social Council (1997), *Mainstreaming the gender perspective into all policies and programmes in the United Nations system: Report of the Secretary-General*, E/1997/66, Washington, UNESCO.

De Watteville, Nathalie (2002), *Addressing Gender Issues in Demobilization and Reintegration Programmes*, Africa Region Working Paper Series World Bank, 33; 1-47.

The World Bank (2004), *Technical Annex for a Proposed Grant of SDR 68.1 Million (US\$100 Million Equivalent) to The Democratic Republic of Congo for an Emergency Demobilization and Reintegration Project*, Report NO. T7618-DRC, Washington, The World Bank.

The World Bank (2008), *Helping Female Ex-combatants Regain their Livelihoods*, Washington, WB
<[http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICA
EXT/CONGODEMOCRATICEXTN/0,,contentMDK:21965454~pagePK:1497618~piPK:217854~the
SitePK:349466,00.html](http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICA_EXT/CONGODEMOCRATICEXTN/0,,contentMDK:21965454~pagePK:1497618~piPK:217854~theSitePK:349466,00.html)>.

The World Bank (2008a), *Quarterly Progress Reports: 2008- 4th Quarter (October to December)*, Washington, The World Bank.

Zalewsky, M. (1995), 'Feminism and war: Well, what is the feminist perspective on Bosnia?', *International Affairs*, 71:2, 339-356.